

Dom. 1413

An. Regni. 1.



## Henrie the fift, prince of Wales, sonne and heire to Henrie the fourth.



Henrie prince of Wales,  
son and heire to H. Henrie  
the fourth, boine in Wales  
at Spennymouth on the river  
of Wye, after his father was  
departed toke upon him the  
regiment of this realme of  
England, the twentieth of  
March, the morrow after

proclaimed king, by the name of Henrie the fift, in  
the yeare of the world 5375, after the birth of our sa-  
uour, by our account 1413, the third of the emperor  
Sigismund: the thre and thirtieth of Charles the first  
french king, and in the seventh yeare of gouer-  
nance in Scotland vnder Robert brother to him that  
(before entrance into his kingdome 1390) had John  
to name, which by deuilie and order of the states was  
changed into Robert the third, who at Kotsaie (a  
towne in the Island of Got, 1406) deceased by occa-  
sion thus. As vpon hope in this gouernor to himselfe  
conceiued how to come to the crowne, he at the ca-  
stell of Falkland, latelie had samisht his cosine Da-  
uid the kings elder sonne and heire (a dissolute yong  
prince) yet to his fathers exceeding sorrow, at whose  
deceasse the father verie carefull, and casting for the  
safegord of James his yonger son and heire, from  
Walle the rocks in a well appointed ship, vnder charge  
of Henrie Saintclere earle of Wikenie, into  
france to his old frend king Charles for good educa-  
tion and safetie this yong prince he sent: who in the  
course, whether for tempest or tendernes of stomack,  
toke land in Dorsetshire at Flamborough, that after  
by violence and god consideration of the king and  
his counsell was thought verie necessarie here to be  
retained. But by the sudden newes of this state, the  
father (at super as he sayd) stroken at hart that well  
nie freight had he fallen doونه dead, yet boine into  
his chamber, where for greafe and pine within thre  
daies next he deceased. The yong king James his  
sonne after an eightene yeares state, in which time  
he had bene well trained in princehood, at last with  
right honorable marriage at saint Marie Queries  
vnto Jane daughter to the earle of Summerset, co-  
sine vnto Henrie the first then king, and with manie  
other high gratuities here beside was sent and set in  
his rule and kingdome at home.

Such great hope, and god expectation was had of  
this mans fortunate successe to follow, that within  
thre daies after his fathers deceasse, diuerse noble  
men and honorable personages did to him homage,  
and swore to him due obedience, which had not bene  
sene done to any of his predecessors kings of this  
realme, till they had bene possessed of the crowne.  
He was crowned the ninth of April being Passion  
sundaie, which was a soze, rugged, and tempestuous  
day, with wind, snow and flet, that men greatlie  
maruelled thereat, making diuerse interpretations  
what the same might signifie. But this king euen at

first appointing with himselfe, to shew that in his  
person princelie honors should change publike man-  
ners, he determined to put on him the shape of a  
new man. For whereas aforesaid he had made him-  
selfe a companion vnto mstrulie mates of dissolute  
order and life, he now banished them all from his pre-  
sence (but not vntowarded, or else vnpreferred) in hi-  
bitting them vpon a great paine; not once to approch,  
lodge, or sojourne within ten miles of his court or  
presence: and in their places he chose men of gran-  
tie, wit, and high policie, by whose wise counsell he  
might at all times rule to his honour and dignitie,  
calling to mind how once to his offense of the king  
his father, he had with his fist striken the cheefe iustice  
for sending one of his minions (vpon desert) to pri-  
son, when the iustice stoutlie commanded himselfe al-  
so streit to ward, & he (then prince) obeyed. The king  
after expelled him out of his princelie counsell, banisht  
him the court, and made the duke of Clarence (his  
yonger brother) president of counsell in his stead.  
This reformation in the new king Christ. Okl. hath  
reported, fullie consenting with this. For saith he,

*Ille inter iuuenes paulo lasciuior ante,  
Defuncto genitore grauis constansq; repente,  
Moribus ablegat corruptis regis ab aula  
Assuetos sacros, & nugatoribus acrem  
Panem (si quisquam sua tellure reuulserit) addit,  
Atq; ita miratus facit omnia principe digna,  
Ingenio magno post consultoribus usus, &c.*

In Angl. prgl.  
sub Hen. 5.

But now that the king was once placed in the ro-  
all seat of the realme, he vertuouslie considering in  
his mind, that all godnesse cometh of God, deter-  
mined to begin with some thing acceptable to his de-  
uine maiestie, and therefore commanded the cleargie  
sincerelie and trulie to preach the word of God, and to  
line accordingly, that they might be the lanternes of  
light to the temporaltie, as their profession required.  
The laie men he willed to serue God, and obeie their  
prince, prohibiting them about all things breach of  
matrimonte, custome in swearing; and namelie, wil-  
full perurie. Beside this, he elected the best learned  
men in the lawes of the realme, to the offices of iu-  
stice; and men of good liuing, he preferred to high de-  
grees and authoritie. Immediatlie after Easter he  
called a parliament, in which diuerse good statutes, and  
wholesome ordinances, for the preservation and ad-  
uancement of the common wealth were deuised and  
established. On Trinitie sundaie were the solemn  
ereques done at Canturburie for his father, the  
king himselfe being present thereat.

About the same time, at the speciall instance of the  
king, in a conuocation of the cleargie holden at  
Pauls in London, it was ordeined, that saint Ge-  
orges daie should be celebrate and kept as a dou-  
ble feast. The archbishop of Canturburie meant to  
haue honored saint Dunstanes daie with like reue-  
rence, but it toke not effect. When the king had fet-  
led things much to his purpose, he caused the bodie of  
king

A notable ex-  
ample of a  
worthy  
prince.

A parliament.

Thom. Walsla.  
The funerals  
of king Hen-  
rie the fourth  
kept at Can-  
turburie.

S. Georges  
day made a  
double feast.

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Abr. Pl. out  
Polychron.

king Richard to be removed with all funerall dignitie convenient for his estate, from Langley to Westminster, where he was honorable interred with quene Anne his first wife, in a solempne towe erected and set up at the charges of this king. ¶ Polychronicon saith, that after the bodie of the dead king was taken up out of the earth, this new king happily tendering the magnificence of a prince, and abhorring obscure buriall, caused the same to be conveyed to Westminster in a rotall seat (or chaire of estate) covered all over with blacke velvet, & adorned with banners of divers armes round about. All the hostles likewise (saith this author) were appareled with blacke, and bare sundrie lutes of armes. Many other solemnities were had at his interment, according to the qualite of the age wherein he lived and died.

Also in this first yere of this kings reigne, sir John Blacassell, which by his wife was called lord Cobham, a valiant capteine and a hardie gentleman, was accused to the archbishop of Canturburie of certeine points of heresie, who knowing him to be highlie in the kings favour, declared to his highnesse the whole accusation. The king first having compassion of the noble man, requited the prelates, that if he were a strayed sheepe, rather by gentleness than by rigor to reduce him to the fold. And after this, he himselfe sent for him, and right earnestlie exhorted him, and lovinglie admonished him to reconcile himselfe to God and to his lawes. The lord Cobham not onelie thanked him for his most favourable clemencie, but also declared first to him by mouth, and afterwards by writing, the foundation of his faith, and the ground of his beleefe, affirming his grace to be his supream head and competent iudge, and none other person, offering an hundred knights and squiers to come to his purgation, or else to fight in open field in defense of his iust cause.

The king understanding and persuaded by his counsell, that by order of the lawes of his realme, such accusations touching matters of faith ought to be tried by his spirituall prelates, sent him to the Tower of London, there to abide the determination of the clergie, according to the statutes in that case provided, after which time a solempne session was appointed in the cathedra church of saint Paule, upon the thye and twentieth day of September, and another the five and twentieth daie of the same moneth, in the hall of the Blakke friers at London, in which places the said lord was examined, apposed, and finally heard, and in conclusion by the archbishop of Canturburie denounced an heretike, & remitted againe to the Tower of London, from which place, either by helpe of friends, or favour of keepers, he privilie escaped and came into Wales, where he remained for a season.

After this, the king keeping his Christmasse at his manor of Eltham, was advertised, that sir Roger Aston knight, a man of great wit and possessions, John Wotton squier, John Beuerlie priest, and a great number of other were assembled in armour against the king, his brethren, the clergie and realme. These newes came to the king, on the twelfth daie, in Westminster, whereupon understanding that they were in a place called Ficket field beside London, on the backe side of saint Giles, he straight got him to his palace at Westminster, in as secret wise as he might, and there calling to him certeine bands of armed men, he repaired into saint Giles felde, nere to the said place (where he understood they should fullie meet about midnight) and so handled the matter, that he took some, and slue some, such as stood with his pleasure. The captives of their afcove mentioned, being apprehended, were brought to the kings presence, and to him declared the causes of their commotion

rising, accusing a great number of their complices.

The king vied one policie, which much served to the discomfiting of the adversaries (as Thom. Walsingham saith) which was this: he gave order, that all the gates of London should be strictly kept and garded, so as none should come in or out, but such as were knownen to go to the king. Whereby came it to passe, that the chiefest succour appointed to come to the captives of the rebels, was by that meanes cut off, where otherwise suerlie (had it not bene thus prevented and staied) there had issued forth of London to have joined with them, to the number (as it was thought) of fiftie thousand persons, one and other, servants, prentises, and citizens, confederate with them that were thus assembled in Ficket field. Divers also that came from sundrie parts of the realme, hasting towards the place, to be there at their appointed time, chanced to light among the kings men, who being taken and demanded whether they went with such speed, answered, they came to meet with their capteine the lord Cobham.

But whether he came thither at all, or made shift for himselfe to get awaie, it doth not appeare; for he could not be heard of at that time (as Thomas Walsingham confesseth) although the king by proclamation promised a thousand marks to him that could bring him forth, with great liberties to the cities or townes that would discover where he was. By this it maie appeare, how greatlie he was beloved, that there could not one be found, that for so great a reward would bring him to light. Among other that were taken was one William Spurlie, who dwelt in Dunsfable, a man of great wealth, and by his occupation a brewer, an earnest maintainer of the lord Cobhams opinions, and (as the byrte ran) in hope to be highlie advanced by him if their purposed deulle had taken place, apparant by this; that he had two horses trapped with guilt harness led after him, and in his bosome a paire of gilt spurs (as it was demed) prepared for himselfe to weare, looking to be made knight by the lord Cobhams hands at that present time. But when he saw how their purpose quailed, he withdrew into the citie with great feare to hide himselfe, howbeit he was perceived, taken, and finally executed among others.

To conclude, so manie persons hereupon were apprehended, that all the prisons in and about London were full, the chiefs of them were condemned by the clergie of heresie, and atteinted of high treason in the Guildhall of London, and adjudged for that offense to be drawn and hanged, and for heresie to be consumed with fire, gallowses and all, which judgement was executed the same moneth, on the said sir Roger Aston, and eight and twentieth others. ¶ Some saie, that the occasion of their death was onelie for the conveying of the lord Cobham out of prison. Others write, that it was both for treason and heresie, and so it appeareth by the record. Certeine affirme, that it was for feined causes surmized by the spirituelle, more upon displeasure than truth, and that they were assembled to heare their preacher (the foresaid Beuerlie) in that place there, out of the waie from resort of people, fith they might not come together openly about any such matter, without danger to be apprehended; as the manner is, and hath bene ever of the persecuted flocke, when they are prohibited publickly the exercise of their religion. But howsoever the matter went with these men, apprehended they were, and divers of them executed (as before ye have heard) whether for rebellion or heresie, or for both (as the favour of the indictment importeth) I need not to spend manie words, fith others have so largelie treated thereof; and therefore I refer those that wish to be more fullie satisfied herein unto their reports.

Sir John  
Blacassell  
escaped out  
of the Tower.

Titus Livius.  
1414

Hall.  
A commotion  
raised by sir  
Roger Aston  
and others.  
Titus Livius.

The rebels  
surprised.

Thom. Wals.

Iron.  
of the  
ballage.

Thom. Wals.

Berle resto-  
red to the epi-  
scopie of Wor-  
chester.

W. P.  
Le Rofier la  
second partie.

Sir Roger  
Aston a his  
complices  
condemned  
of treason  
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From  
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amballage.

The Wall.

Berle restor-  
ed to the erle  
dome of Nor-  
thumberland.

W. P.  
Le Rollet la  
second partie.

Whilest in the Lent season the king late at Hil-  
lingworth, there came to him from Charles Dolphin  
of France certeine ambassadors, that brought with  
them a barrell of Paris balles, which from their  
maister they presented to him for a token that was  
taken in verie ill part, as sent in scozne, to signifie,  
that it was more meet for the king to passe the time  
with such childish exercise, than to attempt any wor-  
thy exploit. Wherefore the k. wrote to him, that per-  
ought long, he would tolde him some London balles  
that perchance should shake the walles of the best  
court in France. This yeare, Thom. Arundell arch-  
bishop of Canturburie departed this life, a stout  
prelat, and an earnest maintainer of the Romish re-  
ligion: Henrie Chichele bishop of saint David suc-  
ceeded the same Arundell in the see of Canturburie,  
and the kings confessor, Stephan Watrington a Car-  
melite frier was made bishop of S. David. Henrie  
perse then but a child, sonne to the lord Henrie Per-  
se surnamed Hotspur, after his fathers deceasse,  
that was slaine at Shrewesburie field, was conueied  
into Scotland, and there left by his grandfather,  
where ever since he had remained: the king there-  
fore pitied his case, and so procured for him, that he  
came home, and was restorod to all his lands and  
earledome of Northumberland, which lands before  
had bene given to the lord John, the kings brother.

A case verie strange, and for manie causes alwaies  
right worthe of remembrance, in this yeare 1414,  
the second of this kings reigne did befall, which con-  
teining in it so manie matters for knowledge of  
Gods great power and iustice, of wilfull breaking  
his diuine lawes, of the easie slip into ruine where his  
mercie both not staie vs, the busie bogging of the di-  
uine alwaies, our weakenesse in combat with him,  
into what outrage and confusion he haleth where he  
is not withstood, with what tyrannie he tormenteth  
where he vanquisheth, what the will and power of  
a soueraigne ouer a subiect may force in cases of ini-  
quity, where by vertue and grace he be not restrai-  
ned: the zeale of a parent, the pangs of a child, but  
cheefe the verie plague of Gods wrath and in-  
dignation vpon wilfull and obstinate offenders, all  
which at those daies though touched in paples, yet at  
all times and euerie where so well seruing for exam-  
ple and warning, it hath bene thought verie conue-  
nient the same in our stories also here to be noted,  
which was thus. At this time newes were brought  
into France, how king Lancelot (the aduersarie to  
Newes king of Sicill) was departed, and in man-  
ner thus. It hapned that he fell in loue with a yong  
damosell his owne physicians daughter (a puzell ve-  
rie beautifull) and he in hope to inioy hir the easilier,  
caused hir father for his consent to be talked withall  
in the matter, which he vtterlie refused to grant, and  
shewed forth manie reasons for him; but at last all  
causes & excuses reiected, sith (though constrained)  
he must needs assent, feined himselfe willing and  
content. And forcing talke with his daughter vpon  
his mind in the matter, cheefe how meet it were  
the used his counsell how best with the king to keepe  
hir still in grace, he gaue hir a little box of ointment,  
and instruction withall, that when the king should  
come to haue his will, the should asoye with that  
balme annoint all hir toombe; the damosell on gods  
obseruation did after (at oportunitie) as hir father  
taught hir. Whereupon so pittifullie came it to passe,  
that the verie same night the king late with hir, his  
bellie and hers were by and by set as it were all on  
a smyging fier, with tormentes of such vnquench-  
able scorching and burning euen into the verie en-  
trailes, that he of his kingdome, his life, his loue; and  
the of hir princelie promotion, thus some both fogt-  
ther made a forowfull end. After the plaie of this la-

mentable tragedie, the physician fled for his safetie;  
and straight vpon the newes king Newes gathered  
a great assemble, wherewith to passe towards Na-  
ples, and sent before a good companie vnder the lord  
Longnie marshall of France.

In the second yeare of his reigne, king Henrie  
called his high court of parlement, the last daie of A-  
prill in the towne of Leicester, in which parlement  
manie profitable lawes were concluded, and manie  
petitions moued, were for that time deferred. A-  
mongst which, one was, that a bill exhibited in the  
parlement holden at Westminster in the eleuenth  
yeare of king Henrie the fourth (which by reason the  
king was then troubled with ciuill discord, came to  
none effect) might now with good deliberation be  
pondered, and brought to some good conclusion. The  
effect of which supplication was, that the temporall  
lands deuoutlie giuen, and disordinatlie spent by re-  
ligious, and other spirituall persons, should be seized  
into the kings hands, sith the same might suffice  
to mainteine, to the honoz of the king, and defense of  
the realme, sixtene earles, sixtene hundred knights,  
six thousand and two hundred squiers, and a hundred  
almshouses, for reliefe onelie of the poore, impo-  
tent, and needie persons, and the king to haue cleere-  
lie to his coffers twentie thousand pounds, with ma-  
nie other prouisions and values of religious houses,  
which I passe over.

This bill was much noted, and more feared among  
the religious sort, whom suerlie it touched verie nere,  
and therefore to find remedie against it, they deter-  
mined to assaie all waies to put by and ouertrow  
this bill: wherein they thought best to trie if they  
might moue the kings mood with some sharpe in-  
uention, that he should not regard the importunate  
petitions of the commons. Whereupon, on a daie in  
the parlement, Henrie Chichele archbishop of Can-  
turburie made a pithe oration, wherein he declared,  
how not onelie the duchies of Normandie and Aqui-  
taine, with the counties of Anion and Maine, and the  
countrie of Gascoigne, were by vndoubted title ap-  
pertaining to the king, as to the lawfull and one-  
lie heire of the same; but also the whole realme of  
France, as heire to his great grandfather king Ed-  
ward the third.

Wherein did he much inuete against the furnished  
and falseained lawe Salike, which the Frenchmen  
alledge euer against the kings of England in barre  
of their iust title to the crowne of France. The verie  
wordes of that supposed lawe are these, *In terram Sali-*  
*cam mulieres ne succedant*, that is to saie, Into the Sa-  
like land let not women succeed. Which the French  
glossers expound to be the realme of France, and  
that this lawe was made by king Pharamond, where-  
as yet their owne authozs affirme, that the lady Sa-  
like is in Germanie, betwene the riuers of Elbe  
and Sala; and that when Charles the great had ouer-  
come the Saxons, he placed there certeine French-  
men, which hauing in disbeine the dishonest maners  
of the Germane women, made a law, that the fe-  
males should not succed to any inheritance within  
that land, which at this daie is called Welfen, so that  
if this be true, this lawe was not made for the realme  
of France, nor the Frenchmen possessed the land Sa-  
like, till foure hundred and one and twentie yeares  
after the death of Pharamond, the supposed maker  
of this Salike law, for this Pharamond deceased in  
the yeare 426, and Charles the great subdued the  
Saxons, and placed the Frenchmen in those parts  
beyond the riuier of Sala, in the yeare 807.

Whereouer, it appeareth by their owne writers, that  
king Pepine, which deposed Childerike, claimed the  
crowne of France, as heire generall, for that he  
was descended of Blithild daughter to king Clo-  
gg. j. their

Anno Reg. 2.  
1414

A bill exhibi-  
ted to the par-  
lement against  
the clergie.

The archbis-  
hop of Can-  
turburies o-  
ration in the  
parlement  
house.

The Salike  
law.

Welfen,

that the first: Hugh Capet also, who usurped the crowne upon Charles duke of Lozaine, the sole heire male of the line and stocke of Charles the great, to make his title seeme true, and appeare good, though in deed it was starke naught, conueied himselfe as heire to the ladie Aingard, daughter to king Charles maine, sonne to Lewis the emperour, that was son to Charles the great. King Lewis also the tenth or therwise called saint Lewis, being verie heire to the said usurper Hugh Capet, could neuer be satisfied in his conscience how he might iustlie keepe and possesse the crowne of France, till he was persuaded and fullie instructed, that quene Isabell his grandmother was lineallie descended of the ladie Ermengard daughter and heire to the aboue named Charles duke of Lozaine, by the which marriage, the blood and line of Charles the great was againe vnted and restored to the crowne & scepter of France, so that more cleere than the sunne it openlie appeareth, that the title of king Pepin, the claime of Hugh Capet, the possession of Lewis, yea and the French kings to this daie, are deriued and conueied from the heire female, though they would vnder the colour of such a fained law, barre the kings and princes of this realme of England of their right and lawfull inheritance.

The archbishop further alleaged out of the booke of Numbers this saying: When a man dieth without a sonne, let the inheritance descend to his daughter. At length, hauing said sufficientlie for the prouise of the kings iust and lawfull title to the crowne of France, he exhorted him to aduance forth his banner to fight for his right, to conquer his inheritance, to spare neither blood, sword, nor fire, with his warre was iust, his cause good, and his claime true. And to the intent his louing chaplains and obedient subiects of the spiritualtie might shew themselves willing and desirous to aid his maiestie, for the recouerie of his ancient right and true inheritance, the archbishop declared that in their spirituall conuocation, they had granted to his highnesse such a summe of monie, as neuer by no spirituall persons was to any prince before those daies given or advanced.

The earle of Westmerland persuadeth the king to the conquest of Scotland.

When the archbishop had ended his prepared tale, Rafe Percell earle of Westmerland, and as then lord Warden of the marches against Scotland, vnderstanding that the king vpon a couragious desire to recouer his right in France, would shortly take the wars in hand, thought good to moue the king to begin first with Scotland, and thereupon declared how easie a matter it should be to make a conquest there, and how greatlie the same should further his wished purpose for the subduing of the Frenchmen, concluding the summe of his tale with this old saying: that Who so will France win, must with Scotland first begin. Many matters he touched, as well to shew how necessarie the conquest of Scotland should be, as also to proue how iust a cause the king had to attempt it, trusting to persuade the king and all other to be of his opinion.

The duke of Excester his wife and pithie answer to the earle of westmerlands saying.

A true saying.

But after he had made an end, the duke of Excester, uncle to the king, a man well learned and wise, who had bene sent into Italie by his father, intending that he should haue been a preest replied against the earle of Westmerlands oration, affirming rather that he which would Scotland win, he with France must first begin. For if the king might once compass the conquest of France, Scotland could not long resist; so that conquere France, and Scotland would some obvie. For where should the Scots learne policie and skill to defend themselves, if they had not their bringing up and training in France? If the French pensions maintained not the Scottish nobilitie, in what case should they be? Then take awaie

France, and the Scots will some be tamed; France being to Scotland the same that the sap is to the tree, which being taken awaie, the tree must needs die and wither.

To be brieue, the duke of Excester used such earnest and pithie persuasions, to induce the king and the whole assemble of the parlement to credit his words, that immediatlie after he had made an end, all the companie began to crie; Warre, warre; France, France. Whereby the bill for dissolving of religious houses was clerelie set aside, and nothing thought on but onelie the recouering of France, according as the archbishop had moued. And vpon this point, after a few acts besides for the wealth of the realme established, the parlement was proroged vnto Westminster. ¶ Some write, that in this parlement it was enacted, that Lollards and heretikes with their maintainers and fauourers should be *facto* aduouched guilte of high treason: but in the statute made in the same parlement against Lollards, we find no such words: albeit by force of that statute it was ordeined, that persons so conuicted & executed, should lose their lands holden in fee simple, and all other their goods and cattels, as in cases of felonye.

During this parlement, there came to the king ambassadoys, as well from the French king that was then in the hands of the Malientiall faction, as also from the duke of Burgognie, for aid against that faction; promising more (as was said) than late well in his power to performe. The king shortly after sent ambassadoys to them both, as the bishop of Durham, and Norwich, with others. Whereouer at this parlement, John the kings brother was created duke of Bedford, and his brother Humphre duke of Gloucester. Also, Thomas Beaufort, marquisse Dorset, was created duke of Excester. Immediatlie after, the king sent ouer into France his uncle the duke of Excester, the lord Greie admerall of England, the archbishop of Dublin, and the bishop of Norwich, ambassadoys vnto the French king, with five hundred horse, which were lodged in the temple house in Paris, keeping such triumphant chore in their lodging, and such a solempne estate in their riding through the citie, that the Parisiens and all the Frenchmen had no small meruell at their honours and his port.

The French king receiued them verie honorable, and banketted them right sumptuouslie, shewing to them iusts and partiall pastimes, by the space of three daies together, in the which iusts the king himselfe, to shew his courage and aduilitie to the Englishmen, manfullie brake speares and lussilie tourneyed. When the triumph was ended, the English ambassadoys, hauing a time appointed them to declare their message, admitted to the French kings presence, required of him to deliuer vnto the king of England the realme and crowne of France, with the entier duchies of Aquitaine, Normandie and Anjou, with the countreies of Poitou and Paine. Many other requests they made: and this offered withall, that if the French king would without warre and effusion of christian blood, render to the king their maister his verie right & lawfull inheritance, that he would be content to take in marriage the ladie Katharine, daughter to the French king, and to iadown hir with all the duchies and countreies before rehearsed: and if he would not so do, then the king of England did expresse and signifie to him, that with the aid of God, and helpe of his people, he would recouer his right and inheritance wrongfullie withheld from him, with mostall warre, and dint of sword. ¶ This in effect doth our English poet comprise in his report of the occasion, which Henrie the

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The council of Constance.

The earle of Warwick and others sent to the general council.

Enguerant.

Great preparation for the French wars.

Abt. F. 1444  
In Reg. 1444  
1444

Dom. 1414.

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ig Ambassadors  
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Burgonie.

18.  
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the general  
council.

**Enguerand**

Great preparation for the French war

Abr. Fl. cut  
In Angl. pr.  
Gib. H. 1866.

The Frenchmen having knowledge hereof, the Dolphin, who had the gouernance of the realme, because his father was fallen into his old disease of frensie, sent for the dukes of Berry and Alanson, and all the other lordes of the counsell of France: by whose aduise it was determined, that they should not onely prepare a sufficient armie to resist the king of England, when so euer he arrived to inuade France, but also to stiffe and furnish the towncs on the frontiers and sea coasts with conuenient garrisons of men: and further to send to the king of England a solemne ambassage, to make to him some offers according to the demands before rehearsed. The charge of this ambassage was committed to the earle of Mandoline, to maister William Bouratier archbishop of Borges, and to maister Peter Fremell bishop of Aisre, to the lordes of Poy and Bazemouent, and to maister Gaultier Cole the kings secretarie, and diuerse others.

Anno Reg. 3.  
Ambassadors  
out of France

20

3 A proud p  
e sumptuous  
relat

The wife and  
sister of the King  
to the bishop

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" Since ye haue not yet tasted, If he haue louing sub-  
 " iectis, I am (I thanke God) not withstood of the same:  
 " and I saie this vnto you, that before one yeare passe,  
 " I trust to make the highbest crowne of your countrie  
 " to stope, and the proudest miter to learne his humi-  
 " liatedo. In the meane time tell this to the vsurper  
 " your master, that within thre moneths, I will enter  
 " into France, as into mine owne true and lawfull  
 " patrimonie, appointing to acquire the same, not with  
 " bag of words, but with deeds of men, and dint of  
 " sword, by the aid of God, in whome is my whole trust  
 " and confidence. Further matter at this present I  
 " impart not vnto you, sauing that, with warrant  
 " you maie depart sauerie and safelie into your coun-  
 " trie, where I trust sooner to visi you, than you shall  
 " haue cause to bid me welcome. With this answer  
 " the ambassadors soze displeased in their minds (al-  
 " though they were highlie intertesined and liberallie  
 " rewarded) departed into their countrie, reporting to  
 " the Wolch in how they had sped.

After the French ambassadors were departed, the king like a provident prince, thought good to take order for the resisting of the Scots; if (according to their manner) they should attempt any thing against his subjects in his absence. For that point appointed he the earle of Wexmerland, the lord Scrope, the baron of Greystoke, sir Robert Wilmshill, & divers other valiant captains to keepe the frontiers & marches of Scotland, which sir Robert Wilmshill on the daie of Sparte Spangdalen fought with the Scots at the towne of Cederling, having in his company onelie three hundred archers, and senen score spears, where he (after long conflict) slue of his enimies fiftie and odd, took three hundred and fiftie prisoners, discomfited and put to flight one thousand and more, whome he followed in chase above twelue miles, but their hands full of preyes and prisoners, retired homeward (not unhurt) to the castell of Rochester, one of the which he was capitaine.

When the king had all promissions receiued, and ordered all things for the defence of his realme, he leaving behind him for gouernour of the realme, the queene his mother in law, departed to Southampton, to take ship into France. And first princely appointing to aduertise the French king of his coming, therefore dispatched Antiope his pursuivant at armes with letters to him for restitution of that which he wrongfully withheld contrary to the lawes of God and man, the king further declaring both soe he was that he should be thus compelled for repeating of his right and full title of inheritance, to make warre to the destruction of christian people, but sithens he had offered peace which could not be received, now for fault of iudice, he was forced to take armes. Neuerthelesse exhorted the French king by the bowels of Iesu Christ, to render him that which was his owne, whereby effusion of Christian blood might be avoided. These letters chaunced to this effect and purpose, were written and passed from Hampton the first of August. When the same were presented to the French king, and by his counsell well perused, answer was made, that he would take aduile, and prouide therein as time and place should be conuenient, to the messenger licenced to depart at his pleasure.

When king Henrie had fully furnished his nauie with men, munition, & other provisions, perceiving that his captaine understood nothing so much as delatse, determined his foulbodie to go a ship-boord and awaite. But for the day, the night before the daie appointed for their departure, he was credibly informed, that Richard earle of Cambridge brother to Edward duke of Borke, and Henrie lord Scrope of Watnam lord treasurer, with Thomas Crote a

knight of Northumberland, being confederat together, had conspired his death: wherefore he caused them to be apprehended. The said lord Scrope was in such fauour with the king, that he admitted him sometime to be his bedfellow, in whose fidelitie the king reposed such trust, that when any priuie or publicke councill was in hand, this lord had much in the determination of it. For he represented to great grauitie in his countenance, such modestie in behaviour, and so vertuous zeale to all goodnesse in his talke, that whatsoever he said was thought for the most part necessarie to be done and followed. Also the said sir Thomas Graie (as some write) was of the kings priuie councill.

These prisoners vpon their examination, confessed, that for a great summe of monie which they had receiued of the french king: they intended verelie either to haue deliuered the king aliuie into the hands of his enimies, or else to haue murdered him before he should arrive in the duchie of Normandie. When king Henrie had heard all things opened, which he desired to know, he caused all his nobilitie to come before his presence, before whome he caused to be brought the offenders also, and to them said, Having thus conspired the death and destruction of me, which am the head of the realme and gouernour of the people, it maie be (no doubt) but that you likewise haue sware, the confusion of all that are here with me, and also the desolation of your owne countrie. To what purpose (sayd he) for any true English hart to consider, that such an execrable iniquitie should ener to bewray you, as for pleading of a forren enimie to imbrue your hands in your blood, and to ruine your owne native soile. Reuenge herein touching my person, though I seeke not; yet for the safeguard of you my deere friends, & for due preservation of all sorts, I am by office to cause example to be shewed. Get ye hence therefore ye poore miserable wretches to the receiving of your iust reward, wherein Gods maiestie giue you grace of his mercie and repentance of your heinous offenses. And so immediatlie they were led to execution.

This done, the king calling his lordes againe afore him, said in words fewe and with god grace. Of his enterprises he recounted the honor and glorie, whereof they with him were to be partakers, the great confidence he had in their noble minds, which could not but remember them of the famous feats that their ancestors sometime in France had achieved, whereof the due report for ever recorded remained yet in register. The great mercie of God that had to gratiounlie revealed unto him the treason at hand, whereby the true hearts of those afore him made so eminent & apparant in his eye, as they might be right sure he would neuer forget it. The doubt of danger to be nothing in respect of the certainte of honor that they should acquire, wherein himselfe (as they said) in person should be lord and leader through Gods grace. To whose maiestie as chieffe was knowne the equitie of his demand: euen so to his mercie he was onlie recommend the successe of his trauels. When the king had said, all the noble men knelt downe, & promised faithfully to serue him, oultre to obey him, and rather to die than to suffer him to fall into the hands of his enemies.

¶ This done, the king thought that suerlie all treason  
and conspiracie had bene offerre extirpate: not suspect-  
ting the fire which was newlie kindled, and ceased  
not to increase, till at length it burst out into such a  
flame, that catching the beames of his house and fam-  
ilie, his line and stocke was cleane consumed to  
ashes. ¶ Divers write that Richard earle of Cam-  
bridge did not conspire with the lord Scrope & Tho-  
mas Beke for the murdering of king Henrie to  
please

Harding.  
An over-  
throw to the  
Scots by Sir  
Robert Um-  
freavill.

The quene  
mother gouer  
nour of the  
realme.

Hall

King Henry  
words to the  
traitors.

The effect of  
the early of  
Cambridge  
involvement.

The early  
Cambridge  
and the other  
traitors ex-  
cused.

3 months



An. Reg. 3.

Dom. 14. 15.

The earle of  
Cambridge  
other lordes  
apprehended  
for treason.  
Thom. Wall.

Hall.

King Henrie  
words to the  
traitours.

The earle of  
Cambridge  
maiden.

March.

The earle of  
Cambridge  
and the other  
traitours ap-  
prehended.

pleaseth the French king withall, but onelie to the in-  
tent to exalt to the crowne his brother in law Ed-  
mund earle of March as heire to Lionell duke of  
Clarence: after the death of which earle of March, for  
diuerse secret impediments, not able to haue issue,  
the earle of Cambridge was sure that the crowne  
should come to him by his wife, and to his children, of  
his begotten. And therefore (as was thought) he ra-  
ther confessed himselfe for need of monie to be corrup-  
ted by the French king, than he would declare his  
inward mind, and open his verie intent and secret  
purpose, which if it were espied, he saw plainlie that  
the earle of March should haue tasted of the same  
cruelty that he had drunken, and what should haue  
come to his owne children he much doubted. There-  
fore destitute of comfort & in despaire of life to saue  
his children, he feined that tale, desiring rather to  
saue his succession than himselfe, which he did in deed:  
for his sonne Richard duke of Yorke not pryncie but  
openlie claimed the crowne, and Edward his sonne  
both claimed it, & gained it, as after it shall appeare.  
Which thing if king Henrie had at this time either  
doubted, or foresene, had neuer bene like to haue  
come to passe, as Hall saith.

But whatsoeuer hath bene reported of the confes-  
sion of the earle of Cambridge, certeine it is, that in-  
dicted he was by the name of Richard earle of Cam-  
bridge of Conneburgh in the countie of Yorke  
knight, and with him Thomas Craie of Heton in  
the countie of Northumberland knight; for that they  
the twentieth daie of Iulie, in the third peare of king  
Henrie the fifts reigne, at Southampton, and in di-  
uerse other places within this realme, had conspired  
together with a power of men to them associat, with-  
out the kings licence, to haue led awaie the lord Ed-  
mund earle of March into Wales, and then to haue  
procured him to take vpon him the supreme govern-  
ment of the realme, in case that king Richard the se-  
cond were dead: and herewith had purposed to set  
forth a proclamation there in Wales, in name of  
the said earle of March, as heire of the crowne a-  
gainst king Henrie, by the name of Henrie of Lan-  
caster the usurper, to the end that by such meanes  
they might draw the more number of the kings liege  
people vnto the said earle; and further to haue con-  
ueied a banner of the armes of England, and a cer-  
taine crowne of Spaine set vpon a pallet, and laid in  
gage to the said earle of Cambridge, by the king, to-  
gether with the said earle of March into the parties  
of Wales aforesaid.

Further, that the said earle of Cambridge, and sir  
Thomas Craie had appointed certeine of the kings  
liege people to repaire into Scotland, and to bring  
from thence one Thomas Trumpington; also an o-  
ther resembling in shape, fauour, and countenance  
king Richard, and Henrie Perie, together with a  
great multitude of people to fight with the king, and  
him to destroe in open field. Beside this, that they  
had meant to twin certeine castles in Wales, and to  
kepe them against the king: and manie other trea-  
sons they had contriued, as by the indictment was  
specified, to the intent they might destroe the king  
and his brethren, the dukes of Bedford and Gloucester,  
and other the great lordes & peers of the realme. And  
Henrie Scrope of Malham, of Harflet, in the coun-  
tie of Yorke was likewise indicted, as consenting to  
the premises. So that it appeareth their purpose was  
well inough then perceiued, although hapilie not  
much bated abroad, for considerations thought ne-  
cessarie to haue it rather hushd and kept secret.

About the selfe same time the lord Cobham with  
his friends, whether as one of counsell in the conspi-  
racie with the earle of Cambridge or not, was deter-  
mined to haue made some attempt against the lord

of Aburgauennie, who being aduertised thereof, got  
for his defense from Worcester, Perfor, Tenke-  
burie, and other places thereabout, to the number of  
foue thousand archers, and other armed men, which  
came to him vnto his castell of Hancleie: whereof  
when the lord Cobham was aduertised, he withdrew  
again to such secret places about Maluerne, as he  
had prouided for his suertie, to resort vnto: but a  
priest that belonged vnto him, was taken, and di-  
uerse other, who disclosed to the lord Aburgauennie,  
one of the places where the said lord Cobham with  
his men used to keepe themselves close. Vnto that  
place the lord Aburgauennie went, where he found  
in deed monie and armor piled vp betwixt two walls;  
handsomelie conueied and framed for the purpose; but  
the lord Cobham with his folkes were withdrawne  
into some other place, after they once heard, that  
the earle of Cambridge and the lord Scrope were  
executed.

But now to proceed with king Henries doings.

After this, when the wind came about prosperous to  
his purpose, he caused the mariners to weie vp an-  
chors, and hoist vp sailes, and to set forthward with a  
thousand ships, on the vigill of our ladie daie the As-  
umption, and toke land at Caer, commonlie called  
Aldour, where the riuer of Saine runneth into the  
sea, without resistance. At his first coming on land,  
he caused proclamation to be made, that no person  
should be so hardie on paine of death, either to take  
anie thing out of anie church that belonged to the  
same, or to hurt or do anie violence either to priests,  
women, or anie such as should be found without  
weapon or armor, and not readie to make resistance:  
also that no man should renew anie quarrell or strife,  
whereby anie fraie might arise to the disquieting of  
the armie.

The next daie after his landing, he marched toward  
the towne of Harflue, standing on the riuer of Saine  
betwene two hills; he besieged it on euerie side, rat-  
tling bulwarks and a battell, in which the two earles  
of Bent & Huntington were placed, with Cornwall,  
Craie, Steward, and Porter. On that side towards  
the sea, the king lodged with his field, and the duke  
of Clarence on the further side towards Rome. There  
were within the towne the lords de Monteuill and  
Gaucourt, with diuerse other that valiantlie de-  
fended the siege, doing what damage they could to  
their aduersaries; and damming by the riuer that  
hath his course through the towne, the water rose so  
high betwixt the kings campe, and the duke of Cla-  
rence campe (diuided by the same riuer) that the  
Englishmen were constrained to withdraue their ar-  
tillerie from one side, where they had planted the  
same.

The French king being aduertised, that king  
Henrie was arrived on that coast, sent in all hast  
the lord de la Bzeth constable of France, the sene-  
shall of France, the lord Bouciquall marshall of  
France, the senehall of Penault, the lord Lignie  
with other, which fortified townes with men, victuals,  
and artillerie on all those frontiers towards the sea.  
And hearing that Harflue was besieged, they came  
to the castell of Candebecke, being not farre from  
Harflue, to the intent they might succor their friends  
which were besieged, by some policie or meanes: but  
the Englishmen, notwithstanding all the damage  
that the Frenchmen could worke against them, for-  
rated the countrie, spoiled the villages, bringing ma-  
nie a rich preie to the campe before Harflue. And da-  
lie was the towne assaulted: for the duke of Glou-  
cester, to whome the order of the siege was commit-  
ted, made three mines vnder the ground, and appro-  
ching to the walls with his engins and ordinance,  
would not suffer them within to take anie rest.

Titus Liuius,

The king sat-  
teth ouer into  
France with  
his host.

Titus Liuius,  
A charitable  
proclamation.

Princelie and  
wise.

Harding.

The king be-  
sieged Har-  
flue.

Titus Livius.

For although they with their countermining saw what disappointed the Englishmen, & came to fight with them hand to hand within the mines, so that they went no further forward with that worke; yet they were so inclosed on each side, as well by water as land, that succour they saw could none come to them: for the king lying with his battell on the hill side on the one partie, and the duke of Clarence beyond the river that passeth by the towne, and runneth into Saine on the other partie, beside other lordes and capitaines that were lodged with their retinues for their most advantage: none could be suffered to go in, or come forth, without their licence; inso much that such powder as was sent to have bene conveyed into the towne by water, was taken by the English ships that watched the river.

Harding.  
Thom. Wals.The senen-  
terth of Sep-  
tember they  
saw in Har-  
sue peace par-  
lor.

The capitaine within the towne, perceiuing that they were not able long to resist the continuall assaults of the Englishmen, knowing that their walls were undermined, and like to be overthrown (as one of their bulwarks was alreadie, where the earles of Huntingdon and Kent had set up their banners) sent an officer at armes forth about midnight after the feast daie of saint Lambert, which fell that yeare upon the tuesday, to beseech the king of England to appoint some certaine persons as commissioners from him, with whom they within might treat about some agreement. The duke of Clarence, to whom this messenger first declared his errand, advertised the king of their request, who granting thereof, appointed the duke of Excester, with the lord Fitz Hugh, and sir Thomas Erpingham, to understand their minds, who at the first requested a truce untill sundae next following the feast of saint Michael, in which meane time if no succour came to remove the siege, they would undertake to deliver the towne into the kings hands, their lives and goods saved.

3 fine daies  
respit.

The king advertised hereof, sent them word, that except they would surrender the towne to him the morowe next ensuing, without any condition, they should spend no more time in talke about the matter. But yet at length through the earnest sute of the French lords, the king was contented to grant them truce untill nine of the clocke the next saturday, being the two and twentieth of September; with condition, that if in the meane time no reliefe came, they should yield the towne at that houre, with their bodies and goods to stand at the kings pleasure. And for assurance thereof, they delivered into the kings hands thirtie of their best capitaine and merchants within that towne as pledges. But other write, that it was covenanted, that they should deliver but one lie twelve pledges, and that if the siege were not raised by the French kings power within six daies next following, then should they deliver the towne into the king of England hands, and thirtie of the chiefe personages within the same, to stand for life or death at his will and pleasure: and as for the residue of the men of warre and townesmen, they should depart whether they would, without carieng forth either armour, weapon, or goods.

The king nevertheless was after content to grant a respit upon certaine conditions, that the capitaine within might have time to send to the French king for succour (as before he have heard) least he intending greater exploits, might lose time in such small matters. When this composition was agreed upon, the lord Bacqueuill was sent unto the French king, to declare in what point the towne stood. To whom the Dolphin answered, that the kings power was not yet assembled, in such number as was convenient to raise so great a siege. His answer being brought unto the capitaine within the towne, they rendered it up to the king of England,

after that the third daie was expired, which was on the daie of saint Maurice being the seven and thirtieth daie after the siege was first laid: The soldiers were ransomed, and the towne sacked, to the great gain of the Englishmen. Some writing of this yielding by of Harflue, do in like sort make mention of the distresse whereto the people, then expelled out of their habitations, were given: inso much as parents with their children, young maids and old folke went out of the towne gates with heauie hearts (God wot) as put to their present shifts to seeke them a new abode. Besides that, king Henrie caused proclamation to be made within his owne dominions of England, that whosoever (either handicraftsman, merchant, or gentleman, or plowman) would inhabit in Harflue, should haue his dwelling given him gratis, and his heire after him also enjoy the like grace and favour: inso much that great multitudes flocked to the sea coasts, waiting wind and weather for their transportage into Harflue, where being arrived, wonderfull it is to tell, within how short a time the towne was peopled. This doth *Anglorum praelia* report, saying (not without good ground, I beleue) as followeth:

*tum flentes tenera cum prole parentes:  
Virgineisque choros veteres liquere penates:  
Tum populus cunctus de portu Gallicus exit  
Mestus, inermatus, vacuus, miser, ieger, inopis;  
Vtique notis fides querat migrare coactus:  
Oppidulo belli potuerunt inni Britanni, &c.*

All this done, the king ordeined capitaine to the towne his uncle the duke of Excester, who established his lieutenant there, one sir John Fastolfe, with fiftene hundred men, or (as some haue) two thousand and thirtie sir knights, whereof the baron of Carew, and sir Hugh Luttrell, were two counsellors. And because many of his nobles whilst this siege late before Harflue, fell sicke of the sir and other diseases, diuerse also dead, amongst whom the earle of Stafford, the bishop of Norwich, the lords Spolins and Burnell were foure (beside others) the king licensed his brother the duke of Clarence, John earle marshal, and John earle of Arundell, being infected with that disease, to returne into England.

King Henrie, after the winning of Harflue, determined to haue proceeded further in the winning of other townes and fortresses: but because the dead time of the winter approached, it was determined by advice of his counsell, that he should in all convenient speed set forward, and march through the countie towards Calis by land, least his returne as then homewards should of standerous tongues be named a running away: and yet that iourne was aduised perillous, by reason that the number of his people was much diminished by the sir and other fevers, which were bred and brought to death about fiftene hundred persons of the armie: and this was the cause that his returne was the sooner appointed and concluded.

But before his departing thence, he entred into the towne of Harflue, & went to the church of saint Martin, and there offered: All the men of warre which had not paid their ransoms; he swore them on the holie euangelists, to yield themselves prisoners at Calis by the feast of saint Martin in November next. There were two strong towers standing on the haue side at Harflue, which looking for aid, did not yield, till ten daies after the towne was rendered. When the king had repaired the walles, bulwarks and rampiers about the towne, and furnished it with vittels and artillery, he removed from Harflue toward Ponthoife, intending to passe the river of Some with his armie, before the bridges were either withdrawen or broken. Such vittels and other necessities as were to be carried with the armie, he appointed

Great death  
in the body  
the sir.The king  
mercifully  
ling forth  
French  
fouers.Standing in  
Ducarie de-  
serving  
ns & Deron  
all by the ri-  
ner of Some.  
Sir Hugh  
Boroughier.

Come & bit-  
tles destroyed  
where the  
Englishmen  
could passe.3 skirmish  
with the gar-  
rison of Coz-  
bier.

sumptuous.

Diverse cap-  
tains brought

W. P.

Great death  
in the hall by  
the air.The kings  
mercifully de-  
clined with the  
French pri-  
soners.Surrendering in  
the town de-  
stroyed Amie-  
ns & Peronne  
also the citi-  
es of Somme.  
Sir Hugh  
Spencer lord  
Boroughchier

appointed to be laid on horses, leaving the carts and  
wagons behind for lesse incombure.


The French king hearing that the towne of Har-  
dieu was gotten, and that the king of England was  
marching forward into the bowels of the realme of  
France, sent out proclamations, and assembled peo-  
ple on euerie side, committing the whole charge of  
his armie to his sonne the Dolphine and duke of  
Aquitaine, who incontinentlie caused the brydges to  
be broken, and the passages to be kept. Also they cau-  
sed all the corne and vittells to be conueied awaite, or  
destroyed in all places, where it was conieured that  
the Englishmen would passe. The king of England  
nothing dismayed herewith, kept his iourne in spite  
of his enemies, constraining them within diuerse  
townes and holds to furnish him with vittells: but  
yet as he passed by the towne of Cw, the garrison of  
the towne issued forth, and gaue the Englishmen a  
skirmish, who beat them into the towne with losse,  
namelie of a right valiant man of armes, named  
Lancelot Piers. There were manie Englishmen  
hurt with quercels shot off from the lops and walls,  
as they pursued the enemies unto the gates.

At length the king approached the river of Some, &  
finding all the brydges broken, he came to the passage  
of Blanchetake, where his great grandfather king  
Edward the third a little before had stricken the bat-  
tell of Cressie: but the passage was now so impeached  
with stakes in the botome of the forde, that he could  
not passe, his enemies besides there awaite so swar-  
ming on all sides. He therefore marched forwards  
to Arames, marching with his armie, and passing  
with his carriage in so martiall a manner, that he ap-  
peared so terrible to his enemies, as they durst not of-  
fer him battell. And yet the lord Dalbryeth constable  
of France, the marshall Boncequault, the earle of  
Aranson, and the earle of Richmond, with all the puis-  
sance of the Dolphine laie at Abulle, but ever kept the  
passages, and coasted aloofe, like a hauke though ea-  
ger yet not hardie on his prey. The king of England  
kept on his iourne till he came to the brydge of Saint  
Darence, where he found aboute thirtie thousand  
Frenchmen, and there pitched his field, looking suc-  
re to be fought withall.

Wherefore to encourage his capteins the more,  
he dubbed certeine of his hardie and valiant gentle-  
men knights, as John lord Ferrers of Grobie, Ke-  
ginald of Gressloke, Piers Tempess, Christopher  
Woolstie, Thomas Piskering, William Huddleston,  
John Holsbalt, Henrie Woxtmer, Philip Hall, and  
William his brother, Jaques de Diamond, and di-  
uerse other: but the French making no semblance  
to fight, he departed in good order of battell by the  
towne of Amiens, to another towne nere to a ca-  
stell called Bowes, and there laie two daies looking  
for their bidding of battell euerie houre. From  
thence he came nere to Cozbier, where he was staied  
that night, for that the common people and peizants  
mightilie there assembled, having gotten them some  
bead and bartening by means of their number that  
was great, and by trust of a strength (then tolued vi-  
to them) made of men at armes (manie to fall and  
well appointed for fight) all of the garrison of Coz-  
bier: a strong towne well walled and warded. Here-  
upon at a streit (which they had preoccupied) they  
scoutle from our armie not onelie kept the passage,  
but also upon vs gaue a proud onset: wherein sir  
Hugh Stafford knight lord Boroughchier, chiefeine  
of a wing to the king vnder his standard of Guien,  
and as then next to the entrie, though far inferiour  
in number, yet with readie and valiant encounter  
recued them. The force and slaughter grew great  
both on the one side and the other, by the French in &

speciall at first sight fiercelie pursued, in so much as  
with an hardie charge upon our men, they had both  
beat downe the standard, and also from vs quite  
worke it awaite, to their hie incouragement, and our  
incredible despise and dismaie. Whereat one John  
Bromley of Bromley in Staffordshire esquier, a  
nere kinsman unto the lord Boroughchier, was euery  
streight so pearced at hart, as he could not contene  
him, but by and by ran eagerlie upon the French, and  
with his souldiers (in whom wrath and teene had al-  
readie inflamed fire and desire of reuenge) did so  
fiercelie set upon them, that they were not onlie be-  
aten backe, but also forced to abandon the place. At  
this push the capteine cutting through the thickest,  
strake downe the champion that bare the standard,  
and so glorioullie recovered it againe, and after du-  
ring the fight (where as manie of the French lost  
their lines) couragionlie ouer his souldiers auanted  
it himselfe. The rest that fled awaite our people pur-  
sued in chasing & slaughter unto Cozbier vertie gates.  
So in victorie, honor, and great ioy, with our small  
losse (in comparison) thanks vnto Gods maiestie, the  
cheefeine brought his host into his campe and order  
againe. The singular prowes of this worthy capteine  
the noble man highlie regarding, in an ample testi-  
monie thereof and vpon his owne honorablie confi-  
deration, by a faire ancient deed yet extant at these  
daies did giue him reward of fortie pounds annuittie  
for his life. The monument so plainelie declaring  
the truth of the matter, with the maner and dignitie  
of the feat, as it was done, hath bene thought vertie  
meet for the storie in hand here now to place it as fol-  
loweth.

## A copie of the said deed.

 Oc presens scriptum testatur, quod nos  
Hugo de Stafford dominus le Bourgh-  
chier concessimus & per presentes con-  
firmauimus predicto consanguineo  
nostro Iohanni Bromley de Bromley armigero,  
pro suo magno auxilio nobis impenso in oppugnan-  
tione contra Francos prope le Corbie; & prae-  
cipue pro suo laudabili seruitio in recuperatione &  
supportatione vexilli domini regis de Guien sub  
nostra conductione, unam annuitatem sine annua-  
lem redditum quadraginta librarum legalis mone-  
tae annuatim percipiendum, durante tota vita na-  
turali predicti Iohannis de Bromley, de & in om-  
nibus manerijs, terris, & tenementis nostris cum  
pertinentiis in comitatu Stafford & Warwik, ad  
festa Penthecostes & sancti Martini in hyeme  
aquis portionibus. Et si contingat predictam an-  
nuitatem sine annualet redditum quadraginta li-  
brarum, a retro fore in parte vel in toto, ad aliquod  
festum quo solui debeat, tunc bene licebit prae-  
dicto Iohanni & assignatis suis in predictis manerijs,  
ac in omnibus alijs terris & tenementis cum suis  
pertinentiis praescriptis, distringere & distri-  
ctiones effugare & retinere, quousque de predicta  
annuitate simul cum arrearagys si qua fuerint, ple-  
narie sibi fuerit satisfactum & persolutum. Et ut  
haec nostra concessio, & scripti huius confirmatio  
(durante tota vita predicti Iohannis de Bromley  
ut praefertur) rata & stabili permaneat, hoc scrip-  
tum impressione sigilli armorum meorum roborau-  
i. Hys testibus, Iohanne de Holland, Richardo  
le Grenyll, Richardo de Hornwood, Thoma le Fo-  
resstar, & alijs. Datum apud Madeley decimo die  
mensis Martij, anno regni regis Henrici quinti  
post conquestum quarto.

John Brom-  
ley.  
He came of a  
pounger bzo-  
ther in the li-  
nage of the  
right honora-  
ble the lord  
chancellor that  
now is 1585.

The kings  
standard was  
couered.

1585

**H. Henries  
answer to the  
Defiance.**

When he had thus answered the herald, he gaue him a princelie reward, and licence to depart. Upon whose returne, with this answer, it was incontinencie on the French side proclaimed, that all men of warre should resort to the consable to fight with the king of Engl. and Whereupon, all men apt for armoz. and desirous of honour, drey them toward the field. The Dolphin soze desired to haue beene at the bat tell, but he was prohibited by his father: likewise Phillip earle of Charolois would gladly haue beene there.

They were lodged euē in the towne by the which  
the Englishmen must needs passe towards Calis,  
and all that night after their coming thither, made  
great cheare and were verie merie, pleasant, and full  
of game. The Englishmen also for their parts were  
of good comfort, and nothing abashed of the matter,  
and yett they were both hungrie, wearie, soze trauel-  
led, and vbered with manie cold diseases. Wolbeitt re-  
conciling themselves with God by houlel and swift,  
requiring allidance at his hands that is the oneli  
giuer of victoize, they determined rather to die,  
than to yeld, or flee. The daie following was the sixe  
and twentieth of October in the yeare 1415, being  
then fridate, and the feast of Crispine and Crispin-  
an, a day faire and fortunate to the English, but  
most sorrowfull and vnluckie to the French,

The number  
of the French  
men three  
thousand.  
Enguerrand.

The order of the French arms.

The French wanted us to be English.

The order of the English arms and archers.

The forward of archers.

Whether the greatest force of the English was.

Mr. Fl. out of Arabian pag. 9 and Polychron.

om. 14. 15.

An. Reg. 3.

The number of the French army.

In the morning, the French capteins made thre battels, in the forward were eight thousand healmes of knights and equiers, foure thousand archers, and fiftene hundred crossbowes which were guided by the lord de la Bzeth, constable of France, hauing with him the dukes of Oyleance and Bourbon, the earles of Clewe and Richmond, the marshall Boucquault, and the maister of the crossbowes, the lord Dampier admerall of France, and other capteins. The earle of Glendoune with fiftene hundred men of armes were ordered for a wing to that battell. And the other wing was guided by sir Guichard Dolphin, sir Clugnet of Babant, and sir Lewes Bourdon, with eight hundred men of armes, of elect cholen persons. And to breake the shot of the Englishmen, were appointed sir Guiliam de Saueuses, with Hector and Philip his brethren, Ferrie de Maille, and Alen de Calpanes, with other eight hundred of armes.

In the middle ward, were assigned as manie persons, or more, as were in the formost battell, and the charge thereof was committed to the dukes of Wat and Alanson, the earles of Beuers, Wandemont, Blamont, Salinges, Grant Pie, & of Kussie. And in the reerward were all the other men of armes guided by the earles of Parle, Dampmartine, Fauconberg, and the lord of Lourreie capteine of Arde, who had with him the men of the frontiers of Bolo-

The French hands for to be English.

nois. Thus the Frenchmen being ordered under their standards and banners, made a great shew: for furtie they were esteemed in number sir times as manie or more, than was the whole compante of the Englishmen, with wagoners, pages and all. They rested themselves, waiting for the bloudie blast of the terrible trumpet, till the houre betwene nine and ten of the clocke of the same daie, during which season, the constable made vnto the capteins and other men of warre a pithie oration, exhorting and incouraging them to do ballantlie, with manie comfortable words and sensible reasons. King Henrie also like a leader, and not as one led; like a soueraigne, and not an inferior, perceiving a plot of ground verie strong & meet for his purpose, which on the backe halfe was fenced with the village, wherein he had lodged the night before, and on both sides defended with hedges and bushes, thought good there to imbattel his host: and so ordered his men in the same place, as he saw occasion, and as stood for his most aduantage.

The number of the English army and archers.

First, he sent priuie two hundred archers into a lone medow, which was nere to the hauntgard of his enemies; but separated with a great ditch, commanding them there to keepe themselves close till they had a token to them giuen, to let drue at their aduerfaries: beside this, he appointed a forward, of the which he made capteine Edward duke of York, who of an haultie courage had desired that office, and with him were the lords Beaumont, Willoughbie, and Franhope, and this battell was all of archers. The middle ward was gouerned by the king himselfe, with his brother the duke of Gloucester, and the earles of Marhall, Drenford, and Suffolke, in the which were all the strong bilmen. The duke of Gloucester uncle to the king led the reerward, which was mixed both with bilmen and archers. The hostlemen like wisps went on euerie side of the battell.

The number of the English army.

Thus the king hauing ordered his battels, feared not the puissance of his enemies, but yet to prouoe that they should not with the multitude of hostlemen breake the order of his archers, in whome the force of his armie consisted. For in those daies the peomen had their limbs at libertie, with their hosen were then fastened with one point, and their iackes long and easie to shot in; so that they might draw bowes

of great strength, and shot arrowes of a yard long; beside the head he caused stakes bound with iron sharpe at both ends, of the length of fise or six foot to be pitched before the archers, and of ech side the footmen like an hedge, to the intent that if the harded hostes ran rashlie vpon them, they might shortly be gozed and destroyed. Certaine persons also were appointed to remoue the stakes, as by the moueing of the archers occasion and time should require, so that the footmen were hedged about with stakes, and the hostlemen stood like a bulwarke betwene them and their enemies, without the stakes. This device of fortifying an armie, was at this time first inuented: but since that time they haue deuised caltraps, harrowes, and other new engins against the force of hostlemen; so that if the enemies run haultie vpon the same, either are their hostes wounded with the stakes, or their feet hurt with the other engins, so as thereby the beasts are gozed, or else made vnable to mainteine their course.

A politike inuention.

King Henrie, by reason of his small number of people to fill vp his battels, placed his hauntgard so on the right hand of the maine battell, which himselfe led, that the distance betwixt them might scarce be perceiued, and so in like case was the reerward intened on the left hand, that the one might the more readily succour an other in time of need. When he had thus ordered his battels, he left a small compante to keepe his campe and cariage, which remained still in the village, and then calling his capteins and folowers about him, he made to them a right graue oration, mouing them to plaie the men, whereby to obtaine a glorious victorie, as there was hope certefie they should, the rather if they would but remember the iust cause for which they fought, and whome they should encounter, such saint-hearted people as their ancestors had so often overcome. To conclude, manie words of courage he vttered, to stirre them to do manfullie, assuring them that England should neuer be charged with his ransome, nor anie Frenchman triumph ouer him as a captiue; for either by famous death or glorious victorie would he (by Gods grace) win honour and fame.

King Henries oration to his men.

It is said, that as he heard one of the host utter his wish to another thus: I would to God there were with vs now so manie god soldiers as are at this houre within England! the king answered: I would not wish a man more here than I haue, we are intened in comparison to the enemies but a few, but if God of his clemencie doe fauour vs, and our iust cause (as I trust he will) we shall speed well through. But let no man ascribe victorie to our owne strength and might, but onelie to Gods assistance, to whome I haue no doubt we shall worthilie haue cause to giue thanks therefore. And if so be that for our offences takes we shall be deliuered into the hands of our enemies, the lesse number we be, the lesse damage shall the realme of England susteine: but if we should fight in trust of multitude of men, and so get the victorie (our minds being prone to pride) we should thereby perauenture ascribe the victorie not so much to the gift of God, as to our owne puissance, and thereby prouoke his high indignation and displeasure against vs: and if the enemy get the vpper hand, then should our realme and countrie suffer more damage and stand in further danger. But be you of good comfort, and shew your selues valiant, God and our iust quarrell shall defend vs, and deliuer these our proud aduersaries with all the multitude of them which you see (or at the least the most of them) into our hands. Whilist the king was yet thus in speech, either armie so maligne the other, being as then in open sight, that euerie man cried, Forward, forward. The dukes of Clarence, Gloucester, and York, were of the

King Henrie rideeth forth to take view of the French armie.

The number of the French army three thousand.

The battell of the English army.



the same opinion, yet the king staid a while, least anie ieopardie were not foresene, or anie hazard not prevented. The Frenchmen in the meane while, as though they had bene sure of victorie, made great triumph, for the capitaine had determined before, how to diuide the spoile, and the soldiers the night before had plaid the Englishmen at dice. The noble men had denised a chariot, wherein they might triumphantly conueie the king captive to the citie of Paris, crying to their soldiers; Haste you to the spoile, glorie and honoz; little twening (God wot) how some their bzags should be blowne awaie.

Hall.

Here we may not forget how the French thus in their iollitie, sent an herald to king Henrie, to inquire what ranfome he would offer. Wherevnto he answered, that within two or thre houres he hoped it would so happen, that the Frenchmen should be glad to common rather with the Englishmen for their ranfoms, than the English to take thought for their deliuerance, promising for his owne part, that his dead carcashe should rather be a prize to the Frenchmen, than that his living bodie should paie anie ranfome. When the messenger was come backe to the French host, the men of warre put on their helmes, and caused their trumpets to blow to the battell. They thought themselues so sure of victorie, that diuerse of the noble men made such hast towards the battell, that they left manie of their seruants and men of warre behind them, and some of them would not once stae for their standards: as amongst other the duke of Bzabant, when his standard was not come, caused a baner to be taken from a trumpet and fastened to a speare, the which he commanded to be borne before him in stead of his standard.

But when both these armies comming within danger either of other, set in full order of battell on both sides, they stood still at the first, beholding either others demeanoz, being not distant in sunder past thre bowshots. And when they had on both parts thus staid a good while without doing anie thing, (except that certeine of the French hoisemen advancing forwards, betwixt both the hosts, were by the English archers constrained to returne backe) aduise was taken amongst the Englishmen, what was best for them to do. Wherevpon all things considered, it was determined, that fith the Frenchmen would not come forward, the king with his armie imbatelled (as ye haue hard) should march towards them, and so leauing their trulle and baggage in the village where they lodged the night before, onlie with their weapons, armour, and stakes prepared for the purpose, as ye haue heard.

The English gaue the onset.

The two armies toine battell.

These made somewhat forward, before whome there went an old knight sir Thomas Erpingham (a man of great experience in the warre) with a warder in his hand; and when he cast by his warder, all the armie shouted, but that was a signe to the archers in the medow, which therewith shot wholie altogether at the hauward of the Frenchmen, who when they perceived the archers in the medow, and saw they could not come at them for a ditch that was betwixt them, with all hast set vpon the foze ward of king Henrie, but yet they could ioine, the archers in the forefront, and the archers on that side which stood in the medow, so wounded the footmen, galled the hoises, and combed the men of armes, that the footmen durst not go forward, the hoisemen ran together vpon plumps without order, some ouerthrew such as were next them, and the hoises ouerthrew their masters, and so at the first iointing, the Frenchmen were foule discomforted, and the Englishmen highly encouraged.

When the French hauward was thus brought to confusion, the English archers cast awaie their

bowes, & toke into their hands, ares, malls, swordes, bills, and other hand-weapons, and with the same due the Frenchmen, until they came to the middle ward. Then approached the king, and so encouraged his people, that hostlie the second battell of the Frenchmen was ouerthrowne, and dispersed, not without great slaughter of men: howbeit, diuerse were released by their varlets, and conueied out of the field. The Englishmen were so busied in fighting, and taking of the prisoners at hand, that they followed not in chase of their enemies, nor would once breake out of their arraie of battell. Yet sundrie of the Frenchmen stronglie withstood the fiercenesse of the English, when they came to handle strokes, so that the fight sometime was doubtfull and perillous. Yet as part of the French hoisemen set their course to haue entered vpon the kings battell, with the stakes ouerthrowne, they were either taken or slaine. Thus this battell continued thre long houres.

The king that daie shewed himselfe a valiant knight, albeit almost felled by the duke of Alancon; yet with plaine strength he due two of the dukes companie, and felled the duke himselfe; whome when he would haue yeldeb, the kings gard (contrarie to his mind) due out of hand. In conclusion, the king minding to make an end of that daies toznie, caused his hoisemen to fetch a compasse about, and to ioine with him against the rereward of the Frenchmen, in the which was the greatest number of people. When the Frenchmen perceived his intent, they were suddenlie amazed and ran awaie like shepe, without order or arraie. Which when the king perceived, he encouraged his men, and followed so quicklye vpon the enemies, that they ran hither and thither, casting awaie their armour: manie on their knees desired to haue their liues saued.

In the meane season, while the battell thus continued, and that the Englishmen had taken a great number of prisoners, certeine Frenchmen on horsebacke, whereof were capitaine Robinet of Bozeuill, Riffart of Clamas, Flamert of Agincourt, and other men of armes, to the number of six hundred hoisemen, which were the first that fled, hearing that the English tents & panilions were a good waie distant from the armie, without anie sufficient gard to defend the same, either vpon a conetous meaning to gaine by the spoile, or vpon a desire to be reuenged, entered vpon the kings campe, and there spoiled the hails, robbed the tents, brake by chests, and carried awaie caskets, and due such seruants as they found to make anie resistance. For which treason and harkardie in thus leauing their campe at the verie point of fight, for winning of spoile where none to be, send it, verie manie were after committed to prison, and had lost their liues, if the Dolphin had longer liued.

But when the outcrie of the lackies and boies, which ran awaie for feare of the Frenchmen thus spoiling the campe, came to the kings eares, he doubting least his enemies should gather together againe, and begin a new field; and mistrusting further that the prisoners would be an aid to his enemies, or the verie enemies to their takers in deed if they were suffered to liue, contrarie to his accustomed gentleness, commanded by sound of trumpet, that euerie man (vpon paine of death) should incontinentlie slae his prisoner. When this dolorous decrea, and pitifull proclamation was pronounced, pittie it was to see how some Frenchmen were suddenlie stiked with daggers, some were bained with pollaxes, some slaine with malls, other had their throats cut, and some their bellies panned, so that in effect, hauing respect to the great number, few prisoners were saued.

When this lamentable slaughter was ended, the Englishmen

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An. Reg. 3.

A French onser.

A French onser.

A French onser.

A French onser.

Titus Livius.

The battell of Agincourt.

The battell of Agincourt.

The battell of Agincourt.

The battell of Agincourt.

Englishmen disposed themselves in order of battell, ready to abide a new field, and also to invade, and newlie set on their enemies, with great force they assailed the earles of Harle and Fauconbridge, and the lords of Loraie, and of Thine, with six hundred men of armes, who had all that daie kept together, but now slaine and beaten downe out of hand. ¶ Some write, that the king perceiving his enemies in one part to assemble together, as though they meant to give a new battell for preservation of the prisoners, sent to them an herald, commanding them either to depart out of his sight, or else to come forward at once, and give battell: promising herewith, that if they did offer to fight againe, not onelie those prisoners which his people already had taken; but also so manie of them as in this new conflict, which they thus attempted should fall into his hands, should die the death without redemption.

The Frenchmen fearing the sentence of so terrible a decree, without further delaye parted out of the field. And so about foure of the clocke in the after none, the king when he saw no apperance of enemies, caused the retreat to be blown; and gathering his armie together, gave thanks to almightie God for so happie a victorie, causing his prelates and chaplains to sing this psalme: *In exitu Israel de Aegypto*, and commanded everie man to kneele downe on the ground at this verse: *Non nobis Domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo da gloriam*. Which done, he caused *Te Deum*, with certaine anthems to be sung, giving laud and praise to God, without boasting of his owne force or antic humane power. That night he and his people toke rest, and refreshed themselves with such victuals as they found in the French campe, but lodged in the same village where he late the night before.

In the morning, Montjoye king at armes and foure other French heralds came to the king, to know the number of prisoners, and to desire buriall for the dead. Before he made them answer (to understand what they would saie) he demanded of them whie they made to him that request, considering that he knew not whether the victorie was his or theirs. When Montjoye by true and iust confession had cleared that doubt to the high praise of the king, he desired of Montjoye to understand the name of the castell nere adjoining: when they had told him that it was called Agincourt, he said, Then shall this conflict be called the battell of Agincourt. He feasted the French officers of armes that daie, and granted them their request, which busilie sought through the field for such as were slaine. But the Englishmen suffered them not to go alone, for they searched with them, and found manie hurt, but not in jeopardy of their lives, whom they toke prisoners, and brought them to their tents. When the king of England had well refreshed himselfe, and his souldiers, that had taken the spoile of such as were slaine, he with his prisoners in good order returned to his towne of Calis.

When tidings of this great victorie, was blowne into England, solemne processions and other praises to almightie God with bounce-fires and tofull triumphes, were ordeined in everie towne, citie, and burrow, and the maiors and citizens of London went from the church of saint Simon and Jude to the church of saint Paule to the church of saint Peter at Westminster in devout maner, rendering to God hartie thanks for such fortunate lucke sent to the king and his armie. The same sundaie that the king removed from the campe at Agincourt towards Calis, diverse Frenchmen came to the field to view againe the dead bodies; and the peasants of the countie spoiled the carcasses of all such apparell and other things as the Englishmen had left: who toke nothing but gold and silver, jewels, rich apparell

and coslie armour. But the plowmen and peasants left nothing behind, neither shirt nor clout: so that the bodies laye stark naked untill twednesdaye. On the which daie diverse of the noble men were conveyed into their countries, and the remnant were by Philip earle Charolois (for lamenting the chance, and moved with pitie) at his costs & charges buried in a square plot of ground of sixtine hundred yards; in the which he caused to be made three pits, wherein were buried by account five thousand and eight hundred persons, beside them that were carried away by their friends and servants, and others, which being wounded died in hospitals and other places.

After this their dolorous idurne & pittifull slaughter, diverse clearks of Paris made manie a lamentable verse, complaining that the king reigned by will, and that counsellors were parciall, affirming that the noble men died against nature, and that the commons were destroyed by their prodigallitie, declaring also that the cleargie were dumbe, and durst not saie the truth, and that the humble commons durst not obeyed, & yet ever suffered punishment, for which cause by divine persecution the lesse number vanquished the greater: wherefore they concluded, that all things went out of order, and yet was there no man that studied to bring the unrulie to frame. It was no marvell though this battell was lamentable to the French nation, for in it were taken and slaine the flower of all the nobilitie of France.

There were taken prisoners, Charles duke of Orleans nephew to the French king, John duke of Bourbon, the lord Bouciquault one of the marshalls of France (he after died in England) with a number of other lords, knights, and esquires, at the least sixtine hundred, besides the common people. There were slaine in all of the French part to the number of ten thousand men, whereof were princes and noble men bearing banners one hundred twentie and six; to these, of knights, esquires, and gentlemen, so manie as made up the number of eight thousand and foure hundred (of the which five hundred were dubbed knights the night before the battell) so as of the meaner sort, not past sixtine hundred. Amongst those of the nobilitie that were slaine, these were the chiefe, Charles lord de la Brosse high constable of France, Jaques of Chatillon lord of Damptier admerall of France, the lord Rambures master of the crossbowes, sir Guiscard Dolphin great master of France, John duke of Alanson, Anthonie duke of Brabant brother to the duke of Burgonie, Edward duke of Bar, the earle of Heuers an other brother to the duke of Burgonie, with the earles of Harle, Clarendon, Beaumont, Grandpre, Rouille, Fauconberge, Jois and Alostake, beside a great number of lords and barons of name.

Of Englishmen, there died at this battell, Edward duke of Yorke, the earle of Suffolke, sir Richard Biskelie, and Davie Gamme esquier, and of all other not about five and twentie persons, as some do report; but other writers of greater credit affirme, that there were slaine above five or six hundred persons, Titus Livius saith, that there were slaine of Englishmen, beside the duke of Yorke, and the earle of Suffolke, an hundred persons at the first encounter. The duke of Glocester the kings brother was sore wounded about the hips, and borne downe to the ground, so that he fell backwards, with his feet towards his enemies, whom the king descried, and like a brother valiantlie rescued from his enemies, & so saving his life, caused him to be conveyed out of the fight, into a place of more safetie. ¶ The which order of this conflict which cost manie a mans life, and procured great bloodshed before it was ended, is liuelie described in *Anglorum praefatio*; where also, besides the manner of disposing

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that held five  
thousand and  
eight hundred  
copies.

Noble men  
prisoners.

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Englishmen  
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Rich. Grafton  
Titus Livius.

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Anglorum praefatio  
sub Henr. 5.

spoiling the armies, with the exploits on both sides, the number also of the slaine, not much differing (though somewhat) from the account here named, is there touched, which remembrance verte fit for this place, it were an error (I thinke) to omit; and therefore here inserted (with the shortest) as followeth.

*equitatus ordine primo,  
Magnanimi satrapæ, post hoc cecidere secundo  
Naharra comes, & tunc archiepiscopus (o Sans)  
Præterea comites octo periere cruentis  
Pulueribus, tria appellant quos voce barones  
Plus centum, clari generis plus mille cadebant  
Sexcenti, notig, decem plus millia vulgi  
Ex Francorum, ter centum perdidit Anglum:  
Et penes Henricum belli victoria mansit.*

Hall.

After that the king of England had refreshed himselfe, and his people at Calis, and that such prisoners as he had left at Harflue (as ye haue heard) were come to Calis unto him, the first date of Nouember, he with all his prisoners toke shipping, and the same date landed at Douer, hauing with him the dead bodies of the duke of Porke, and the earle of Suffolke, and caused the duke to be buried at his colledge of Fobringhep, and the earle at new Elme. In this passage, the seas were so rough and troublous, that two ships belonging to sir John Cornetwall, lord Fanhope, were driuen into Zeland; howbeit, nothing was lost, nor any person perisht. The maior of London, and the aldermen, apparelled in orient grained scarlet, and foure hundred commoners clad in beautiful murrie, well mounted, and trimlie hoesed, with rich collars, & great chaines, met the king on Blackheath, reioicing at his returne: and the clergie of London, with rich crosses, sumptuous copes, and massie censers, receiued him at saint Thomas of Waterings with solempne procession.

Titus Livius.

The great modestie of the king.

The king like a graue and sober personage, and as one remembering from whom all victories are lent, seemed little to regard such baue poms and shewes as were in triumphant sort deuised for his welcoming home from so prosperous a iournie, in so much that he would not suffer his helmet to be caried with him, whereby might haue appeared to the people the blowes and dints that were to be seene in the same; neither would he suffer any ditties to be made and song by minstrels of his glorious victorie, for that he would wholie haue the praise and thanks altogether giuen to God. The newes of this bloodie battell being reported to the French king as then sojourning at Rone, filled the court full of sorrow. But to remedie such danger as was like to insue, it was decreed by councell, to ordeine new officers in places of them that were slaine: and first, he elected his chiefe officer for the wars, called the constable, the earle of Arminacke, a wise and politike capitaine, and an ancient enimie to the Englishmen. Sir John de Cozie was made maister of the crossbowes. Shortly after, either for melancholie that he had for the losse at Agincourt, or by some sudden disease letwes Dolphim of Viennois, heire apparant to the French king, departed this life without issue, which happened well for Robinet of Bourneuil, and his sekowes, as ye haue heard before, for his death was their life, & his life would haue bene their death.

The death of the Dolphim of France. Part of those that spoiled the English campe.

I 4 I 6

After the French king had created new officers, in hope to relieue the state of his realme and countrie, soe shaken by the late great ouerthrow, it chanced, that Thomas duke of Excester capitaine of Harflue, accompanied with three thousand Englishmen, made a great rode into Normandie, almost to the citie of Rone, in which iournie he got great abundance both of riches and prisoners: but in his returne, the earle of Arminacke newlie made constable of France, intending in his first enterprisse to win the

spurs, hauing with him aboute five thousand horsemen, incountred with the duke. The fight was handled on both parts verie hotlie, but because the Englishmen were not able to resist the force of the Frenchmen, the duke was constrained to retire with losse at the least of three hundred of his footmen.

Howbeit being withdrawen into an orchard, which was strongly fenced and hedged about with thornes, the Frenchmen were not able to enter vpon the Englishmen; but yet they toke from them all their horses and spoile, & assaulted them till it was night, and then retired backe to the towne, not far distant from the place where they fought, called Wallenmont: this was vpon the 14 day of March. In the morning vpon the breake of the daie, the Englishmen issued forth of the orchard, where they had kept themselves all the night, & drew towards Harflue, whereof the Frenchmen being aduertised, followed them, & ouertooke them vpon the sands nere to Chiese de Caur, & there set on them: but in the end, the Frenchmen were discomfited, and a great number of them slaine by the Englishmen, which afterwards returned without more adu into Harflue. The French writers blame the constable for this losse, because he kept on the high ground with a number of men of war, and would not come downe to aid his fellows.

In this fourth yeare of king Henries reigne, the emperor Sigismund, cosine germane to king Henrie, came into England, to the intent that he might make an attonement betwene king Henrie and the French king: with whom he had bene before, bringing with him the archbishop of Remes, as ambassadour for the French king. At Calis he was honorably receiued by the earle of Warwicke lord deputy there, and diuerse other lords sent thither for purpose to attend him. Whereupon, the king sent thither thirtie great ships to bring him and his traine over. At Douer the duke of Gloucester, and diuerse other lords were ready to receiue him, who at his approaching to land, entered the water with their swords in their hands drawen; and by the mouth of the said duke declared to him, that if he intended to enter the land as the kings friend, and as a mediator to intreat for peace, he should be suffered to arrive: but if he would enter as an emperor into a land claimed to be vnder his empire, then were they ready to resist him. This was thought necessarie to be done for sauing of the kings prerogative, who hath full prebeminence within his owne realme, as an absolute emperor.

When the emperor hereby answered that he was come as the kings friend, and as a mediator for peace, and not with any imperiall authoritie, he was of the duke and other his associates receiued with all such honors as might be deuised. The king with all his nobilitie receiued him on Blackheath, the seventh day of Aprill, and brought him through London to Westminster with great triumph. Shortly after there came also into England Albert duke of Holland, who was likewise friendly intertained. Both these princes, the emperor and the duke of Holland were conueied to Windsoze to saint Georges feast, and elected companions of the noble order of the garter, and had the collar and habit of the same to them deliuered, and sat in their thalls all the solemnitie of the feast. Shortly after that the feast was finished, the duke of Holland returned into his countrie; but the emperor tarried still, and assayed all maner of meanes to persuaade the king to a peace with the Frenchmen.

But their euill hap, as they that were appointed by Gods prouidence to suffer more damage at the Englishmens hands, would not permit his persuasions to take place: for whereas peace was euen almost entring in at the gates, the king was suddenly stricken

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red to displeasure upon a new occasion, for he being  
advertisid of the losse of his men at the late conflict  
in the territore of Acone, as ye have heard, refused to  
beare this word peace once named. The emperor  
his wife prince passed over that time till another  
season, that some favourable aspect of the planets  
should seme to further his purpose. And when he  
thought the same was come, he landed againe the  
best of concorde and amitie, which he put in so faire  
a way, and presented it with such effectious words  
that shortly the king had tasted it, if longer had not  
been brought about the same time, that Henrie was  
beseged of the french both by water and land, as it  
was in dede for the constable of france incouraged  
by his last conflict (though the same was not much  
to his paine) assembled an armie, and upon a sudden  
laid siege to the towne. At the same instant John vi-  
count of Harbort the vice-admirall of france,  
brought the whole nauie to the riuer, and there ad-  
joining to the towne, in purpose to haue entered by  
the water side; but the duke of Excester defeated his  
intent, and defended the towne verie manfully.  
Henrie advertised hereof, meant at the first  
to haue gone with his nauie in person to the succours  
of his men; but the emperor dissuaded him from that  
purpose, advising him rather to send some one of his  
captains. The king following his loving and reaso-  
nable advertisement, appointed his brother the duke  
of Bedford accompanied with the earles of March,  
Warshall, Driford, Huntingdon, Warwicke, Arun-  
dell, Salisbury, Denbigh, and diuers barons,  
with two hundred saile to passe into Normandie, for  
rescue of the towne of Harfleur, which being great di-  
ligence shipped at Aie, and after some hinderance by  
contrarie winds, at length came to the mouth of the  
riuer of Seine on the daie of the Assumption of our  
ladie. When the vicount of Harbort perceiued the  
English nauie to approach, he courageously set for-  
ward, and gat the possession of the mouth of the ha-  
uen. The duke of Bedford seeing his enemies thus  
fierce to come forward, set before certaine strong  
ships, which at the first encounter vanquished and  
tooke two french ships, the captains whereof were to  
rally and forward.  
The duke followed with all his puissance, and set  
on his enemies. The fight was long, but not so long  
as perilous, nor so perilous as terrible (for battels  
on the sea are desperate) till at length the victorie fell  
to the Englishmen, so that almost all the whole nauie  
of france, in the which were manie ships, hulkes,  
carikes, and other small vessels to the number of fife  
was taken. Amongst other vessels that were  
taken, the great carikes of Genoa, a citie in Italie,  
were sent into England. In the same conflict were  
aine of the frenchmen no small number, as appea-  
red by the dead bodies, which were seene euerie daie  
swimming about the English ships. After this, the  
duke of Bedford sailed up to Harfleur, & refreshed the  
towne both with vittels and monie, notwithstanding  
certaine other french gallies did what they could  
to haue setted that enterprise. When the erle of Armi-  
nacke heard that the puissant name of france was  
vanquished, he raised his siege & returned to Paris.  
After this discomfiture, and losse, the puissance of  
the frenchmen began to decaie, for now the princes  
and nobles of the realme fell into diuision and dis-  
cord among themselves, studying how to reuenge  
their old priuat injuries, & refused to take paine for  
succour of the publike weale and safegard of their  
countrie: whereupon their power began to war-  
render, their state brought into imminent danger of  
perpetuall bondage, which thing no doubt had fallen  
upon them if king Henrie had longer liued. For as  
upon one inconueniency suffered, manie do follow,

so was it in france at that time: for the king was  
not of sound memorie, the warre that was to ward  
both doubtfull and perillous: the princes distrustful  
and at discord: with a hundred things more (which  
might bring a realme to ruine) out of frame and or-  
der in france in those daies. After that, the duke of  
Bedford was returned backe againe into England  
with great triumph and glorie, he was not so much  
thanked of the king his brother, as praised of the em-  
perour Sigismund, being to him a stranger, which  
said openlie, that happie are those subjects which haue  
such a king, but more happie is the king that hath such  
subjects.  
When the emperor perceiued that it was in vaine  
to moue further for peace, he left off that treatie, and  
entered himselfe into a league with king Henrie,  
the contents of which league consisted chiefly in these  
articles, that both the said emperor, and king, their  
heires, and successors, should be friends each to other,  
as allies and confederats against all manner of per-  
sons, of what estate, or degre so euer they were (the  
church of Rome, and the pope for that time being ex-  
cepted) and that neither they, nor their heires,  
nor successors should be present in counsell or other  
place, where either of them, or his heires or successors  
might susteine damage, in lands, goods, honours,  
states, or persons; and that if any of them should un-  
derstand of losse or hinderance to be like to fall, or  
happen to the others, they should impeach the same, or  
if that late not in their powers, they should advertise  
the others thereof with all conuenient speed: and that  
either of them, and their heires and successors should  
aduance the others hono: and commoditie without  
fraud or deceit. Moreover, that neither of them, nor  
their heires and successors should permit their sub-  
jects to leaue warres against the others; and that if  
should be lawfull and free for any of their subjects, to  
passe into the others countrie, and there to remaine  
and make merchandize, either by sea or land, paying  
the customes, gabels, and duties due and accustomed,  
according to the lawes and ordinances of the places  
and countries where they chanced to traffike.  
Furthermore, that neither of the said princes, nor  
their heires nor successors should receiue any rebell,  
banished man, or traitor of the others wittingly,  
but should cause euerie such person to auoid out of  
their countries, realmes, dominions, and iurisdicti-  
ons. Again, that neither of the said princes, their  
heires, nor successors should begin any wars against  
any other person, other than such as they had warres  
with at that present, without consent of the other his  
confederate, except in defense of themselves, their  
countries and subjects, in case of inuasion made up-  
on them. Also, that it should be lawfull for the king  
of England, to prosecute his warres against the  
frenchmen for recouerie of his right, as should  
seme to him expedient; and likewise to the emperor,  
for recouerie of any part of his right in france, so  
that neither of them did preiudice the others right in  
that behalfe. Lastlie, that either of them should assist  
other, in recouerie & conquest of their rights, lands,  
and dominions, occupied, with holden, and kept from  
them, by him that called himselfe king of france,  
and other the princes and barons of france. This a-  
liance, with other conditions, agreements, and arti-  
cles, was concluded & established on the nineteenth  
daie of October, in the yeare of our Lord 1526. This  
done, the emperor returned homewards, to passe in-  
to Germanie; and the king partlie to shew him ho-  
nor, and partlie because of his owne affaires, associa-  
ted him to his towne of Calis.  
During the time of their abode there, the duke of  
Burgonie offered to come to Calis, to speake with  
the emperor and the king, because he had knowledge  
of

Charles the  
french king  
not of sound  
memorie.

Titus Liuius.  
The emperor  
entereth into  
league with  
king Henrie.

The contents  
of the league.

Titus Liuius.



Continuation  
de la chroni-  
cles de Flan-  
deis.

A truce be-  
tweene the K.  
and the duke  
of Burgog-  
nie,

Titus Livius.  
W. P.

The prerogative of the English nation in the general council,

Thom. Walf.

The king's  
oration.

of the league that was concluded betwixt the king, sent his brother the duke of Gloucester, and the earle of March to the water of Craneling, to receive the flaggs for the duke of Burgognie; and also the earle of Warwick, with a noble company of gentlemen about him to his presence. At Craneling the parties met, and after satisfaction done, the duke of Burgognie was conduited to Calis, where of the emperor and the king he was highly welcomed and feasted. There is to be noted, that Argeme law, the king of England sent the earle of Warwick, and other, unto the duke of Burgognie, as then remaining at Calis, where by the diligent trauell of those English ambassadours, a truce was concluded betwixt the king of England and the duke of Burgognie, touching only the counties of Flanders and Artois; to witte from the feast of saint John Baptiste in that present yeare 1476, unto the feast of saint Michael in the yeare next ensuing, which truce all the dukes being now at Calis (when no further agreement could be concluded) was prolonged into the feast of saint Michael, that should be in the yeare 1479: the duke of Gloucester was received at Craneling, by the earle of Charolois, and by him honorably conducted to saint Diers, and there lodged that night.

The next day, the earle Charolois came with his  
uerse noble men, to visite the duke of Gloucester in his  
lodging; and when he entered into the chamber, the  
dukes backe was to welcome him, talking with some  
one of his seruants, and did not see his welcome the  
earle at his first entrie; but after he said to him Spea-  
ke without any great reuerence, or comming to-  
wards him, You be welcome faire cousin, and so pas-  
sed forth his sale with his seruants. The earle Cha-  
rolois for all his youth, was not discontent there  
with, but yet suffered to that time. When the duke of  
Burgonie had done all his businesse at Calis, after  
the ninth daie he returned to Gaswel, where the  
duke of Gloucester and he met againe; and Louinglie  
departed, the one to Calis; and the other to saint O-  
uers; for the which visage the duke of Burgonie  
was suspected to be inimic to the crowne of France.  
After the dukes departing from Calis, the emperor  
was highlie feasted and rewarded; and at his plea-  
sure sailed into Holland, & so rode towards Beame.  
The king likewise took ship, and returned into Eng-  
land on saint Iulies euen.

About the same time, the king sent new ambassa-  
dors vnto the generall councill, which still continued  
at Constance, whether the emperor Sigismund also  
returned, theſe ſe for chaling abate of that peſtilent  
ſmoke of ſchiſme then blaſted vp betwene Iohn the  
thirde and twentieth, Gregorie the twelfth, and Benet  
the thirtieth (as they intituled themſelues) the three  
pernicious prelates; that all at once with ſuch eager ma-  
lice ſtroue together for the ſacred ſee of papacie Gods  
vicarage (that was) who to be higheſt here in earth.  
The infectious ſmoke of this venenous vapor by  
the ſpirit of theſe holic men thus raiſed by the ſongh-  
faction and parts taking, had bene ready to choke  
all chriſt endowd, had not by the wiſedome and autho-  
ritie of the princes there, the ſame the ſoner bene  
vented away. Now by the content alſo of all nations  
it was ordeined in this councill, that this realme  
ſhould haue the name of the Engliſh nation, and be  
called and reputed for one of the ſixe principall na-  
tions of the councill, which to grant before that time,  
though ſome other nations had utterly reſuſed.

The thirtenth of October, the parliament that had bene broken up, by reason of the emperours coming, began againe at Westminster, and there the king made to them a short and pithy oration; declaring the injuries lately done and committed by the French nation, the wrongs also the self and lawfull of

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The King kept his Court at Winchester, and the most noble and Christianlike Duke, these certain years past abroad, viz. great Duke of Burgundy, and almost all the time to him the Countess of Albion, Southampton, and Reading, containing Charles his forces against all enemies of the church, as it could not be knowne how far where those things came, and who was the author of them. The King here earnestly procured all things to be made ready for the warre, meaning to pass the next summer over into France, to recover his right by force; with by no other means he saw how to obtaine. In this meane while had the French King hired a great number of Germanes and Italians, with certaine richer and gamier wall apollishes, the which being lodged with the French army, was at the mouth of the river of Seine, and by which the same river, both to stop all passage by sea that should come to them within that time, and also to wast abroad, and do them damage they could unto the English, as declaration forth.

The king therefore per he passed ouer himselfe,  
lent the earle of Huntingdon to searcho and toob the  
feare. This latter earle, called John Holland, (which was  
the earle of Huntingdon) of the same name called oute of  
Exeter, beheaded at Wylder, in the time of King  
Henrie the fourth, and beheaded to the king) with a  
great haile of ships, scathed the sea, from whence he  
coast to the offier, and in conclusion encountered with  
nine of those great carriages of Genes, (the which the  
lord Admiral's ships halfe a daye) and when he returned  
to the French King) and for them tharlike. The  
conflict was great, and the fighting continuing the  
more part of a Summers daye, but in conclusion,  
the Frenchmen and Italians were ouercome, and the  
ships of the greatest carriages with their parkees, and  
monition, halfe of Wynton, then somewhat more  
taken, with his many manye weapons, and the  
soldier for the whole daye, half a pecke, and more  
of the Frenchmen, and the English, and the Frenchmen

The earle returning backe with this good lucke, founde the king at Hampton, who receiued him with great ioye, as he had not expected. Shortly after, on the thirde and twentieth of Iulie, the king tooke his thirp at 100. shillings, accompanied with the dukes of Clarence and Glouster, the earls of Huntingford, Northham, Westmore, Devonshire, Salisbury, Suffolke, and Suffmerfet, the lordes Rolle, Willoughbie, Fitz Hugh, Clinton, Scrope, Gaucelmers, Denchier, Marston, and Cobbe, and prelates of Charcher, Paulsbore, Beate of Eborace, Sir Gilbert Talbot, Sir Gilbert Talbot, and others yet; and in passing

The Duke of  
25 Bedford  
gent of Eng  
land. 1647

**Libels a-**  
gainst the  
clergy.

141

8. Anno Regis

### 4. TILTING

3 great  
plot by

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**Tir.Livni**

The number  
of the armie  
16400. of his  
owne pur-  
suaunce.

**Tr. Linn.**

The Norma  
fly to the swa  
led townes.

Tongue ca-  
 stell besieged  
 by y<sup>e</sup> English  
 & taken.

Ambernill  
Berscastell  
taken.

100



An. Reg. 5.

wind and weather to his desire, the first daie of August he landed in Normandie, nere to a castell called Touque, where he consulted with his capitaines, what waie was best for him to take concerning his high enterprise.

The number of the armie 14000, at this time present.

Tit. Livius.

This armie contained the number of sixteene thousand and foure hundred soldiers and men of warre of his owne purueiance, beside others. The duke of Clarence had in his retinue a hundred lances, and three hundred archers: and beside him, there were three earles, which had two hundred and forty lances, and seauentene hundred and twentie archers. The duke of Gloucester foure hundred and seauentie lances, and foureteene hundred and ten archers. The earles of March, Warthe, and Salisburie, each of them one hundred lances, and three hundred archers a peece. The earle of Huntingdon forty lances, and six score archers. The earle of Suffolke thirtie lances, and foure score and ten archers. Beside these, there were thirtene lords, as Aburgauennie, Gatreuours, Fitz Hugh, Clifford, Craic, Willoughbie, Calbot, Courtnie, Burghier, Ross, Louell, Ferrers of Chartleie, and Warrington, the which had in their retinue the number of five hundred and six lances, and fiftene hundred and fourescore archers. Also, there were in this armie threescore and seauentene knights, which had vnder them nine hundred and forty five lances, and two thousand eight hundred and fiftie two archers; so that in all, there were five and twentie thousand, five hundred, and eight and twentie fighting men: of which number euerie fourth man was a lance. Beside the soldiers and men of warre, there were a thousand masons, carpenters, and other labourers.

The Normans hearing of the kings arrivall, were suddenlye stricken with such feare, that they fled out of their houses, leaving the towne and villages, and both their wives and children, bag and baggage, got them into the walled towne, preparing there to defend themselves, & with all speed sent to the French king, requiring him to prouide for the defense and preservation of his loving subiects. Whereupon, the men of war were appointed to resort into the strong towne, to lie within the same in garrisons, to resist the power of the Englishmen, so that all the walled towne and castles in Normandie were furnished with men, munition, and vittells.

The king of England, when he had resolved with his counsell for his proceeding in his enterprises, laid siege vnto the castell of Touque. The duke of Gloucester that led the fore ward, had the charge of that siege, the which by force of assaults, and other warlike meanes, brought to that point, that they within yielded the place into his hands, the ninth daie of August. The earle of Salisbury, who led the battell, took the castell of Ambernilliers, the which was given to him by the king, and so this earle was the first that had anye territorie given him of the king in this new conquest. The king made at the winning of Touque eight and twentie knights, and left sir Robert Kirkellie capitaine there.

Undermining the castell taken.

After this, on deliberate aduise taken how to proceed; he let forward toward the towne of Caen in most warlike order, waisting the countrie on euerie side as he passed. Which towne standeth in a plaine fertile countrie, no stronger walled, than deepe ditched, and as then well vittelled and replenished with people: for the citizens fearing the kings coming, had there prouided all things necessarie and defensible. But his maiestie doubting least the Frenchmen, upon their vnderstanding of his approach to the towne, would haue burned the suburbs and buildings without the walles, sent the duke of Clarence with a thousand men before him, to prevent that mischefe.

The duke coming thither, found the suburbs alreadye set on fire, but used such diligence to quench the same, that the most part was saved. He also won the abbey church of saint Stephan, which the Frenchmen were in hand to haue overthrowne, by vndermining the pillars; but the duke obtaining the place, filled by the mines, and so preferred the church. He also won a cell of nunnies, verie stronglie fenced, after the manner of warre.

10

Then came the king before the towne, who caused forthwith to be cast a deepe trench, with an high mount, to keepe them within from issuing forth, and that done, began fiercelie to assault the towne: but they within stood manfullie to their defense, so that there was fore and cruell fight betwixt them, and their enimies. But when king Henrie perceived that he lost more than he won by his daile assaults, he left off anye more to assault it, and determined to ouerthrow the wals, with vndermining. Wherefore with all diligence, the pioners cast trenches, made mines, & brought timber; so that within a few daies, the wals stood onelie upon posts, readye to fall, when fire should be put to them. The king meaning now to giue a generall assault, caused all the capitaines to assemble before him in counsell, vnto whom he declared his purpose, commanding them not before the next daie to utter it; till by sound of trumpet they should haue warning to set forward towards the wals, least his determination being disclosed to the enimies, might cause them to prouide the better for their owne defense. He also prescribed vnto them, what order he would haue them to keepe, in giuing the assault, and that was this; that euerie capitaine diuiding his band into three severall portions, they might be readye one to succede in an others place, as those which fought should happilie be driuen backe and repelled.

Caen besieged

Tit. Livius.

The order of the assault.

40

In the morning next following, being the fourth of September, somewhat before the break of the daie, he caused his people to approach the wals, and to shew countenance, as though they would giue a generall assault; and whilst they were busied in assailing and defending on both sides, the Englishmen pearled and brake thorough the wals by diuerse holes and ouertures made by the pioners, vnder the foundation: yet the king vpon diuerse respects, offered them within pardon of life, if they would yield themselves and the towne to his mercie; but they refusing that to do, the assault was newlie begun, and after fore fight continued for the space of an houre, the Englishmen prevailed, and due so mane as they found with weapon in hand, readye to resist them.

50

The duke of Clarence was the first that entred with his people, and hauing got the one part of the towne, assailed them that kept the bridge, & by force beating them backe, passed the same, and so came to the wals on the other side of the towne, where the fight was sharpe and fierce betwixt the assailants and defendants; but the duke with his people setting on the Frenchmen behind, as they stood at defense on the wals, easilie vanquished them, so that the Englishmen entred at their pleasure. Thus when the king was possessed of the towne, he incontinentlie commanded all armour & weapons of the vanquished, to be brought into one place, which was immediatelye done.

Titus Livius.

Caen taken by the Englishmen.

60

Then the miserable people came before the kings presence, and kneeling on their knees, held vp their hands, and cried; Mercie, mercie: to whom the king gaue certaine comfortable words, & bad them stand vp. All the night following, he caused his armie to keepe themselves in order of battell within the towne, and on the next morning called all the magistrats & gouernors of the towne to the senat house,

h h g.

where

Division of  
spoile.

The capteine  
of the castell  
held out.

Titus Lilius.  
Caen castell  
yielded.

Titus Lilius.  
The Scots  
invade the  
English border.

Titus Lilius.  
A great armie  
to resist the  
Scots.

Thom. Walsin.

The Scots  
recoile home.

Plautus.

Sir John  
Dilcastell.  
The servants  
of S. Albons  
go about to  
catch the lord  
Cobham.

where some for their willfull stubbornesse were ad-  
judged to die, other were soze fined and ransomed.  
Then he calling together his souldiers and men of  
warre, not onelie gaue them great praises and high  
commendations for their manlie doings, but also di-  
stributed to euerie man, according to his desert, the  
spoile and gaine gotten in the towne, chiefe because  
at the assault they had shewed good proofe of their  
manhood and ballant courages.

After that the towne was thus wone, the lord  
Montaigne, capteine of the castell, would not yeld,  
but made semblance, as though he meant to defend  
the place, to the vtterance: but after that he was  
sharpe called vpon by king Henrie, either to yeld  
it, or else that he should be assured to haue all mercie  
and fauour sequestred from him, he toke better ad-  
uise, and therevpon being in despair of rescue, made  
this composition, that if he were not rescued of the  
French power by a certeine daie, he should render  
the fortreffe into the kings hands, with condition,  
that he and his souldiers should be suffered to depart  
with all their goods, the habiliments of warre onelie  
excepted. Herevpon twelue hostages were deliuered  
to the king, and when the daie came, being the thir-  
tenth of September, they within rendred the castell in-  
to the kings hands; and thus, both the towne and ca-  
stell of Caen became English.

Whilste the king was thus occupied about his  
warres in Normandie, the Scots in great number,  
entering England, wasted the countrie with fire and  
sword whersoever they came. The English lords that  
were left in trust with the keeping of those parties of  
the realme, raised the whole power of the countries,  
so that there came together the number of an hun-  
dred thousand men vpon Batow moze, where the gene-  
rall assemble was made, and as it chanced, the duke  
of Excester, vncle to the king, who had latelie before  
mustered a certeine number of men to conuie them  
ouer to the king as a new supplie to his armie there,  
was the same time in the north parts on pilgrimage  
at Wyndington; and hearing of this invasion made  
by the Scots, toke vpon him to be generall of the  
armie prepared against them, and to giue them bat-  
tell. Also, the archbishop of Yorke, although he was  
not able to sit on horsebacke by reason of his great  
age, caused himselfe to be carried forth in a chaire in  
that iourneie, the better to incourage other. But the  
Scots hearing that the Englishmen approached to-  
ward them with such a puissance, withdrew backe in-  
to their countrie, and durst not abide the bickering;  
either because they mistrusted an insolent enent  
on their side, by reason of the English prowesse; or  
else for that they had learned by others ouerthrowes  
to auoid the like, wherein standeth a profitable point  
of wisdome, as the poet verie sententiouslie saith,

*Felicitas sapit qui in alieno periculo sapit.*

The same time, the lord Cobham, sir John Dilca-  
stell, whilste he shifted from place to place to escape  
the hands of them, who he knew would be glad to  
late hold on him, had conuieed himselfe in secret  
wise into an husbandmans house, not farre from S.  
Albons, within the precinct of a lordship belonging  
to the abbat of that towne. The abbats seruants get-  
ting knowledge hereof, came thither by night, but  
they missed their purpose, for he was gone; but they  
caught diuerse of his men, whome they carried streit  
to prison. The lord Cobham herewith was soze dis-  
maied, for that some of them that were taken were  
such as he trusted most, being of counsell in all his  
deuises. In the same place, were found books written  
in English, and some of those books in times past had  
beene trimlie gilt, lined, and beautified with ima-  
ges, the heads whereof had beene scraped off, and in  
the Letanie they had blotted forth the name of our

ladie, and of other saints, till they came to the verie  
Parce nobis Domine. Diuerse writings were found  
there also, in derogation of each honour as then was  
thought due to our ladie. The abbat of saint Albons  
sent the booke so disfigured with scrapings & blottings  
out, with other such writings as there were found,  
vnto the king; who sent the booke againe to the arch-  
bishop, to shew the same in his sermons at Pauls  
crosse in London, to the end that the citizens and o-  
ther people of the realme might vnderstand the pur-  
poses of those that then were called Lollards, to  
bring them further in discredit with the people.

In this meane time that the king of England was  
occupied about Caen, the Frenchmen had neither a-  
nie sufficient power to resist him, nor were able to as-  
semble an host together in their necessitie, by reason  
of the dissention among themselves: for their king  
was so simple, that he was spoiled both of treasure  
and kingdome, so that euerie man spent and wasted  
he cared not what. Charles the Dolphin being of the  
age of sixtene or seauentene yeares, beholding the  
ruine and decate of his countrie, he onlie studied the  
reliefe of the common-wealth, and deuised how to  
resist his enemies; but hauing neither men nor mo-  
nie, was greatly troubled and disquieted in mind.  
In conclusion, by the aduise and counsell of the earle  
of Arminacke the constable of France, he found a  
meane to get all the treasure & riches which his mo-  
ther quene Isabell had gotten and hoarded in diuerse  
secret places; and for the common defense and profit  
of his countrie he wisely bestowed it in buying  
souldiers, and preparing of things necessarie for the  
warre.

The quene forgetting the great perill that the  
realme then stood in, reineribing onelie the displea-  
sure to hir by this act done, vpon a womanish malice,  
set hir husband John duke of Burgonie in the high-  
est authoritie about the king, giuing him the regi-  
ment and direction of the king and his realme; with  
all prebeminence & soveriegnitie. The duke of Bur-  
gonie hauing the sword in his hand, in reuenge of  
old injuries, began to make warre on the Dolphin,  
determining, that when he had tamed this yong un-  
bridled gentleman, then would he go about to with-  
stand, and beat backe the common enemies of the  
realme. The like reason moued the Dolphin, for he  
minded first to repress the authors of ciuill discord,  
before he would set vpon foreine enemies, and there-  
fore prepared to subdome and bestroie the duke of Bur-  
gonie, as the cheefe head of that mischefe, whereby  
the realme was vngquieted, decated, and in manner  
brought to vtter ruine. Thus was France afflied,  
and in euerte part troubled with warre and dission,  
and no man to prouide remedie, nor once put forth  
his finger for helpe or succour.

King Henrie in the meane time following victo-  
rie and his good successe, sent the duke of Clarence to  
the sea coast, where (with great difficultie) he got the  
towne of Bateur, whereof the lord Patreuters was  
appointed capteine. The duke of Gloucester also fin-  
ding small resistance, toke the citie of Alesour, of  
which citie sir John Arkleite was ordeined capteine.  
King Henrie himselfe tarried still at Caen; forti-  
fying the towne and castell, and put out sixtene hun-  
dred women and impotent persons, replenishing  
the towne with English people. Where while the  
king sojourned, he kept a solempne feast, and made  
manie knights; beside that, he shewed there an ex-  
ample of great pittie and clemencie: for in fear-  
ching the castell, he found innumerable substance of  
plate and monie belonging to the citizens; whereof  
he would not suffer one pence to be touched; but re-  
stored the same to the owners; bestowing to euerie  
man that which was his owne.

The Pop-  
mans will  
inghtle sue  
English.

The castel  
Courtier 1  
died.

Argenton  
battered.

The bolu-  
re subject  
of the Fre  
Des pal

London  
saged and  
peised by

Titus Liu

It truce t  
betweene  
Henrie and  
the duke  
Burgonie.

Salong test

Lifence

taben.

Caen people  
with English  
inhabitants  
A booke  
rare example  
of equitie in  
king Henrie.

when

1417.

An. Reg. 5.

When the same of his mercifull dealing herein, of his bountie to captives, and of his favourable vnto those that submitted themselves to his grace, was spread abroad, all the captives of the townes adjoining, came willingly to his presence, offering to him themselves, their townes, and their goods, whereupon he made proclamation, that all men, which had, or would become his subjects, and sweare to him allegiance, should enjoy their goods, and liberties, in as large or more ample manner, than they did be- fore: which gentle interteining of the stubborn peo- ple, was the verie cause, why they were not onlie content, but also glad to remoue and turne from the french part, and become subjects to the crowne of England.

When the king had set Caen in good order, he left there for captives, the one of the towne, the other of the castell, sir Gilbert Umfrevill earle of Arunc or Angus, & sir Gilbert Talbot, and made bailiffe there sir John Popham, and so departed from Caen the first of October, and comming to the castell of Cour- tie, within three daies had it rendred to him. From thence, the fourth of October, he came vnto Argen- ton; they within that towne and castell offered, that if no rescue came by a daie limited, they would deli- ver both the towne and castell into the kings hands, so that such as would abide and become the kings faithfull subjects should be receiued, the other to de- part with their goods and liues saued whither they would: the king accepted their offer. When the daie limited came, and no succours appeared, they yelded according to the covenants, and the king performed all that on his behalfe was promised. The lord Grate of Coborn was appointed capteine there. After this, resorted daile to the king, of the Normans, people of all sorts and degrees, to sweare to him fealtie and homage. The citie of Sees which was well inhabited, and wherein were two abbeyes of great strength, one of them yelded to the king, and so likewise did di- vers other townes in those parties, without stroke striken.

The towne of Alanson abode a siege for the space of eight daies, they within defending it right vali- antlie at the first; but in the end, considering with themselves, what small hope there was for anie suc- cours to come to remoue the siege, they grew to a composition, that if within a certeine daie they were not releued, they should yeld both the towne and cas- tell into the kings hands, which was done: for no succours could be heard of. The king appointed cap- teine of this towne, the duke of Gloucester, and his lieutenant sir Raffe Lestall. The duke of Britaine vnder safe conduct came to the king, as he was thus busie in the conquest of Normandie, and after sun- drie points treated of betwixt them, a truce was taken, to indure from the seventh daie of Nouem- ber, vnto the last of September, in the yeare next following, betwixt them, their souldiers, men of warre, and subjects. The like truce was granted vnto the queene of Ierusalem and Sicill, & to hir sonne Lewis, for the duchie of Aniou, and the countie of Spaine, the duke of Britaine being their deputie for concluding of the same truce.

About the same time also, at the lute of Charles the Dolphin, a treatie was in hand at Tongue, for a small peace, but it came to none effect. From Alanson the king set forward towards the towne and cas- tell of Faleis, meaning to besiege the same, where the frenchmen appointed to the keeping of it, had fortified the towne by all meanes possible, and pre- pared themselves to defend it to the uttermost. The earle of Saintburie was first sent thither before with certeine bands of souldiers to inclose the enemies within the towne, & to view the strength thereof. After

him came the king with his whole armie, about the first of December, and then was the towne besieged on eche side. The king lodged before the gate that lea- deth to Caen, the duke of Clarence before the castell that standeth on a rocke, and the duke of Gloucester laie on the kings right hand, and other lords & noble men were assigned to their places as was thought expedient. And to be sure from taking damage by a- nie sudden inuasion of the enemies, there were great trenches and rampiers cast and made about their severall campes, for defense of the same.

The frenchmen notwithstanding this siege, va- liantlie defended their wals, and sometimes made issues forth, but small to their gaine: and still the Englishmen with their guns and great ordinance made batterie to the wals and bulwarks. The win- ter season was verie cold, with sharpe frosts, & hard weather; but the Englishmen made such shift for prouision of all things necessarie to serue their turns, that they were sufficientlie prouided, both against hunger and cold: so that in the end, the frenchmen perceiuing they could not long indure against them, offered to talke, and agreed to giue over the towne, if no rescue came by a certeine daie appointed. A- bout the same season was sir John Oldcastell, lord Cobham taken, in the countie of Poles land, in the borders of Wales, within a lordship belonging to the lord Poles, not without danger and hurts of some that were at the taking of him: for they could not take him, till he was wounded himselfe.

At the same time, the states of the realme were assembled at London, for the leuieng of monie, to furnish the kings great charges, which he was at a- bout the maintenance of his wars in France: it was therefore determined, that the said sir John Oldcastell should be brought, and put to his trial, per the assemble brake vp. The lord Poles there- fore was sent to fetch him, who brought him to Lon- don in a litter, wounded as he was: herewith being first laid fast in the Tower, shortly after he was brought before the duke of Bedford, regent of the realme, and the other estates, where in the end he was condemned; and finally was drawn from the Tower vnto saint Giles field, and there hanged in a chaine by the middle, and after consumed with fire, the gallowes and all.

When the daie was come, on the which it was co- uenanted that the towne of Faleis should be deliue- red, to wit, the second of Januarie, because no suc- cours appeared, the towne was yelded to the king: but the castell held out still, into the which the cap- teine and gouernour both of the towne and castell had withdrawne themselves, with all the souldiers; and being stretchie besieged, the capteine defended himselfe and the place right stoutlie, although he was sore laid to, vntill at length, perceiuing his people wearied with continuall assaults, and such approaches as were made to and within the verie wals, he was diuen to compound with the king, that if he were not succoured by the first of Februarie, then should he yeld himselfe prisoner, and deliuer the castell: so that the souldiers should haue licence to depart, with their liues onelie saued. When the daie came, the cove- nants were performed, and the castell rendered to the kings hands, for no aid came to the rescue of them within. The capteine named Olivier de Spannie was kept as prisoner, till the castell was repaired at his costs and charges, because the same, through his obstinat wilfulnesse, was sore beater and defaced, with underminings and batterie. Capteine there, by the king, was appointed sir Henrie Fitt; Hugh.

After this, king Henrie returned to Caen, and by reason of a proclamation which he had caused to be made for the people of Normandie, that had with- drawne

Faleis belies ged.

Thom. Wall. Sir John Oldcastell taken.

Sir John Oldcastell executed.

1418 Faleis rende- red vp to king Henrie.

Histoir des ducs de Nor- mandie.

Commence- ment of the Dolphin of France.

The young Dolphin, ha- ed his wh- nother of the realme, what mischance role upon it. The duke of Burgogne here doer in France.

Salency take. Liscant aken.

Caen people with English inhabitants. A warre was are example of equitie in- ing Henrie.

The French- mans will- ingly forgoe English.

The castell of Cour- tie ren- dred.

Argenton taken.

The duke of Coborn appointed capteine of the French- men.

Alanson be- sieged and taken.

The duke of Britaine.

A truce taken betweene king Henrie and the duke of Britaine.

Tho. Wallin.  
Titus Lilius.

Abr. Fl. out of  
Fabian pag.  
397. and Iohn  
Stow pag. 598.

Slaughter  
and bloudshed  
in S. Dun-  
stons church  
on Caluar-  
yap.

women fall of  
mischance.

Record. Cant.

The princis-  
pall offenders  
punishment.

Not teares  
of hir complaint  
(I trust) for  
sorrow of hir  
kinne.

byatone themselves forth of the balliwicks of Caen  
and Falais, he granted alwaie to his owne people  
the lands of those that came not in vpon that procla-  
mation, and in speciall, he gaue to the duke of Cla-  
rence, during his life, the vicounties of Amge, De-  
bee, and Ponteau de Per, with all the lands of those  
that were withdyatone forth of the same vicounties.  
This gift was made the sixteenth of februarye, in  
this fift yeare of this kings reigne. All the Lent se-  
son, the king laie at Baieur with part of his armie,  
but the residue were sent abroad, for the atchieving  
of certeine enterprises, because they should not lie  
idle.

In this yeare 1418, and in the first yeare of the  
reigne of this victorious king, Henrie the fift, on Ca-  
ster daie in the after none (a time which required de-  
uotion) at a sermon in saint Dunstons in the east of  
London, a great fraie happened in the said church,  
where through manie people were sore wounded, and  
one Thomas Petwarden fishmonger that dwelt at  
Sprots keie was slaine outright; as they (vpon a  
god intent) did what they could (to their owne perill  
as vnfortunatlie it befell) to appease the turmoile,  
and to procure the keeping of the kings peace. Here-  
vpon the church was suspended, and the beginners  
of the boyle, namelie the lord Strange and sir John  
Trussell knight (betwene whome such coles of vn-  
kindnesse were kindled (at the instigation of their  
wities, gentlewomen of euill disposition and at curs-  
sed hatred one with another) that their husbands  
ment at their meeting in the said church to haue  
slaine one another) were committed to the counter  
in the Pultrie. Two wise gentlemen (I wisse) and  
well aduised (no doubt) who without regard of day,  
place, people, preacher, or perill that might insue;  
were so forward to become the instruments of their  
mischieuous wities malice; the fulfilling wherof they  
would haue forborne, if with discretion they had pon-  
dered the verdit of the poet concerning the said ser:

*Femina letalis, femina plena malis.*

The archbishop of Canturburie, when he had in-  
telligence giuen of this outrageous prophanation of  
the church, caused the offenders to be excommunicat,  
as well at Paules, as in all other parish churches of  
London. Shortly after, to wit on the one and twen-  
tith of Aprill, the said archbishop sat at saint Pa-  
gins, vpon inquisition for the authors of the said disor-  
der, and found the fault to consist spectallie in the lord  
Strange and his wife. So that vpon the first daie of  
Maie next following in Paules church, before the  
said archbishop, the maior of London, and others, the  
said offenders submitted themselves to doe penance,  
and swore to do it in such sort as to them it was in-  
ioined; namelie, as followeth. That immediatlie all  
their seruants should (in their shirts) go before the  
parson of saint Dunstons, from Paules to the said  
saint Dunstons church; and the lord Strange bare-  
headed, with his ladie barefooted; Reignold Kentwood  
archdeacon of London following them. Also it was  
appointed them, that at the consecrating or hallow-  
ing of the said church (which they had profaned) the la-  
die should fill all the vessels with water, and offer  
likewise to the altar an ornament of ten pounds;  
and the lord his husband a pice of siluer of five pounds.  
Which done by waie of a satisfactorie expiation, it is  
likelie they were absolved: but the lord Strange had  
first made the wife of the said Petwarden slaine in  
the fraie, large amends; as Fabian saith, though in  
that sort he maketh no mention.]

Whilste the king of England was thus in poy-  
mentie, his nauie lost nothing on the sea, but so scow-  
red the streames, that neither Frenchmen nor Bri-  
tons durst once appeare; howbeit, on a daie there a-  
rose such a storme and hideous tempest, that if the

earles of March and Huntington had not taken the  
hauen of Southampton, the whole nauie had peri-  
shed; yet the safegard was strange, for in the same  
hauen, two balingers, and two great carrikes, la-  
den with merchandize were drowned, and the broken  
mast of another caricke was blown ouer the wall  
of the towne. When the furie of this outrageous  
wind and weather was allwaged, and the sea waxed  
calme, the earles of March and Huntington passed o-  
uer with all their companie, and landing in porman-  
die, they marched through the countrie, destroying  
the french villages, and taking preies on each hand,  
till they came to the king where he then was.

In the first yeare of king Henries reigne, he sent  
the earle of Marwike, and the lord Talbot, to be-  
siege the strong castell of Dampfront. The duke of  
Clarence was also sent to besiege and subdue other  
townes, vnto whome, at one time and other, we find,  
that these townes underwritten were yelded, where-  
in he put capitaine as followeth. In Courton John  
Aubin, in Barney William Houghton, in Cham-  
bis James Penill, in Bechelouin the earle Spar-  
shall, in Harecourt Richard Wooduill esquier, in  
Fangerion John S. Albon, in Creuener sir John  
Birbie to whom it was giuen, in Anuilliers Robert  
Hoznebie, in Bagles sir John Arthur, in Fresniele  
bicont sir Robert Bzent.

The duke of Gloucester the same time, accompani-  
ed with the earle of March, the lord Greie of Cob-  
ner, and other, was sent to subdue the townes in the  
Ile of Constantine, vnto whome these townes here-  
after mentioned were yelded, where he appointed  
capitains as followeth. At Carentine the lord Bo-  
treux, at Saint Lo Reginald West, at Maloignes  
Thomas Burgh, at Pont Dore Dauid Howell, at  
the Baie de Pais sir John Aston, at saint Sauueur  
le bicont sir John Robert, at Pontorlon sir Robert  
Gargraue, at Hamberie the earle of Suffolke lord  
of that place by gift, at Biziqueuill the said earle al-  
so by gift, at Auranches sir Philip Hall bailiffe of  
Alanson, at Uire the lord Patreuers, at S. James  
de Benmeron the same lord.

After that the duke had subdued to the kings do-  
minion, the most part of all the townes in that Ile of  
Constantine, Chierburgh excepted, he returned to  
the king, and forthwith was sent thither againe to be-  
siege that strong fortresse, which was furnished with  
men, munition, vittels, and strong walles, towers,  
and turrets, in most defensible wise, by reason where-  
of it was holden against him the space of five mo-  
neths, although he used all waies and meanes possi-  
ble to annioie them within; so that manie fierie al-  
sautes, skirmishes, issues, and other exploits of waite  
were atchieued, betwixt the frenchmen within, and  
the Englishmen without; yet at length, the french-  
men were so constrained by powder of batetrie, mines,  
and other forceable waies of approachings, that they  
were glad to compound to deliuer the place, if no re-  
scue came to raise the siege, either from the Dolphin,  
that then was retired into Aquitaine; or from the  
duke of Burgognie that then laie at Paris, within  
the terme of three score and two daies (for so long re-  
pit the duke granted) but they trusting further vpon  
his lenitie and gentleness hoped to get a far longer  
terme.

Peto were the Dolphin and the duke of Burgog-  
nie growen to a certeine agreement, by mediation  
of cardinals sent from the pope, so that the English-  
men surerlie thought, that they would leaue a power,  
and come downe to resseue Chierburgh. The duke  
of Gloucester therefore raised his camps to be  
stronglie intrenched, and manie defensible blacke  
houles of timber to be raised, like to small towers,  
that the same might be a safegard to his people, and

A. 1418  
A. 1418  
A. 1418

Anno Reg.

Countess  
of Montmore  
yelded to the  
king.

Chierburgh  
yelded to the  
Englishmen.

The castell of  
Dampfront  
yelded.

W. P.

Chierburgh  
besieged by  
the English

no  
for  
the  
duke  
of  
Burgog-  
nie

не торопясь,

Violent  
past of  
ID.

10 Reg. 64

tones in  
mandle  
ded to K  
rie.

10

Sir John  
Bromley  
made captain  
of Dampfrēt.

40

60-

**H**enricus Dei gratia rex Anglia & Francie & dominus Hibernie, omnibus ad quos presentes littere peruenierint salutem. Sciatis quod de gratia nostra speciali & pro bono seruitio quod dilectus serui noster Iohannes Bromley nobis impendit & impendat in futurum: dedimus & concessimus hospitium de Molay Bacon, infra comitatum nostrum de Baieux, ac omnes terras, tenementa, redditus, hereditates, & possessiones in ipsa ducatum nostrum Normandia, que fuerunt Alani de Beuimont nobis rebellis, & deinde Hubendum & tenendum prefato Iohanni & hereditariis suis masculinis de corpore suo procreatis, hospitium, terras, & tenementa, redditus, hereditates, & possessiones supradictas, ita cum omnimodis franchisys, priuilegijs, iurisdictionibus, wardis, marit agijs, releuys, & cheps, forisfacturis, feodis militum, aduocationibus ecclesiasticis, & aliorum beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum quorumcuq; terris, pratis, pasturis, boscis, maribus, piscibus, aquis, viuis stagnis, molendi-

terbargh  
eged by  
English,



aliqua contraditione mei predicti Iohannis, aut heredum meorum aliquali. Reddendo inde mihi ipsi Gualtero annuatim in festo sancti Georgii martyris, situnc fuerim infra regnum Anglia, vnum par calcarum deauratorum, pro omnibus. Et etiam volo & concedo quod predictus Gualterus liber sit, durante tota vita sua, ad volandum, venandum, piscandum, & alias commoditates percipiendum, tam infra manerium meum de Bromley quam in omnibus alijs manerijs, terris, & teneamentis meis infra regnum Anglia, sine aliqua contraditione vel impedimento mei prefati Iohannis de Bromley militis, heredum, aut assignatorum meorum aliquali. Et ut fidele testimonium presentibus habeatur, sigillum meum apposui: hijs testibus, Roberto de Bruyn milite, Iohanne de Holland, Gulielmo de Brereton, Richardo le Grenwill, Iohanne de Egerton, Richardo le Beston, Thoma le Creu, & alijs. Datum apud Dampfront predicto, 12 die mensis Augusti, anno regni regis Henrici quinti post conquestum sexto.

The old armes of the house of Bromley being quarterlie goles and oze per fesse indented, had in the seale to this daie, an inscutchen charged with a griffin surgiant; his creast, out of a crowne, a demilion suppoing a standard charged with a lion passant gardant: about the shield was ingrauen, *sigillum Iohannis de Bromley militis*. That inscutchen and creast (as like is) given him in laudable remembrance for his valiant recouerie of the standard at the Harpe and bloodie skirmish by Cozbie. The earle of Warwike, and the lord Talbot, after the winning of this forreffe, made speed to come vnto the siege of Rone, where they were imploied, as after shall appere. And in like manner, the duke of Gloucester, having once got the possession of Chierburgh, hastened towards the same siege: for the better furnishing of which enterpryse, he had first caused an armie of fiftene thousand men to be brought ouer to him, vnder the leading of his vncle the duke of Excester, who imbarcking with the same, about the feast of the holye Trinitie, was appointed by the king to besiege the citie of Curenor, as the earle of Angus, other wise called earle of Rime, was sent to win the castell of Millie Leusche. These towne being deliuered to the kings vse, the duke ordeined capitaine of Curenor sir Gilbert Hallsall knight.

The king now determining with all speed to besiege Rone, prepared all things necessarie for his purpose. Into this citie the Normans had conueied out of euerie part their monie, iewels, and household stuffe, as into the most sure and strongest place of the whole duchie. For since his arrivall, they had not onlie walled that citie, and fortified it with rampiers and strong bulwarks, but also furnished it with balliant capteins, and hardie soldiers, to the number of foure thousand, beside such of the citizens as were appointed for the warre, according to their estates, of the which there were at the least fiftene thousand readie to serue in defense of the citie, as soldiers, and men of warre in all places where they should be assigned. King Henrie, to haue the countrie free, before he would besiege this citie, thought good first to win such towne as laie in his waie, and therefore departing from Caen (where he had kept the feast of saint George) the ninth daie of June, he marched straight vnto the towne of Louiers, and laid his siege about the same.

They within the towne, being well furnished of all things necessarie for the defending of a siege, manfully resisted the Englishmens inforcements,

which spared not to deuise all waies and means how to appoach the walles, and to batter the same with their great artillerie, till at length they brought the Frenchmen to that extremitie, that they were contented to yeeld the towne on these conditions; that if by the thre and twentieth of June there came no succour from the French king to raise the siege, the towne should be deliuered into the kings hands, the soldiers of the garrison should serue vnder the king for a time, and the townesmen should remaine in their dwellings as they did before, as subiects to the king: but the gunners that had discharged anie peece against the Englishmen should suffer death. When the daie came, and no aid appeared, the coucnants were performed accordinglie. From thence went the king with all speed vnto Pont de Arch, standing vpon the riuer of Seine, eight miles above Rone towards Paris: he came thither about the seauen and twentieth of June.

When the Frenchmen which kept the passage there heard of the kings approach, they gathered together a great number of men of warre, minding to defend the passage against him, appointing an other band of men (if they failed) to keepe the further side of the bidge; and to watch, that neither by boate nor vessell he should come ouer the riuer by anie manner of meanes. At his comming nere to the towne, he perceived that it was not possible to passe by the bidge without great losse of his people, and therefore he retired almost a mile backward, where, in a pleasant and commodious place by the riuer side he pitched his campe, and in the night season, that with boates and barges, and that with hogheads and pipes, he conueied ouer the broad riuer of Seine a great companie of his soldiers, without anie resistance made by his enemies. For they which were on the hither side of Seine, thinking that the Englishmen had gone to winne some other place, followed them not, but studied how to defend their towne, which was enough for them to do.

And to put the Frenchmen in doubt, least the Englishmen should seeke passage somewhere else, the king appointed certeine of the soldiers which had skill in swimming, to go to a place thre miles from the siege by the riuer side, and there to enter into the water, making great clamor and noise, as though they had meant to haue passed; but they had in commandement not to trauesse past halfe the riuer, so to procure the Frenchmen to make thitherwards, whilest the king in one place, and his brother the duke of Clarence in another, got ouer their men, and that in such number, before the Frenchmen had anie vnderstanding thereof, that when they made towards them, and perceived that they were not able to encounter them, they fled backe, and durst not abide the English footmen, which would faine haue bene doing with them.

When the king saw that his men were on the other side of the water, he (the next daie earlie) retired to the towne, & assaulted it on both sides. When the inhabitants therefore saw themselves compassed on both sides, contrarie to their expectation, with humble heart and small toy they rendered up the towne vnto the kings hands. After this, the king having no let nor impediment, determined forthwith to besiege the citie of Rone, and first sent before him his vncle the duke of Excester, with a great companie of horsemen & archers to view the place, & set vpon with banner displayed came before the citie, and sent Winfore an herauld at armes to the capteins within, willing them to deliuer the citie vnto the king his maister, or else he would pursue them with fire and sword. To whom they proudly answered, that none they receiued of him; nor anie they would

Treas. Lilius.  
Louiers besieged.

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Jus Lilius.  
  
Basilicarie &  
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side of the ri  
uer of Seine.  
  
Amfrenie.  
The lord  
Talbot.  
W. P.

would deliuer him, except by fine force they were thereunto compelled: and herewith there issued out of the towne a great band of men of armes, and encountered fiercelie with the Englishmen, the which receiuing them with like manhood, and great force, drave the Frenchmen into the towne againe to their losse, for they left thirtie of their fellows behind prisoners and dead in the field.

The duke returned with this good speed and proud answer of the Frenchmen vnto the king, who remained yet at Pont de Larch, and had giuen the towne of Louiers to his brother the duke of Clarence, which made there his deputie sir John Godard knight. After that the duke of Gloucester was returned to Pont Larch, the French captains within Rone set fire on the suburbs, beat downe churches, cut downe trees, shed the bushes, destroyed the vines round about the citie, to the intent that the Englishmen should haue no relafe nor comfort either of lodging or felwell. When the king heard of these despitefull doings, he with his whole armie remoued from Pont Larch, and the last daie of Iulie came before the citie of Rone, and compassed it round about with a strong siege. This citie was verie rich in gold, silver, and other pretious things, in so much that when the same was taken and seized vpon by the English, the spoile was verie great and exceeding aduantageable: which the compiler of *Anglorum prelia* hath verie well noted, in a few lines, but pitthie, saieing:

*Prima Rothomagus restat, qua mercibus auro,  
Argento, vasis pretiosis diues abundat:  
Rothomagus capitur, iamq. Anglus adeptus opimas  
Prædas, in patriam per pulchra trophaea remittit.*

The king laie with a great puissance at the Charterhouse, on the east side of the citie, and the duke of Clarence lodged at St. Geruais before the port of Caen on the west part. The duke of Gloucester toke his place on the north side: at port St. Denis, betwene the dukes of Gloucester and Clarence, was appointed the earle marshall, euen before the gate of the castle; to whome were ioined the earle of Desmond, and the lords Harington and Talbot, vpon his coming from Dampfront: and from the duke of Gloucester toward the king, were incamped the lords Roos, Willoughbie, Fitz Hugh, and sir William Porter, with a great band of northerne men, euen before the port of saint Hilarie. The earles of Portaigne and Salisbury were assigned to lodge about the abbie of saint Batharine. Sir John Greie was lodged direclie against the chappell called mount St. Michael: sir Philip Lech treasurer of the warres kept the hill next the abbete, and the baron of Carew kept the passage on the riller of Seine, and to him was ioined that valiant knight Ienico Darcot.

On the further side of the riuer were lodged the earles of Warren and Huntingdon, the lords Penk and Ferrers, sir Gilbert Umfreuile with a well furnished companie of warlike soldiers: direclie before the gate called Pont de Pont. And to the intent that no aduantage should be had by the riuer toward the citie, there was a great chaine of iron deuiled at Pont Larch, set on piles from the one side of the water to the other: and beside that chaine, there was set by a new forced battie, sufficient both for cariage and passage, to passe the riuer from one campe to another. The earle of Warwick that had latelie wone Dampfront was sent to bessege Catwodebecke, a towne standing on the riuer side, betwene the sea and the citie of Rone. A memorable feat in seruice here to that place was done at that time by a well minded man then noted some after in writing: which matter unable to be better reported than by him that had so well marked it, no; like to be more trulie expressed

than by the ancient simplicitie (and yet effectual) of the selfe same words wherein they were written, therefore thought meetest to haue them rehearsed as they were in order, thus.

The truth of the said memorable feat  
as it was reported in writing.

**M**emorandum, that my lord the earle of Warwick did send out my cosin sir John Bromley and my cosin George Umfreuile with an hundred archers, and about two hundred soldiers a frett, to keepe at a little castell called the Stron nere to Catwodebecke where they wearen met with about eight hundred Frenchmen & the fraie betwene them long pfought, and the Englishmen in great dread and perill: till at length by the might of God and saint George, the field did fall to our Englishmen, & the Frenchmen wearen put to flight, and thear wearen yslaine about two hundred Frenchmen, and as manie ytaken prisoners, and their capteine who was ycalled the lord of Estriles was thear also yslaine, and thear wearen yslaine of our Englishmen my said cosin George Umfreuile and about twentie mo: on whose folles Iesus haue mercie, and thear wearen hurt in the face my said cosin sir John Bromley & my cosin Walter Audeley soze wounded and maimed in the right arme of his bodie, he then being but of the age of eightene yeares. But thanks be giuen to the blessed Trinitie, thear wearen manie noble victories ywon by the said noble erle of Warwick and his folke, as in his officiall booke (written by Maister John le Cucke then present with the said noble earle) is ampie recorded. My said cosin Walter Audeley died at Warwick the seauententh daie of Iulie anno Domini one thousand foure hundred and twentie, and was buried at Acton in Cheshire, nere the bodie of my said cosin sir John Bromley: on whose folles Iesus haue mercie. By me sir Richard Baie, chapleine to my ladie the old countesse of Warwick, Iesus Maria, Amen, Pater noster, Ave Maria.

After this conflict, this towne was so hardlie handled with herce and continuall assaults, that the captains within offered to suffer the English name to passe by their towne without impeachment, vpon the citie of Rone. And also if Rone yelded, they promised to render the towne without delaie. Herevpon the English name, to the number of an hundred sailles, passed by Catwodebecke, and came to Rone, and so besseged it on the water side. There came also to this siege the duke of Gloucester, with the earle of Suffolke, and the lord Aburgauennie, which had taken (as before we haue heard) the towne of Cierburgh, & lodged before the port of St. Hilarie, nearer to their enemies by foztie rodes than any other person of the armie.

During this siege also, there arrived at Harflue the lord of Bilmaine in Ireland, with a band of fiftene hundred Irishmen, in maile, with darts and skains after the maner of their countrie, all of them being tall, quicke, and nimble persons, which came

A conflict nere to Catwodebecke.

The L. of Estriles name.

George Umfreuile name.

Walter Audeley soze wounded.

\* And this sir John Bromley departed from this life the fourth day of Sept. 1419. which was in anno reg. 7. as by the office take after his death remaining of record in the chest of Cheshire doth manifestly appeare.

The lord of Bilmaine captaine of the Irishmen.

Louiers taken by the English.

The English armie passeth the riuer of Seine.

The duke of Clarence lodged at St. Geruais before the port of Caen.

The duke of Gloucester appointed the earle marshall.

The duke of Gloucester incamped the lords Roos, Willoughbie, Fitz Hugh, and sir William Porter.

The duke of Gloucester assigned the earles of Portaigne and Salisbury to lodge about the abbie of saint Batharine.

The duke of Gloucester sent sir Gilbert Umfreuile with a well furnished companie of warlike soldiers.

Pont de Larch remoued by the English.

The duke of Gloucester lodged before the port of St. Hilarie.

The duke of Gloucester.

The good service of the Frenchmen at this siege.

Titus Livius.  
The king of Portugal sendeth aid to king Henrie.

The number within Rome.

Titus Livius.

King Henrie his justice.

Thom. Walf.

and presented themselves before the king lieng still at the siege, of whom there were not onelie gentlie received & welcomed; but also because it was thought that the French king and the duke of Burgonie would shortly come, and either attempt to raise the siege, or bittell and man the towne by the north gate, they were appointed to keepe the north side of the armie, and speciallie the waite that cometh from the forest of Lions. Which charge the lord of Balmaine and his companie toisillie accepted, and did so their deuoir therein, that no men were more praised, nor did more damage to their enemies than they did: for surilie their quickenelle & swiftnesse of foot did more preiudice to their enemies, than their barded horses did hurt or damage to the nimble Irishmen. Also the kings cosine germane and alie (the king of Portugal) sent a great number of well appointed ships vnto the mouth of the riuer of Seine, to stop that no French vessels should enter the riuer, and passe by the same, to the aid of them within Rome.

Thus was the faire citie of Rome compassed about with enemies, both by water and land, hauing neither comfort nor aid of king, Dolphin, or Duke. And yet although the armie was strong without, there lacked not within both hardie capteins and manfull souldiers. And as for people, they had more than enough: for as it is written by some that had good cause to know the truth, and no occasion to erre from the same, there were in the citie at the time of the siege, two hundred and ten thousand persons. Dailie were issues made out of the citie at diuerse gates, sometime to the losse of the one partie, and sometime of the other, as chances of warre in such adventures happen. The Frenchmen in deed preferring fame before worldly riches, and despising pleasure (the enemy to warlike prowesse) swore ech to other neuer to render or deliuer the citie, while they might either hold sword in hand or speare in rest.

The king of England aduertised of their haughty courages, determined to conquer them by famine, which would not be tamed with weapon. Therefore he stopped all the passages, both by water and land, that no vittels could be conueied to the citie: he cast trenches round about the walls, and set them full of stakes, and defended them with archers, so that there was left neither waie for them within to issue out, nor for any that were abroad to enter in without his licence. To rehearse the great paines, traucell and diligence, which the king took vpon him in his owne person at this siege, a man might wonder. And because diuerse of the souldiers had lodged themselves for their more ease, in places so farre distant one from an other, that they might easilie haue bene surprised by their enemies, per ante of their fellows could haue come to their succors; he caused proclamation to be made, that no man vpon paine of death should lodge without the precinct appointed them, nor go further abroad from the campe than such bounds as were assigned.

Now as it chanced, the king in going about the campe, to surueie and viewe the warders, he espied two souldiers that were walking abroad without the limits assigned, whom he caused straightwaies to be apprehended and hanged vpon a tree of great height, for a terror to others, that none should be so hardie to breake such orders as he commanded them to obserue. Whilest the king late thus with his power about the mightie citie of Rome, the Frenchmen sought to indamage as well those that were at that siege, as other of the Englishmen that late in garri- sons within the townes that were already in the king of Englands possession, inasmuch that (as some haue written) within the octaves of the Assumption, three notable victories chanced to the Englishmen in

three severall places. First an hundred Englishmen at Millbecke took the great lords of the Frenchmen, besides fourescore other persons, and put three hundred to flight.

Also vpon the thursdaie within the same octaves, foure hundred Frenchmen that were entered within the suburbs of Eutene were repelled by eleven Englishmen, that took foure of those Frenchmen prisoners, sure twelue of them, and took forty horses. On the saturday following, the Frenchmen took in hand to scale vpon them that late in garri- son within Louiers, in hope to surprize the towne earlie in the morning: but the capteine perceiuing their purpose, sallied forth with a hundred of his men, and putting the Frenchmen to flight, being a thousand, took an hundred and fourescore of them being all gentlemen. But to returne to them before Rome. The siege thus continuing from Lammias, almost to Christmas, diuerse enterprises were attempted, and diuerse policies practised, how euery part might indamage his aduersaries: no parte greatly reioiced of their gaine. But in the meane time vittels began so to faile them within, that onelie vineger and water serued for drinke.

If I should rehearse (according to the report of diuerse writers) how dearlie dogs, rats, mice, and cats were sold within the towne, and how greedilie they were by the poore people eaten and deuoured, and how the people dailie died for fault of food, and young infants late sucking in the streets on their mothers breasts, lieng dead, starued for hunger; the reader might lament their extreme miseries. A great number of poore sillie creatures were put out at the gates, which were by the Englishmen that kept the trenches beaten and driuen backe againe to the same gates, which they found closed and shut against them. And so they late betwene the walls of the citie and the trenches of the enemies, still crieng for helpe and reliefe, for lacke whereof great numbers of them dailie died.

Howbeit, king Henrie moued with pittie, vpon Christmasse daie, in the honoz of Christes Nativite, refreshed all the poore people with vittels, to their great comfort and his high praise: yet if the duke of Burgonies letters had not bene conueied into the citie, it was thought they within would neuer haue made resistance so long time as they did; for by those letters they were assured of rescue to come. Diuerse lords of France hauing written to them to the like effect, they were put in such comfort herewith, that immediatlie, to expresse their great reioicing, all the bells in the citie were rung forth cherefullie, which during all the time of the siege till that present had kept silence. And by reason of a saint kind of agreement procured betwixt the Dolphin and the duke of Burgonie, it was thought heretofore that a power should haue bene raised for preservation of that noble citie, the losing or sauing thereof being a matter of such importance.

The king of England, to prevent the enemies purpose, caused a large trench to be cast without his campe, which was pight full of sharpe stakes, with a great rampire fenced with bulwarks, and turnepikes, in as defensible wise as might be deuised. Sir Robert Bapthorpe, knight, was appointed comptroller, to see this worke performed, which he did with all diligence accomplish; in like case as he had done, when the other trench and rampire stronglie staked and hedged was made at the first betwixt the campe and the citie, to refresh such as in the beginning of the siege rested not to picke forth of the gates on horse backe. And so by this meanes was the armie defended both behind and before.

Finalle, the whole number of the Frenchmen within

the great lords of the Frenchmen, besides fourescore other persons, and put three hundred to flight.

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An. Reg. 6.

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They within  
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within the citie were brought to such extremities  
for want of vittells, that they were in danger all to  
have starved: whereupon being next past hope of  
reliefe, they determined to treat with the king of  
England, and to propose for peace as soon as he came  
to the walls such as they had chosen among them  
for commissioners, which made a signe to the Eng-  
lishmen lying without the gate at the bridge, to  
speak with some gentleman, or other person of au-  
thoritie. The earle of Huntingdon, which kept that  
part, sent to them sir Gilbert Umfraville, unto whom  
they declared, that if they might have safe conduct,  
they would gladly come forth to speake with the  
king. Sir Gilbert repassing to the duke of Clarence,  
and other of the kings counsell, advertised them of  
this request.

Whereupon the duke of Clarence with the other  
counsellors resorted to the kings lodging, to informe  
him of the matter, and to know his pleasure therein;  
who after good advisement and deliberation taken,  
willed sir Gilbert to advertise them, that he was  
content to heare twelve of them, which should be  
safely conveyed into his presence. This answer be-  
ing brought to the Frenchmen by the said sir Gil-  
bert, on the next daie in the morning foure knights,  
four learned men, and foure sage burgeses, all clo-  
thed in blacke, came forth of the citie, and were re-  
ceived at the port saint Marthe by sir Gilbert Um-  
fraville, accompanied with diverse gentlemen and  
peemen of the kings household, commonlie called  
peemen of the crowne, by whome they were con-  
veyed to the kings lodging, whome they found at masse,  
which being ended, the king came out of his tra-  
uerse, sternlie, and princelie beholding the French  
messengers, and passed by them into his chamber.  
And incontinentlie after he commanded that they  
should be brought in before his presence, to heare  
what they had to say.

One of them seene in the ciuill lawes, was appoin-  
ted to declare the message in all their names, who  
showing himselfe more rash than wise, more arro-  
gant than learned, first tooke upon him to shew where-  
in the glorie of viduozie consisted, aduising the king  
not to shew his manhood in famishing a multitude  
of poore, simple, and innocent people, but rather suffer  
such miserable wretches as late betwixt the walls  
of the citie, and the trenches of his siege, to passe  
through the campe, that they might get their living  
in other places, and then if he durst manfullie assault  
the citie, and by force subdue it, he should win both  
worldlie fame, and merit great meed at the hands of  
almightie God, for having compassion of the poore,  
necesse, and indigent people.

When this orator had said, the king who no request  
lesse suspected, than that which was thus desired, be-  
gan a while to muse; and after he had well conside-  
red the craftie cautell of his enemies, with a fierce  
countenance, and bold spirit he reprovved them, both  
for their subtil dealing with him, and their mapert  
presumption, in that they should seeme to go about  
to teach him what belonged to the dutie of a conque-  
rour. And therefore since it appeared that the same  
was unknowne unto them, he declared that the  
goddesse of battell called Bellona, had three handma-  
dens, euer of necessitie attending vpon hir, as blood,  
fire, and famine. And whereas it laye in his choise to  
use them all three; yea, two, or one of them at his  
pleasure, he had appointed onelie the meekest maid of  
those three damels to punish them of that citie, till  
they were brought to reason.

And whereas the gaine of a captiue attained by  
one of the said three handmaidens, was both glori-  
ous, honourable, and worthy of triumph: yet of all  
the three, the youngest maid, which he meant to vse at

that time was most profitable and commodious. And  
as for the poore people lying in the ditches, if they died  
through famine, the fault was theirs, that like cruell  
tyrants had put them out of the towne, to the intent  
he should slay them; and yet had he saved their liues;  
so that if any lacke of charitie was, it rested in them,  
and not in him. But to their cloaked request, he meant  
not to graunt them within so much, but they should  
hope them selfe to helpe to spend their vittells. And as  
to assault the towne, he told them that he would they  
should know, he was both able and willing thereto,  
as he should haue occasion: but the choise was in his  
hand, to take them either with blood, fire, or famine,  
or with them all; whereof he would take the choise at  
his pleasure, and not at theirs.

This answer put the French ambassadours in a  
great studie, musing much at his excellent wit and  
bawtinesse of courage. Now after they had dined (as  
his commandement was they should) with his offi-  
cers, they vpon consultation had together, required  
once againe to haue access to his roiall presence,  
which being granted, they humbling themselves on  
their knees, besought him to take a truce for eight  
daies, during the which they might by their commis-  
sioners take some end and good conclusion with him  
and his countell: The king like a mercifull prince  
granted to them their asking, with which answer they  
sofullie returned. After their departure were appoin-  
ted and set by three tents, the one for the lords of Eng-  
land, the second for the commissioners of the citie,  
and the third for both parties to assemble in, and to  
treat of the matter.

The commissioners for the English part were the  
earles of Warwicke and Salisburie, the lord Fitz  
Hugh, sir Walter Hungerford, sir Gilbert Umfraville,  
sir John Robbert, and John de Wasques de Al-  
mada. And for the French part were appointed, sir  
Guic de Buttelier, and sir others. These commis-  
sioners met euery daie, arguing and reasoning about a  
conclusion, but nothing was done the space of eight  
daies, nor so much as one article concluded: wherefore  
the Englishmen tooke downe the tents, and the French-  
men tooke their leaue: but at their departing they re-  
membering themselves, required the English lords  
(for the loue of God) that the truce might indure till  
the sunne rising the next daie, to the which the lords  
assented.

When the French commissioners were returned  
into the citie without any conclusion of agreement,  
the poore people ran about the streets, crying, and cal-  
ling the capteins and gouernours murderers and  
manquellers, saying that for their pride and stifte so-  
machs all this miserie was happened, threatening to  
slay them if they would not agree vnto the king of  
Englands demand. The magistrats herewith ama-  
zed, called all the townesmen together to know their  
minds and opinions. The whole voice of the com-  
mons was, to yeld rather than to sterne. When the  
Frenchmen in the euening came to the tent of sir  
John Robbert, requiring him of gentlenes to moue  
the king, that the truce might be prolonged for foure  
daies. The king therevnto agreed, and appointed the  
archbishop of Canturburie, and the other seuen be-  
fore named for his part, and the citizens appointed a  
like number for them.

The tents were againe set vp, and daile they met  
together, and on the fourth daie they accorded on this  
waile, that the citie and castell of Rome should be deli-  
uered vnto the king of England, at what time after  
the middle of the nineteenth daie of that present mo-  
neth of Januarie, the said king willed the same; and  
that all the capteins and other men whatsoever, dwell-  
ling or being within the said citie and castell, should  
submit them in all things to the grace of the said  
king;

A truce for  
eight daies.

Commissioners  
appointed.

The articles  
concerning the  
yielding vp of  
Rome.

king: and further, that they should paie to the said king three hundred thousand scutes of gold, whereof alwaies two should be worth an English noble, or in stead of euerie scute thirtie great blankes white, or sixtine grotes.

Howeuer it was accorded, that euerie soldier and stranger, being in the said citie and castell, should sweare on the euangelists before their departure, not to beate armour against the king of England, before the first daie of Januarie next to come. Also they within the towne should suffer all the poore people lying in ditches, or about the ditches of the citie, which for penurie were chased out, to enter the citie againe; and to find them sufficient food till the said nineteenth daie of Januarie. There were diuerse other articles, in all to the number of two and twentie agreed as well on the behalfe of the citizens, as of king Henrie, who granted, that all the souldiers, strangers, and other within the said citie and castell at that time, being not willing to become his lieges, should depart, after that the citie and castell was once yielded, free lie without let, leaving to the said king all their armors, horses, harnesse, & goods, except the poormans, which if they should refuse to become lieges to him, were appointed to remaine as his prisoners, together with one Luca Italico, and certeine others.

When the daie of appointment came, which was the daie of saint Wolstane, sir Guie de Buttler, and the burgeses, deliuered the keies of the citie and castell vnto the king of England, beseeching him of fauour and compassion. The king incontinentlie appointed the duke of Excester, with a great companie to take possession of the citie, who like a valiant capteine mounted on a goodlie courser first entered into the citie, and after into the castell. The next daie being fridaye, the king in great triumph like a conquerour, accompanied with foure dukes, ten earles, eight bishops, sixtine barons, and a great multitude of knights, esquieres, and men of warre entered into Rome, where he was receiued by the cleargie, with two and fourtie crosses; and then met him the senat, and the burgeses of the towne, offering to him diuerse faire and costlie presents.

In this manner he passed through the citie to our ladie church, and there hauing said his orisons, he caused his chaplains to sing this anthem: *Qui est tam magnus dominus*: Who is so great a lord as our God. This done, he came to the castell, where he continued a good space after, receiuing homages and fealties of the burgeses and townesmen, and setting orders amongst them. He also redified diuerse fortresses, and townes, during which time he made proclamation, that all men which would become his subjects, should inioy their goods, lands & offices, which proclamation made manie townes to yield, and manie men to become English the same season.

The duke of Britaine, vnderstanding that if the king of England should continue in possession of poormandie, his countrie could not but be in great danger, if he provided not to haue him his friend, by on safe conduct obtained for him & his retinue, came to Rome with five hundred horses, and being honourable receiued of the king, after conference had betwixt them of diuerse things, at length they agreed vpon a league on this wise, that neither of them should make warre vnto the other, nor to any of the others people or subjects, except he that meant to make war denounced the same six moneths before. Thus this league being concluded, the duke toke leaue of the king, and so returned into Britaine.

About the same time, at the sute of certeine bishops and abbats of poormandie, the king confirmed vnto them their ancient priuileges, granted by the former dukes of poormandie and kings of France, except

such as were granted by those whome he repented for, usurpers, and no lawfull kings or dukes. He also established at Caen the chamber of accounts of the reuenues of his dukedome of poormandie. In Rome he began the foundation of a strong tower behind the castell, that from the castell to the tower, and from the tower to his palace, the way of warre appointed there in garison might passe so securely without danger of the citie, if perhaps the citizens should attempt any rebellion.

In this first yeare, which these things were doing in poormandie, quene Kede late wife of king Henrie the fourth, and mother in law to this king, was arrested by the duke of Bedford the kings lieutenant in his absence, and by him committed to safe keeping in the castell of Leeds in Kent, there to abide the kings pleasure. About the same time, one frater Randall of the order of Franciscanes that professed continencie, and had bene confessor to the same quene, was taken in the Isle of Cernesey, and being first brought ouer into poormandie, was by the kings commandement sent hither into England, and committed to the Tower, where he remained till the parlan of the Tower quarelling with him, by chance streight there within the Tower ward. It was reported that he had conspired with the quene by sorcerie and necromancie to destroye the king.

Whilist the king remained in Rome, to set things in order for the establishment of good policie in that citie, he sent abroad diuerse of his capteins, with conuenient forces to subdue certeine townes & castles in those parties, as his brother the duke of Clarence, who wan the strong towne of Wernon and Spante. In Wernon was sir William Porter made capteine, and in Spant the earle of March. The earle of Salisburie wan Hundue, after he had besieged it from the fourth of februarye vntill the twelfth of March. This towne was giuen afterwards vnto the duke of Clarence. Also the said earle of Salisburie wan the townes of Spontier de Williers, &c. & so the castell, and finally all the places in that quarter, which till that present were not vnder the English obedience. At Petocastell sir Philip Aech was made capteine.

After Candlemasse, the king departed from Rome to go to Cureur, whither he promised to come in like case, as the Dolphin promised to be at Wyeur, to the end that they might aduise vpon a conuenient place where to meet, to intreat of peace to be concluded betwixt the two realms. But the Dolphin by sinister persuation of some enemies to concord, brake promise, and came not. When the king saw that the rough default of his aduersarie, no treatie would be had, he remoued to Wernon, and there a while remained. Soth from Cureur the king had dispatched the earle of Warwike vnto the siege of la Roch Union, which fortresse he so constrained, that it was yielded into his hands, the first of April, in the beginning of this seventh yeare of king Henries reigne, and giuen to sir Guie Buttler late capteine of Rome, of the kings free and liberall grant.

About the same time, the duke of Excester laid siege vnto Chateau Caliard, which siege continued from the last of March, vnto the latter end of September, or as some write vnto the twentieth of December, as after shall appeare. The duke of Glocester being sent to win the towne and castell of Part, toke the towne by assault, and the castell was deliuered by composition after fortie daies siege. After this the Englishmen ouerran the countrie about Chartres, and did much hurt to their enemies in all places where they came. The hearts of the Frenchmen were sore discouraged with the losse of Rome, and the other townes which yielded one after another thus to the English.

Luca Italico.  
The vicar  
generall of  
the archie-  
shoppe of  
Rome for de-  
nouncing the  
king excommunic-  
ed him and de-  
termined in pri-  
son till he died.  
Titus Lilius.  
One Blane  
Blanchart  
was likewise  
deliuered to  
him, & by his  
commandement  
put to death.  
Cradle of  
Titus Lilius.  
King Henries  
entrie into  
Rome.

Titus Lilius.

A league con-  
cluded be-  
tweene king  
Henrie and  
the duke of  
Britaine.

Embassadors  
sent on either  
side.

Titus Lilius.

Wernon and  
Spante taken  
by the Eng-  
lish.

Titus Lilius.  
Hundue tak-  
en.

Anno Reg.

la Roch Union  
surrendered by

Creation of  
Partis.

Chateau Cal-  
iard besieged

Part taken  
by assault.

Each part  
was appoint-  
ed to bring  
with them not  
past two thou-  
sand and five  
hundred men  
of warre as  
Tit. Lili. saith



1419.

An. Reg. 7.

Englishmen, so that such as loued the wealth of their countrie soze lamented the imminent mischēses, which they saw by the diuision of the nobilitie, like thortlie to fall on their heads, namelie bicause they saw no remedie prepared.

But who euer else was disquieted with this matter, John duke of Burgognie raged and swelled, yea and so much created therewith, that he wist not what to saie, and lesse to do: for he knew well that he was neither free from disdaine, nor yet deliuered from the scope of malice, bicause that he onelie ruled the king, and had the whole doings in all matters about him. And therefore he considered, that all such mischāses as chanced to the state of the common-wealth would be imputed to his negligence and disordred gouernement. To find some remedie against such dangers at hand, he thought first to assaie, if he might by any reasonable means conclude a peace betwixt the two mightie kings of England and France, which if he might bring to passe, he doubted not to reuenge his quarell casilie inough against the Dolphin Charles, and to repress all causes of grudge and disdaine.

Herewith intending to build upon this fraile foundation, he sent letters and ambassadozs to the king of England, aduertising him, that if he would personallie come to a communication to be had betwene him and Charles the French king, he doubted not but by his onlie meanes, peace should be brought in place, and bloudie battell clarelie eriled. King Henrie giuing courteous eare to these ambassadozs, sent with them the earle of Marlowe as his ambassadoz, accompanied with two hundred gentlemen to talke with the duke, as then remaining in the French court at the towne of Bourgne. The earle was assailed by the waie as he iourned, by a great number of rebellious persons, gotten into armour of purpose to haue spoiled him of such monie and things as he and his companie had about them. But by the high balliance of the English people, with the aid of their bowes, the Frenchmen were discomfited and chased.

The earle at his comming to Bourgne was honorablie receiued, and hauing done the effect of his message, returned; and with him the earle of saint Paule, and the sonne and heire of the duke of Bourbon were also sent as ambassadozs from the French king, to conclude vpon the time and place of the meeting, with all the circumstances. Whereupon the king of England agreed to come to the towne of Pante, with condition that the duke of Burgognie, and other for the French king should come to Pontoise, that either part might meet other in a conuenient place betwixt those two townes nere to Melun. According to this appointment, K. Henrie came to Pante, where in the feast of Pentecost he kept a liberal house to all commers, and late himselfe in great estate. Upon the which daie, either for good seruice already by them done, or for the good expectation of things to come, he created Gascoigne de Fols, or therwise called the captai or captall de Buef a valiant Gascoigne, earle of Longueuille; and sir John Greie earle of Tankerville, and the lord Bourchier earle of Ebu.

After this solemne feast ended, the place of entertainment and meeting was appointed to be beside Melun on the riuer of Seine, where in a faire place euerie part was by commissioners appointed to their ground. When the daie of appointment approached, which was the last daie of Maie, the king of England accompanied with the dukes of Clarence, and Gloucester, his brethren, the duke of Exeter his vncle, and Henrie Beauford clerke his other vncle, which after was bishop of Winchester and cardinal, with the earles of March, Salisburie, and others, to the

number of a thousand men of warre, entered into his ground, which was barred about and ported, where in his tents were pight in a princelie maner.

Likewise for the French part came Isabell the French quene, bicause hir husband was fallen into his old frantike disease, hauing in hir companie the duke of Burgognie, and the earle of saint Paule, and she had attending vpon hir the faire ladie Katharine hir daughter, with sir and twentie ladies and damoels; and had also for hir furniture a thousand men of warre. The said ladie Katharine was brought by hir mother, onelie to the intent that the king of England beholding hir excellent beaultie, should be so inflamed and rapt in hir loue, that he to obtaine hir to his wife, should the sooner agree to a gentle peace and louing concord. But though manie words were spent in this treatie, and that they met at eight several times, yet no effect ensued, nor any conclusion was taken by this frendlie consultation, so that both parties after a princelie fashion toke leaue ech of other, and departed; the Englishmen to Pante, and the Frenchmen to Pontoise.

Some authoers write that the Dolphin to saie that no agreement should passe, sent sir Taneguide de Chastell to the duke of Burgognie, declaring that if he would breake off the treatie with the Englishmen, he would then common with him; and take such order, that not onelie they but the whole realme of France should thereof be glad and reioise. Howsoeuer it came to passe, truth it is, that where it was agreed, that they should estones haue met in the same place on the third of Iulie; the king according to that appointment came: but there was none for the French part, neither quene nor duke that once appeared; so that it was manifest inough how the fault rested not in the Englishmen, but in the Frenchmen. By reason whereof no conclusion sorted to effect of all this communication, save onelie that a certaine sparke of burning loue was kindled in the kings heart by the sight of the ladie Katharine.

The king without doubt was highlie displeased in his mind, that this communication came to no better passe. Wherefore he mistrusting that the duke of Burgognie was the verie let and stop of his desires, said vnto him before his departure: *Comme, we will haue your kings daughter, and all things that we demand with hir, or we will dye your king and you out of his realme. Well (said the duke of Burgognie) before you dye the king and me out of his realme, you shall be well wearied, and therof we doubt little.* Shortlie after, the duke of Burgognie and the Dolphin met in the plaine fields besides Melun, and there comming together, concluded apparantie an open peace and amitie, which was proclaimed in Paris, Amiens, and Pontoise.

This agreement was made the first of Iulie in the yeare 1419. It was ingrossed by notaries, signed with their hands, and sealed with their great seales of armes; but as the sequele shewed, hart thought not what long spake, nor mind meant not that hand wrote. Whiles these things were a doing, diuerse of the Frenchmen in Rone went about a conspiracie against the Englishmen, whereof the king being well aduertised, sent thither certeine of his nobles, which tried out these conspiratozs, caused them to be apprehended, had them in examination, and such as they found gultie were put to death; and so setting the citie in quietnes, returned to the king, who counted it great honor to keepe the countreies which he wonne by conquest in obedience and awe; with such victories are not obtained without soze labour and toyle, both of prince and people, as the poet rightlis saith:

*Quarere regna, labor; virtus est parca tuere Maxima.*

Al. f.

The

A treatie of peace.

Seuen times the last being on the last day of June. Titus Linius.

Chro. of Flanders.

Titus Linius.

An agreement betweene the duke of Burgognie & the Dolphin.

Titus Linius.

A conspiracie in Rone.

In Angl. pref. sub Hen. 5.

he was chosen to the keeping of them, who pointed him to seruants attend him, moved him the reddest Pompey, ho. Wallin, rier 1419.

ambassadozs sent on either side.

Titus Linius.

Bernon and Hancie taken by the English.

Titus Linius. Jundue tak.

Anno Reg. 7.

Roche Giron rendered by.

Chateau Gaillard besieged.

yurt taken by assault.

Creation of peers.

Enter part two appointed to being with them not past two thousand and five hundred men of warre as the law saith.

Hall.  
These hands  
belonged to  
the earle of  
Longueville  
& to the lord de  
Escapart Gals-  
coignes.  
Hist. dez ducx  
de Normand.  
The king  
placeth the  
porters part.

This captau  
was brother  
to the earle  
of Foix.

Hall.

Pontoise sur-  
prised by the  
Englishmen.

Hall.

Hall.

The king of England, perceiving by this new  
hance, that nothing was lesse to be looked for, than  
peace at the hands of the Frenchmen, devised still  
how to win towne and fortresses, which were kept  
against him: and now that the truce was expired, on  
the thirtieth daie of Julie, he being as then within the  
towne of Pante, appointed certeine bands of soldi-  
ers in the after none to passe out of the gates, giving  
onelic knowledge to the captains what he would  
have them to do. And to the intent that no inkling  
of the enterpryse should come to the enemies care, he  
kept the gates himselfe as porter. These that were  
thus sent forth being guided by the earle of Longue-  
ville, otherwile called the captau de Buef, were com-  
manded in as secret maner as they could to draw  
toward the towne of Pontoise, and to keepe them-  
selues in couert till the darke of the night, and then  
approch the walles of that towne, and upon esping  
their advantage to enter it by scaling, having lad-  
ders and all things necessarie with them for the pur-  
pose.

Moreover, about the closing of the daie and night  
in the evening, he sent forth the erle of Huntingdon  
with other bands of soldiers, to succor and assist the  
other, if they chanced to enter the towne according  
to the order taken. Those that were first sent forth  
(according to their instructions) conueied themselves  
so close to their appointed places, that the enemies  
heard nothing of their doings. Whereupon when the  
night was come, they came in secret wise under the  
walles, and there watched their time till the morning  
began to draw on. In the meane time, whilst the  
watch was departed, and before other were come in  
to their places to relieue it, the Englishmen setting  
up their ladders, entered and brake open one of the  
gates to receive the other that followed.

The Frenchmen perceiving that the walles were  
taken, and their enemies entered into the towne, at  
the first were sore amazed: but after perceiving the  
small number of the Englishmen, they assembled  
together and fiercely assailed them, so that they were  
constrained to retire to the walles and turrets which  
they had taken, and with much adoe defended the  
same; some leaping downe into the ditches, and hi-  
ding them in the vines, till at length the earle of  
Huntingdon, with his companies came to their suc-  
cor, and entring by the gate which was open, easilie  
did beat backe the enemies, & got the market place.  
Which when the lord Lisle Adam captaine of the  
towne perceived, he opened the gate towards Pa-  
ris, by the which he with all his retinue, and diuerse of  
the townesmen to the number of ten thousand in all,  
(as Enguerant de Monstr. recounteth) fled towards  
Paris, taking awaie with them their coine, iewels,  
and plate. Some of them fleeing towards Beauuois  
were met with, and stripped of that they had, by Je-  
han de Gulni, and Jehan de Clau, two captaines  
that serued the Dylentiaill faction.

There were within the towne of Pontoise at that  
time when it was thus taken by the Englishmen, a  
thousand lances, and two thousand arcuballisters, as  
Thomas Wallingham affirmeth, and of Englishmen  
and Gascoignes that went first forth of Pante with  
the captau de Buef, not past sixtenc hundred, as  
Hall reporteth; although Enguerant de Monstrellet  
saith, they were about three thousand. But how manie  
sooner they were, they durst not at the first, by reason  
of their small number (as may be thought) once di-  
uide themselves, or deale with booties, till about the  
houre of prime, that the duke of Clarence came to  
their aid with five thousand men, who much praising  
the valiantnesse of the earle and his retinue that had  
thus wonne the towne, gaue to them the chiefe spoile  
of the which there was great plentie.

Then went the duke forth towards Paris, and  
comming thither, lodged before it two daies and two  
nights, without perceiuing aunc proffer of issue to  
be made forth against him by his enemies, and there-  
fore seeing they durst not once looke upon him, he re-  
turned to Pontoise, for the taking of which towne  
the whole countrie of France, and speciallie the Pa-  
risians were sore dismayed: fith now there was no  
fortresse able to withstand the English puissance; for  
that the Frenchmen ouerran all the Ile of France,  
did to the Frenchmen damages innumerable (as  
their writers affirme) brought daile pries to the  
English armie, burst vp houses, laid beds on the  
backes of the kine, rid upon them, carried yong  
childzen before them, and sold them to the English-  
men for slaues. These strange doings so feared the  
Frenchmen within the territorie of Paris, and the  
countrie about, that the sozie people fled out of the  
villages with all their stuffe into the citie.

The French king, and the duke of Burgognie li-  
eng at saint Denis, in this season, departed from  
thence with the queene and his daughter, and went  
to Trois in Champaigne, there to consult of their  
business, having left at Paris the earle of S. Paule,  
and the lord Lisle Adam, with a great puissance  
to defend the citie. The king of England immediatlie  
after that Pontoise was wonne (as before ye haue  
heard) came thither in person, as well to giue order  
for the placing of a sufficient garrison there for de-  
fense thereof, as to proceed further into the countrie  
for the getting of other townes and places: and so  
after he had well provided for the good government,  
& safe keeping thereof, the eighteenth daie of August  
he departed out of the same with his maine armie.

And because they of the garrison that laie in the  
castell of Blancon Willers had done, & daile did di-  
uerse and sundrie displeasures to the Englishmen,  
he pight downe his field nere to the same, the better  
to restraine them from their hostile attempts, and  
withall sent part of his armie to besiege the castell,  
which put them in such feare, that they despairing of  
all reliefe or succour, and perceiving they should not  
be able long to defend the place against the kings  
puissance, yielded the place, with all their coine and  
other goods into the kings hands. The soldiers of  
that garrison, and the inhabitants, at the contempla-  
tion of a certeine ladie there amongst them, were li-  
cenced by the king to depart without armes or wea-  
pon, onelic with their liues saved. John of Burgh  
that was after bailiffe of Gisors, was appointed  
captaine of this castell.

After this, all the townes and castels within a  
great circuit offered to yeld themselves unto the  
English obedience; the strong towne and castell of  
Gisors onelic excepted, which still held out, & would  
shew no token of will to yeld. Whereupon the king  
the last of August began to approach the same, but at  
the first he could not come nere, by reason of the  
marishes and fennes: but yet such was the diligence  
of the Englishmen, aduanced by the presence of the  
king, readie in all places to commend them that  
were forward in their business, and to chastise such  
as slacked their dutie, that daile they came nearer  
and nearer, although the Frenchmen issued forth daile  
to encounter them, giving them manie sharpe  
skirmishes. For the towne being double walled and  
fenced with those broad marishes, so encouraged them  
within, that they thought no force had bene able to  
hane subdued them.

But at length calling to remembrance, that the  
king of England came before no towne nor for-  
tesse, from which he would depart before he had  
brought it under his subiection, they offered to come  
to a parley, and in the end compounded to render the  
towne

The Duke of  
Burgogne  
with his  
armie

The Duke of  
Burgogne  
with his  
armie

The Duke of  
Burgogne  
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n. 1419.  
The Duke of  
Burgundie  
meth before  
Paris with  
his armie.

The Duke of  
Burgundie  
meth before  
Paris with  
his armie.

An. Reg. 7. 8.

Thom. Wall.

Duke of  
Burgundie  
meth before  
Paris with  
his armie.

Titus Livius.

to come into the kings hands the eight daie of Sep-  
tember next ensuing, and the castell (because it was  
the stronger piece) they covenanted to deliuer the  
soure and twentieth of the same, if in the meane time  
no rescue came to raise the siege. Hereupon when no  
such rescue could be heard of, at the daies limited, the  
soldiers of the garrison, & the moze part of the towne  
men also submitted themselves, and received an oth  
to be true subjects to the king, and so remained still in  
their romes. The earle of Gloucester was made cap-  
teine there.

About the same time, to wit, the thre and twentieth  
of September (as some write) was castell Gallard  
surrendered to the hands of the duke of Excester, which  
had bene besieged euer since the last daie of March  
(as before ye haue heard.) But others write that it  
held out seauen moneths, and was not deliuered by  
till the twentieth of December. This castell was not  
onlie strong by situation, standing upon the top of a  
steep hill, but also closed with mightie thicke walles,  
and furnished with men, and all maner of munition  
and things necessarie. The king appointed the lord  
Ros capteine of it. After that Gisors and castell  
Gallard were thus yelded to the English obedience,  
all the other townes and castels thereabout, and in  
the countrie of Menquessin, shortly after yelded to  
the king, as Courneie, Chaumount, Beaulde, Dan-  
gu, and other small fortresses. Of Courneie, was sir  
Gilbert Umfreville made capteine; at Beaulde, the  
earle of Gloucester; and at Dangu, Richard Wood-  
ville. Shortly after was the castell Daumall yelded  
to the earle of Marwick, to whome it was giuen.  
And thus was the whole duchie of Normandie (vnto  
saint Michael onlie excepted) reduced to the posses-  
sion of the right heire, which had bene wrongfully de-  
tained from the kings of England euer since the  
daies of king John, who lost it about the yere one  
thousand two hundred and seauen.

To satisfie those that be desirous to know what  
capteins were appointed by the king in diuerse  
townes that were yelded to him (of which we haue  
made no mention heretofore but in generall) here  
their names do folloze, and of the townes, as we  
find them in the chronicles of maister Hall. At Creu-  
le, sir Henrie Lancour an Almaine; at Torigne,  
sir John Popham, to whome it was giuen; at Cham-  
bote, the lord Fitz Hugh; at Bernueil in Berch, sir  
John Penill; at Caste, sir William Huddleston  
bailiffe of Alanson; at Crute sir Lots Robert; at  
Conde Rozean sir John Fastolfe; at Catwedebecke,  
sir Lots Robert; at Deepe, William lord Bourchi-  
er earle of Eu; at Aubemarle, the earle of Mar-  
wick, and his deputie thereof William Pontfort; at  
Wellincombe, sir Thomas Ramston lord thereof by  
gift; at Longueuille, the capitall de Beuf or Buz,  
earle thereof by gift; at Danville, sir Christopher  
Burden; at Couches, sir Robert Parburie; at Chi-  
erburg, sir John Gedding; at Bacqueuille, the lord  
Ros; at Arques sir James Fines, bailiffe of Caur;  
at Poncaur, sir Philip Lath; at Offrie Wagnie,  
Richard Abraham; at Sentler Surget, William  
Ballet; at Betueill, sir Henrie Spottimer bailiffe  
of Hundew.

But now to returne where we left. The wise and  
grauie personages of the realme of France, soze la-  
menting & bewailing the miserie of their countrie,  
saw they had puissance inough to defend their eni-  
mies, if they were of perfect concord amongst them-  
selves. And therefore to remoue all rancor and dis-  
pleasure betwixt the Dolphin, and the duke of Bur-  
gognie, they procured a new meeting, which was ap-  
pointed to be at Pontfrenon ou fault Ponne, where  
the two princes at the daie assigned met. But such  
was the fortune of France, that the duke of Bur-

gognie was there murdered, as he kneeled before  
the Dolphin: whereupon ensued greater debate than  
before. For Philip earle of Charolois, the sonne and  
heire of the said duke, took the matter verie gra-  
uoulie, as he had no lesse cause, and determined to be  
reuenged on the Dolphin, and other that were guiltie  
of the murder: so that now there was great expecta-  
tion of slaughter and bloodshed, but no hope for the  
most part of tranquillitie & peace. France therefore,  
what with overthowles giuen by the English, & diuis-  
sion among themselves, was verie soze afflicted; in-  
somuch that one miserie riding on anothers necke,  
the whole land was in danger of desolation by ciuill  
dissention & mutuall mutinies; as the poet noteth:

—accesit ad ista  
Tunc mala Celarum Burgundio fraude peremptus  
Sparsaq; ciuili tota dissensio terra.

Anglorum pra-  
lia sub Henr. 5.

When he had well considered of the matter, and  
taken aduise with his counsell, he first sent ambassa-  
dours to the king of England, then lieng at Gisors  
to treat and conclude a truce betwene them both for  
a certeine space, that they might talke of some con-  
clusion of agreement. King Henrie receiued the am-  
bassadors verie courteously, and granted that com-  
munication might be had of peace, but bitterlie denie-  
ed arie abstinence from warre, because he would not  
lose time, if the treatie sorted not to good effect. Here-  
upon hauing his armie assembled at Spaunt, he di-  
uided the same into thre parts, appointing the duke  
of Gloucester with one part to go vnto the castell of  
S. Germane in Laie, and to laie siege therevnto. The  
duke according to his commission, continuing before  
that castell, within a while constrained them within  
by continuall skirmishes and assaults to deliuer vp  
the place into his hands. An other part of the armie  
was sent vnto the castell of Pontioie, which likewise  
by such fierce assaults and manfull approches, as the  
Englishmen made thereto, was shortly giuen ouer  
and yelded. The third part of the host went to Pen-  
lanc, a verie strong towne compassed about with the  
riuer of Seine.

Ambassadors  
sent to king  
Henrie.  
Titus Livius.

A wise and  
princelie  
caution.

The castell of  
S. Germane  
in Laie and  
Pontioie yel-  
ded to the  
Englishmen.

But the king denied to fasten botes and barges  
together, and to reere vp certeine frames of timber a-  
loft on the same for defense of his soldiers, that should  
by that meanes approach the walles, wherewith those  
that had the towne in keeping were so put in feare,  
that their capteine was glad to come to a communi-  
cation, & agreed to deliuer the towne into the kings  
hands, if no rescue came before the thirtieth daie of  
October next ensuing. On which daie, for that no re-  
scue appeared, the towne (according to the cove-  
nants) was giuen vp into the kings hands. Sir  
Thomas Ramston was made capteine there, and  
after him sir John Fastolfe. The king, whilst these  
places were besieged, and thus brought vnder his  
subiection, continued for the most part at Spaunt; but  
yet oftentimes he went forth to visit his campes,  
and to see that nothing should be wanting, that might  
further the speedie dispatch of his enterprises.

A policie for  
redie bridges.

The strong  
town of Spa-  
lanc yelded to  
the English.

About the same time, there came againe ambassa-  
dours to him from Charles the French king, & from  
the young duke of Burgognie to treat with him of  
some good conclusion of peace to be had; who had no  
such trust in their sute, but that he doubted their mea-  
ning, and therefore ceased not to proceed in the win-  
ning of townes and castels, as he was in hand. Now  
when Christmasse approached, the king withdrew to  
Rone, and there kept the solemnization of that feast,  
appointing in the meane time his men of warre to be  
occupied as occasion serued. The earle of Salisbury  
was sent to besiege the towne of Fresneie, the which  
after stout resistance made at the first, shortly after  
was deliuered to him to the kings vse. The earles  
Marshall and Wintonington, sir John Greene Cozney  
Wall,

I 4 2 0

Anno Reg. 8.

Fitz.

Wall,

Titus Livius.

The castell of  
Alanson was  
besieged and  
taken.

Titus Livius.

Gisors be-  
sieged & yel-  
ded to the  
Englishmen.

Titus Livius.

A great victorie on the English side.

Wall, sir Philip Leech, and diuerse other, were sent into the countrie of Haine, where, not farre from the citie of Mons they were incountered by a power of Frenchmen, which the Dolphin had sent against them. There was at the first a sharpe bickering betwixt them, but in the end the victorie remained with the Englishmen; so that manie of the Frenchmen were slaine, and taken, and the residue chased out of the field. There were slaine (as Thomas Walsingham saith) at the point of fise thousand, and two hundred taken prisoners, among whome was the marshall de Rouss, and diuerse other of good account. The two English earles remained there as victors, in the countrie which was by the king to them assigned.

King Henrie condescendeth to a treatie of peace.

Whilist these victorious exploits were thus happily achieved by the Englishmen, and that the king laie still at Rone, in giuing thanks to almighty God for the same, there came to him embassadours from the French king and the duke of Burgognie to moue him to peace. The king minding not to be reputed for a destroyer of the countrie, which he coueted to preserve, or for a causer of christian bloud still to be spilt in his quarrell, began so to incline and giue care vnto their sute and humble request, that at length (after often sending to and fro) and that the bishop of Arras, and other men of honor had bene with him, and likewise the earle of Warwick, and the bishop of Rochester had bene with the duke of Burgognie, they both finallie agreed vpon certeine articles, so that the French king and his commons would thereto assent.

A truce tripartite.

Now was the French king and the quene with their daughter Katharine at Trois in Champaigne gouerned and ordered by them, which so much favoured the duke of Burgognie, that they would not for anie earthlie good, once hinder or pull backe one lot of such articles as the same duke should seeke to preferre. And therefore what needeth manie words, a truce tripartite was accorded betwene the two kings and the duke, and their countries, and order taken that the king of England should send in the companie of the duke of Burgognie his embassadours vnto Trois in Champaigne sufficientlie authorized to treat and conclude of so great matter. The king of England, being in good hope that all his affaires should take good successe as he could wish or desire, sent to the duke of Burgognie his uncle, the duke of Excester, the earle of Salisburie, the bishop of Elie, the lord Stanhope, the lord Fitz Hugh, sir John Robert, and sir Philip Hall, with diuerse doctors, to the number of fise hundred horse, which in the companie of the duke of Burgognie came to the citie of Trois the eleuenth of March. The king, the quene, and the ladie Katharine them receiued, and hartlie welcomed, shewing great signes and tokens of loue and amitie.

The articles of the peace concluded betwene king Henrie and the French king.

After a few daies they fell to counsell, in which at length it was concluded, that king Henrie of England should come to Trois, and marie the ladie Katharine; and the king his father after his death should make him heire of his realme, crowne and dignitie. It was also agreed, that king Henrie, during his father in lawes life, should in his stead haue the whole gouernement of the realme of France, as regent thereof, with manie other covenants and articles, as after shall appere. As to the performance whereof, it was accorded, that all the nobles and estates of the realme of France, as well spirituall as temporall, and also the citie and commonalties, citizens and burgesses of towne, that were obersant at that time to the French king, should take a corporall oth. These articles were not at the first in all points brought to a perfect conclusion. But after the effect and meaning of them was agreed vpon by the commissio-

ners, the Englishmen departed towards the king their master, and left sir John Robert behind, to giue his attendance on the ladie Katharine.

King Henrie being informed by them of that which they had done, was well content with the agreement and with all diligence prepared to go vnto Trois, and thereupon having all things in a readinesse, he being accompanied with his brethren the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, the earles of Marboke, Salisburie, Huntingdon, Cambridge, and Longueville, fiftene thousand men of warre, went from Rone to Pontoise, departing from thence the eight daie of Maie, came to saint Denis two leagues from Paris, and after to Pontcharanton, where he left a strong garrison of men, with sir William Calcoigne, to keepe the passage; and so then entering into Brze, he tooke by the waie a castell which was kept against him, causing them that so kept it, some to be hanged, and the residue to be led forth with him as prisoners. And after this keeping on his iournie by Rouens, and Nogent, at length he came to Trois.

The duke of Burgognie accompanied with manie noble men, receiued him two leagues without the towne, and conueied him to his lodging. All his armie was lodged in small villages thereabout. And after that he had reposed himselfe a little, he went to visit the French king, the quene, and the ladie Katharine, whome he found in saint Peters church, where was a verie iolous meeting betwixt them (and this was on the twentieth daie of Maie) and there the king of England, and the ladie Katharine were affianced. After this, the two kings and their counsell assembled together diuerse daies, wherein the first concluded agreement was in diuerse points altered and brought to a certeinettie, according to the effect aboue mentioned. When this great matter was finished, the kings swore for their parts to obserue all the covenants of this league and agreement. Likewise the duke of Burgognie and a great number of other princes and nobles which were present, receiued an oth, the tenor whereof (as the duke of Burgognie uttered it in solemne words) thus insueth, accordinglie as the same is exemplified by Titus Lilius De Foro Luuissis in Latine.

### The oth of the duke of Burgognie.



*Go Philippus Burgundia dux, per me meosque heredes, ad sacra Dei euangelia domino regi Henrico Anglia, Franciaque, pro Carolo rege regem iuro, quod humiliter ipsi Henrico fideliterq. cunctis in rebus, qua rempublicam spectant & Francia coronam, obediemus, & statim post mortem Caroli domini nostri, domino Henrico regi suisque successoribus in perpetuum legi fideles erimus; nec alium quempiam pro domino nostro supremo Francia rege, quam Henricum & suos heredes habebimus, neque patiemur. Non erimus praterea in consilio vel consensu cuiusquam damni regis Henrici, suorumue successorum, ubi quicquam detrimenti patiantur capitis sue membris, vel vitam perdant; sed predicta (quantum in nobis fuerit) quam citissimis literis vel nuntiis, ut sibi melius providere valeant, eis significabimus.*

The same in English.



Philip duke of Burgognie, for my selfe, and for mine heires, doe here sweare vpon the holie euangelists of God, to Henrie king of England

England, and regent of France for king Charles, that we shall humble and faithfully obey the said Henrie in all things which concerne the common-wealth and crowne of France. And immediatlie after the deceasse of our soueraigne lord king Charles, we shall be faithful liegemen vnto the said king Henrie, and to his successors for ever. Neither shall we take or suffer any other soueraigne lord and supreme king of France, but the same Henrie and his heires: neither shall we be of counsell or consent of any hurt towards the said king Henrie or his successors, wherby they may suffer losse & detriment of life or lim, but that the same so farre as in vs may lie, we shall signifie to them with all speed, by letters or messengers, that they may the better provide for themselves in such cases.

The like off a great number of the princes and nobles both spirituall and temporall, which were present, received at the same time. This done, the morrow after Trinitie sundaie, being the third of June, the marriage was solemnized and fullie consummate betwixt the king of England, and the said ladie Katharine. Herewith was the king of England named and proclaimed heire and regent of France. And as the French king sent the copie of this treatie to euerie towne in France: so the king of England sent the same in English vnto euerie cite and market towne within his realme, to be proclaimed and published. The true copie whereof, as we find it in the chronicles of maister Hall, we haue thought good here to set downe, for the more full satisfieng of those that shall desire to peruse euerie clause and article thereof, as followeth.

The articles & appointments of peace  
betweene the realmes of England and France.

**H**enrie by the grace of God king of England, heire and regent of France, lord of Ireland, to perpetuall mind of christian people, and all those that be vnder our obediace, we notifie and declare, that though there hath bene here before diuerse treaties betweene the most excellent prince Charles our father of France and his progenitors, for the peace to be had betwixt the two realmes of France and England, the which heretofore haue borne no fruit: we considering the great harmes, the which haue not onelie fallen betwixt those two realmes, for the great diuision of that hath bene betwixt them, but to all holy church; we haue taken a treatie with our said father, in which treatie betwixt our said father and vs, it is concluded & accorded in the forme after the manner that followeth.

1 First, it is accorded betwixt our father and vs, that forsomuch as by the bond of matrimonie made for the good of the peace betwixt vs and our most dere beloved Katharine, daughter of our said father, & of our most dere mother Klabell his wife; the same Charles and Klabell bene made our father and mother: therefore them as our father and mother we shall haue and worship, as it sitteth and seemeth so worship a prince and princeesse to be worshipped, principallie before all other temporall persons of the world.

2 Also we shall not disrouble, diseason or let our father aforesaid, but that he hold and possede as long as he liueth, as he holdeth and possedeth at this time,

the crowne and dignitie of all of France, with rents and profits for the same, of the sustenance of his estate and charges of the realme. And our foresaid mother also hold as long as she liueth, the state and dignitie of queene, after the manner of the same realme, with conuenable conuenient part of the said rents and profits.

3 Also that the foresaid ladie Katharine shall take and haue dower in our realme of England as queenes of England here tofore were wont for to take and haue, that is to saie, to the summe of fortie thousand scutes, of the which twa algate shall be a noble English.

4 And that by the waies, manners, and meanes that we without transgression or offense of other made by vs, for to speake the lawes, customes, vsages and rights of our said realme of England, shall done our labour and pursuit, that the said Katharine, all so soone as it may be done, be made sure to take, and for to haue in our said realme of England, from the time of our death, the said dower of fortie thousand scutes yereleie, of the which twa algate be worth a noble English.

5 Also if it happe the said Katharine to ouerlue vs, we shall take and haue the realme of France immediatlie, from the time of our death, dower to the summe of twentie thousand franks yereleie, of and vpon the lands, places and lordships that held and had Blanch sometime wife of Philip Deasail to our said father.

6 Also that after the death of our said father aforesaid, and from thence forward, the crowne and the realme of France, with all the rights and appurtenances, shall remaine and abide to vs, and bene of vs and of our heires for evermore.

7 And forsomuch as our said father is withholden with diuerse sicknesse, in such manner as he maie not intend in his owne person for to dispose for the needs of the foresaid realme of France: therefore during the life of our foresaid father, the faculties and exercise of the gouernance and disposition of the publicke & common profit of the said realme of France, with counsell, and nobles, and wise men of the same realme of France, shall be and abide to vs: so that from thenceforth we maie gouerne the same realme by vs. And also to admit to our counsell and assistance of the said nobles, such as we shall thinke meet. The which faculties and exercise of gouernance thus being toward vs, we shall labour and purpose vs speedfullie, diligentlie, and truelie, to that that maie be and ought for to be vnto the worship of God, and our said father and mother, and also to the common good of the said realme, and that realme with the counsell & helpe of the worshipie and great nobles of the same realme for to be defended, peaced and gouerned after right and equitie.

8 Also that we of our owne power shall do the court of parlement in France to be kept and obserued in his authoritie and souerainetie, and in all that is done to it in all manner of places that now or in time comming is or shall be subiect to our said father,

9 Also we to our power shall defend and helpe all and euerie of the piers, nobles, cities, townes, communalities, and singular persons, now or in time comming, subiects to our father in their rights, customes, priuileges, freedomes, and franchises, longing or due to them in all manner of places now or in time comming subiect to our father.

10 Also we diligentlie and truelie shall trauell to our power, and do that iustice be administered and done in the same realme of France after the lawes, customes, and rights of the same realme, without personall exception. And that we shall kepe and hold

As it is. the

Thom. Wals.

Titus Livius.

King Henrie cometh to Paris to the French king.

King Henrie assisteth the French king's daughter.

Titus Livius.



the subjects of the same realme in tranquillitie and peace, and to our power we shall defend them against all manner of violence and oppression.

11 Also we to our power shall provide, and do to our power, that able persons and profitable bene taken to the offices as well of iustices and other offices belonging to the gouernance of the demaines; and of other offices of the said realme of France, for the good right and peaceable iustice of the same, and for the administration that shall be committed vnto them; and that they be such persons, that after the lawes and rights of the same realme, and for the vtilitie and profit of our said father, shall minister, and that the foresaid realme shall be taken and departed to the same offices.

12 Also that we of our power, so farre as it may commodiously be done, shall trauell to put into the obedience of our said father, all manner of cities, townes, and castels, places, countries, and persons within the realme of France, disobedient, and rebels to our said father, holding with them which bene called the Dolphin or Arminache.

13 Also that we might the more commodiously, suerlie and fralie done, exercise, & fulfill these things aforesaid, it is accorded that all worthie nobles and estates of the same realme of France, as well spirituals as temporals, and also cities notable and communalities, and citizens, burgeses of townes of the realme of France, that bene obedient at this time to our said father, shall make these othes that followen.

14 First to vs haning the facultie, exercise, disposition, and gouernance of the foresaid common profit to our heirs and commandements, these shall make lie & obedientlie obeie and intend in all manner of things concerning the exercise of gouernance of the same realme.

15 Also that the worthie, great, and noble estates of the said realme, as well spirituals as temporals, and also cities and notable communalities, and citizens and burgeses of the same realme, in all manner of things well and trulie shall keepe and to their power shall do to be kept of so much as to them belongeth, or to anie of them, all those things that bene appointed and accorded betwene our foresaid father and mother and vs, with the counsell of them whome vs list to call to vs.

16 And that continuallie from the death, and after the death of our said father Charles, they shall be our true liegemen, and our heirs; and they shall receive and admit vs for their liege and sovereigne and verie king of France, and for such to obeie vs without opposition, contradiction, or difficultie, as they bene to our foresaid father during his life, neuer after this realme of France shall obey to man as king or regent of France, but to vs and our heirs. Also they shall not be in counsell, helpe, or assent that we lese life or limme, or be take with euill taking, or that we suffer harme, or diminution in person, estate, worship, or goods; but if they knowe anie such thing for to be cast or imagined against vs, they shall let it to their power, & they shall done vs to werten thereof, as hastily as they maye by themselves, by message, or by letters.

17 Also that all manner of conquests that should be made by vs in France upon the said inobedients, out of the duchie of Normandie, shall be done to the profit of our said father; and that to our power we shall do, that all manner of lands and lordships that bene in the places so for to be conquered, longeing to persons obedieng to our foresaid father, which shall sweare for to keepe this present accord, shall be restored to the same persons to whom they long to.

18 Also that all manner of persons of the holie

church, beneficed in the duchie of Normandie, or any other places in the realme of France, subiect to our father, and fauouring the partie of the dukes of Burgonie, which shall sweare to keepe this present accord, shall inioy peaceable their benefices of holie church in the duchie of Normandie, or in other places next aforesaid.

19 Also likewise, all maner of persons of holie church, obedient to vs, and beneficed in the realme of France, and places subiect to our father, that shall sweare to keepe this present accord, shall inioy peaceable their benefices of holie church in places next aforesaid.

20 Also that all maner of churches, vniuersities, and studies generall, and all colleges of studies, and other colleges of holie church, being in places now or in time comming subiect to our father, or in the duchie of Normandie, or other places in the realme of France subiect to vs, shall inioy their rights and possessions, rents, prerogatiues, liberties, & franchises, longeing or due to them in any maner of wise in the said realme of France, sauing the right of the crowne of France, and euerie other person.

21 Also by Gods helpe, when it hapeneth vs to come to the crowne of France, the duchie of Normandie, and all other places conquered by vs in the realme of France, shall bow vnder the commandement, obeisance, and monarchie of the crowne of France.

22 Also that we shall force vs, & do to our power, that recompense be made by our said father without diminution of the crowne of France to persons obedieng to him, and fauoring to that partie that is said Burgonie, to whom longeth lands, lordships, rents, or possessions in the said duchie of Normandie, or other places in the realme of France, conquered by vs hither towarde, giuen by vs in places and lands gotten or to be gotten, and overcome, in the name of our said father vpon rebels and inobedients to him. And if so be that such maner of recompense be not made to the said persons, by the life of our said father, we shall make that recompense in such maner and places, of goods, when it hapeneth by Gods grace to the crowne of France. And if so be that the lands, lordships, rents, or possessions, the which longeth to such maner of persons in the said duchie and places be not giuen by vs, the same persons shall be restored to them without any delate.

23 And during the life of our father, in all places now or in time comming subiect to him, letters of common iustice, and also grants of offices and gifts, pardons or remissions, and priuileges shall be writen and proceed vnder the name and seale of our said father. And for so much as some singular case maie fall, that maie not be foresene by mans wit, in the which it might be necessarie and behouefull, that we do write our letters, in such maner case, if any hap for the good and suertie of our father, and for the gouernance that longeth to vs, as is beforesaid; and for to eschewen perils that otherwise might fall, to the presentie of our said father, to write our letters, by the which we shall command, charge, and defend after the nature and qualitie of the need, in our fathers behalfe and ours as regent of France.

24 Also, that during our fathers life, we shall not call nor write vs king of France; but verelie we shall absteine vs from that name, as long as our father liueth.

25 Also that our said father, during his life, shall name, call, and write vs in French in this maner: *Nostre treschier filz Henry roy d'Engleterre heretere de France.* And in Latine in this maner: *Præclarissimus filius noster Henricus rex Anglie & heres Francia.*

26 Also that we shall put none impositions or exactions,

exactions, or do charge the subiects of our said father without cause reasonable and necessarie, ne otherwise than for common good of the realme of France, and after the saies and asking of the lawes and customes reasonable approued of the same realme.

27 Also that we shall traueil to our power to the effect and intent, that by the assent of the three estates of either of the realmes of France and England, that all maner of obstacles maie be done alwaie, and that in this partie, that it be ordeined and provided; that from the time that we or any of our heires come to the crowne of France, both the crownes, that is to the crowne of France and England perpetuallie be togither in one & in the same person, that is to saie, from our fathers life to vs, and from the tearme of our life thenceforward in the persons of our heires, that shall be one after an other, and that both realmes shall be gouerned from that we or any of our heires come to the same, not seuerallie vnder diuerse kings in one time, but vnder the same person which for the time shall be king of both realmes, and our soueraigne lord (as it is before said) keeping neuertheless in all maner of other things to either of the same realmes, their rights, liberties, customes, vlags, and lawes, not making subiect in any maner of wise one of the same realmes, to the rights, lawes, or vlags of that other.

28 Also that thenceforward, perpetuallie, shall be still rest, and that in all maner of wise, dissensions, hates, rancours, enuies and wars, betwene the same realmes of France and England, and the people of the same realmes, drawing to accord of the same peace, may cease and be broken.

29 Also that there shall be from henceforward for euermore, peace and tranquillitie, & good accord, and common affection, and stable friendship betwene the said realmes, and their subiects before said. The same realmes shall keepe themselves with their counsell, helps, and common assistance against all maner of men that inforce them for to doen or to imagine wrongs, harmes, displeasures, or grieuances to them or either of them. And they shall be conuersant and merchandizen frelie and suerlie togither, paieing the custome due and accustomed. And they shall be connerfant also, that all the confederats and allies of our said father and the realme of France aforesaid, and also our confederats of the realme of England aforesaid, shall in eight moneths from the time of this accord of peace, as it is notified to them, declare by their letters, that they will draw to this accord, and will be comprehended vnder the treaties and accord of this peace, sauing neuertheless either of the same crownes, and also all maner actions, rights and reuenues, that longen to our said father and his subiects, and to vs and our subiects, against all maner of such allies and confederats.

30 Also neither our father, neither our brother the duke of Burgognie shall begin, ne make with Charles, cleping himselfe the Dolphin of Viennes, any treatie, or peace, or accord, but by counsell and assent of all and ech of vs three, or of other the three estates of either of the said realmes aboue named.

31 Also that we with assent of our said brother of Burgognie, and other of the nobles of the realme of France, the which there to owen to be called, shall ordeine for the gouernance of our said father schertlie, louinglie, & honestlie, after the asking of his roiall estate and dignitie, by the maner that shall be to the worship of God, and of our father, and of the realme of France.

32 Also all maner of persons, that shall be about our father to do him personall seruice, not onelie in office, but in all other seruices, aswell the nobles and gentiles as other, shall be such as hath bene bozne

in the realme of France, or in places longing to France, good, wise, true, and able to that foresaid seruice. And our said father shall dwell in places notable of his obedience, and no where else. Wherefore we charge and command our said liege subiects, and other being vnder our obedience, that they keepe and do to be kept in all that longeth to them, this accord and peace, after the forme and maner as it is accorded; and that they attempt in no maner wise, any thing that may be preiudiciall or contrarie to the same accord and peace, vpon paine of life and lim, and all that they may forfeit against vs. Deuen at Troes, the thirtieth day of Maie, 1420, & proclaimed in London the twentieth day of June.

33 Also that we for the things aforesaid, and euerie one of them, shall giue our assent by our letters patents, sealed with our seals vnto our said father, with all approbation and confirmation of vs, and all other of our blood roiall, and all other of the cities and townes to vs obedient. Sealed with our seals accustomed. And further our said father, besides his letters patents sealed with our great seal, shall make or cause to be made letters approbatorie, and confirmations of the pates of his realme, and of the lords, citizens, and burgesses of the same, vnder his obedience. All which articles we haue sworne to keepe vpon the holie euangelists.

On the fourteenth of June being fridate, there was a solemn procession at London, and a sermon at Pauls crosse, in which the preacher openly declared the effect of the kings marriage, and the articles concluded vpon the same, by reason wherof (he said) there must be a new great seale deuised, and the old broken, and in the new the kings name with a new addition of his title as regent of France, and heire apparent of that kingdome was to be ingrauen. Beside the league thus concluded by king Henrie with the French king, and the whole bodie of the realme of France, there was a priuat league accorded betwixt him and the duke of Burgognie, the effect wherof was comprehended in articles as followeth.

First, that the duke of Burgognie should procure this peace latelie before concluded, to be obserued firme and stable in all covenants and points therof, so far as he by any meanes might further the same: in consideration wherof, one of the brethren of king Henrie should take to wife one of the said duke of Burgognies sisters. That king Henrie should euermore haue in singular fauour the said duke of Burgognie, as his most deere brother, and support him in all his rights. That the said duke, after the deceasse of king Charles, should take an oth of fealtie to be true to B. Henrie & his heires, according to the forme & tenor therof before expressed, & should in all things be friend to king Henrie and his heires for euer. That king Henrie should do his uttermost indeuour, that due punishment might be had for the murder of duke John, father to the said duke of Burgognie, aswell vpon Charles that named himselfe Dolphin, as vpon others that were gullie and priue to that murder.

If the said Dolphin chanced to be taken, either in battell or to wone besieged, or if anie other chanced so to be taken, that should be proued gullie or priue to the murder of the said duke John, he should not be deliuered without iust punishment for his deeds, nor without the consent of the two kings Charles and Henrie, & of the three estates of both the realmes. In consideration of the great diligence, and painfull traueil sustained by the duke of Burgognie, it was also agreed, that he should haue by patent granted of king Charles and queene Isabell a fee of twentie thousand pounds Parisien, of pærelie reuenues, assigned forth nere to the confines of his countrie,

Tho. Wals.

A league betwene king Henrie & the duke of Burgognie.

5

6

to

to inioy the same to him and to his wife the duchess Michaele, and to the heires males betwixt them two, lawfullie begotten, to the obtaining thereof, king Henrie should shew all his furtherance; & if it might not be brought to passe till king Henrie had obtained the crowne of France, then should he see the same performed, upon the receiving of his homage.

*The effect of king Henries oration to the French king.* The king of England, after all the articles of the said treaties and agreements were concluded, passed

and swozne unto, made to the French king, the duke of Burgognie, and other the French lords, a sumptuous banquet; and before they departed from the same, he said with great grauitie made to them a right pithie and sententious oration, declaring to them both how profitable the joining of the two kingdoms should be to the subjects of the same, and also the right that he had thereto, being by lineall descent of the womans side (which is the surest) rather a Frenchman than an Englishman. And though he was an Englishman borne, yet he assured them to tender the wealth of the realme of France, as much as he would the advancement of his owne native countrie of England.

Herewith, he inuited against Charles the Dolphin, being the head and onelie maintainer of all the ciuill discord, whose wicked nature, and cruell disposition, did well appeare in the murder of the late duke of Burgognie. He therefore willed them, according to their dutie, oath, and agreement, to stand with him, and helpe to reduce such a stubborn and disloyall sonne unto the obedience of his father king Charles, that he might shew himselfe conformable unto such orders and decrees, as they had taken, appointed, and agreed vpon; and for his part, he promised to worship, loue, and honor his father in law the said k. Charles, in place of his owne father, according to the true meaning of this concord and agreement, trusting the same to be a peace finall.

And to conclude, he promised, that if they shewed themselves true and loiall to him, according to the same agreement, the Ocean sea should sooner cease to flow, and the bright sunne lose his light, than he would desist from doing that which became a prince to do to his subject, or a father to his naturall child. When he had thus perswaded the nobilitie, and dispatched his businesse at Troies, he with all his armie, hauing with him the French king, and the duke of Burgognie, departed from thence the fourth of June; and vpon the seauenth daie of the same month, came before the towne of Sens in Burgognie, which held on the Dolphins part: but after foure daies siege, it was yielded unto the king, and there he made captaine, the lord Genuille. From thence, he removed to Pontreau ou fault Ponne, which towne was taken on the thre and twentieth daie of June, by assault, so that manie of the Dolphins part were apprehended, before they could get to the castell.

Whilist the siege laie there, and before the towne was entred, the duke of Bedford came thither unto the king, bringing with him a faire retinue of soldiers out of England. After the getting of the towne, the castell being well bittelled and manned, denied to render, and therefore was it entroned with a strong siege. During the which, the duke of Burgognie was informed, in what place of the towne the duke his father was buried, who was slaine there (as before you haue heard) and now his corpe was taken by a gainie by his sonnes appointment, and seared, and so conueied unto Digeon in high Burgognie, and there buried by his father Philip, to the end that the remembrance of him should remaine to posterities, by the reseruatioun of some monument abiding in

the place of his interment, after that his boode was consumed, and his naturall countenance forgotten. Which is the last point of reuerend dutie (as we may well thinke) which pietie of children towards their parents both require; namely, that they be decentlie buried when they be departed, and that their graues or some stones may put vs that are alie in mind of going the same waie, and to let no more by this sitting life, than standeth with the vncerteintie and shortnesse of the same; as one right well saith:

*Cum tumulum cernis, cur non mortalia spernis?*

*Esse memor mortis, quo vixit tempore fortis.*

Because they within the castell of Pontreau, gaue opprobrious wordes vnto the kings herald that was sent to them, the king caused a gibet to be set up before the castle, on the which were hanged twelue of those spitefull offenders, all gentlemen & friends to the captaine named monsieur de Cuitrie, who at length, perceiving that by no means he could be succoured; and fearing to be taken by force, began to treat with the king of England, who for the space of eight daies would hearken to none of his offers; but in conclusion, he and his rendered themselves simple, their liues onelie saued, six weekes after they had bene besieged. The earle of Marlowe was made captaine, both of the towne and castell, who fortified it with men, munition, and bittels.

About this time Robert the gouernour of Scotland, the sixteenth yeare after his brothers reigne, and in the thirtieth yeare of his owne regiment deceased, in whose stead and office his sonne Morzac duke of Albanie was by and by chosen, who had sonnes thre, Walter, Alexander, and James, whereof the two eldest beginning betimes to be obstinate, grew some after verie graceles and wicked: that in one flagitious feat among the rest by this Walter verie impiouslie against his parents was uttered. The gouernour had a faire, a gentle, and well sheng falcon, whereby he set great store. The sonne verie desirous of the same, made manie meanes and motions to haue hir, not without note of malapert importunitie and lacke of reuerence toward his parents pleasure, which the father dissembling to see, would not yet in anie wise forgo his hawk. Whereat this child reiecting regard of dutie, and receiving an vnaturall hate and heat by broth of iniquitie set a boiling in his brest, came in on a time, where standing a while at a sudden bzard, pluckt a waie the bird from his fathers fist, and straight before his face wyang of hir necke. The gouernour hereat fore astonied, for verie griefe gaue a great grone; Well sonne (quod he) since ye cannot bide your humts for dutie and reuerence toward me your parent and soueraigne, I will bring in one that shall bide vs both. Wherevpon some after, he with one Calen Campbell, a noble man & of much authoritie (unto whom this Walter had done a great despight) and with other of the nobilitie fell straight in consultation about the calling home of their king. Which all with one assent they did right well allow, whereby some after (as is touched afore, and followeth more at large) he was by them in his kingdome right rotallie placed. But this came of it. These mischievous children Walter and Alexander, the verie cause of their fathers confusion and their owne, within few peares after condemned by law, vpon a bill by Sterling castell, had their heads chopt off at once. Walters wife with hir two sonnes, Alexander and Alexander, ran for refuge a waie into Ireland; thus for their long iniquities their hires iustlie paid all in a daie.]

Now to proceed in our proceesse of France. After the thus winning of the towne and castell of Pontreau; the king departing from thence, came to Melun vpon Seine, the thirtieth daie of Iulie, and

The king of Scots in his vices amies

Eightene weekes haue the chonicles of flanders.

Monneur de Barbalon a ballat captain.

It hath not out so long as through apper by the Lawe who saith it was recorded of Henry of Jul.

W.P. Buchan. 1476

Titus Livius.

It was rendered by the tenth of June Titus Livius. Sens & Pontreau besieged and taken. The siege was laid the 16. of June.

The duke of Bauere cometh to king Henrie with a number of gentlemen.

The translator of Tit. Livius.

Henrie and Monsieur Barbalon fight and to hand.

The king of  
Scots in his  
armie

Eightene  
hundred  
the chronicles  
of London  
T. L. L.

gentleman de  
Barbafon a  
valiant captain.

It helo not  
out so long as  
should appeare  
by T. L. L.,  
Scho faith, &  
it was ren-  
dered & fourth  
of Julie.

W. P.  
Buchan. lib. 7.

Titus Lilius.

The duke of  
Sumer com-  
meth to king  
Henrie with a  
number of  
hoylmen.

The traitor  
of T. L. L.

At Melun before  
1562 by king  
to Henrie.

At Henrie and  
the duke of Bar-  
bafon fight  
hand to hand.

besieged it round about, hauing then in companie with him the French king, and the yong king of Scots, the dukes of Burgognie, Clarence, Bedford, Gloucester, and War, the prince of Dainge, and one and thertie earles, besides lords, barons, & knights, equall to lords in degree, to the number of seauen and fiftie, what of England and France; and beside also fiftiene maister soldiers. This siege continued the space almost of seuen moneths, or (as Thomas Walsingham saith) foureteene weekes, and foure daies, with skirmishing, scaling, assaulting, and defending, to the losse (no doubt) of both parts. Capteine of this towne was one monsieur de Barbafon, a Gasconne of such experience and approued valiance in wars, that his renowne and fame was spred through the world.

At the first laing of the siege, he called all the soldiers there in garrison, and likewise the townesmen afore him, and warned them all on paine of death, that none of them should be so hardie, as to treat, or once to motion anie word of surrendering the towne, or of comming to anie composition or agreement with the two kings; except they made him being their capteine priuite thereto, before they attempted anie such thing. ¶ In the meane season, the French queene, the queene of England, and the duchesse of Burgognie, lieng at Corbeill, came diuerse times to visit their husbands, and to see their friends; whom the king of England highlie feasted, and longlie intertained, that euerie creature reported great honour of him. This towne of Melun seemed verie strong, both by reason of the river of Seine, which compassed part thereof, and also by strong walles, turrets, ditches, and bulwarks made about it.

The king therefore, to take awaie all the issues and entrees from them within, made a bridge ouer the river, able to beare hozles and carriage; and againe, appointed diuerse botes furnished with men of warre, to kepe the streame; so that they within should haue no waie to come abroad, either by water or land: yet on a daie, the Frenchmen sailed forth, and assailed the English lodgings, where the earle of Warwick was incamped on the east side of the towne, not farre from the duke of Burgognie; but by the valiant prowesse and manlie courage of the Englishmen, the enemies were easilie beaten backe and constrained to retire into the towne againe, with their losse. There is to be remembred, that during this siege before Melun, there came to the king the duke of Lauiere, the kings brother in law (but the kings sister that had bene married to him, was not then liuing) and brought with him seauen hundred well appointed hozsmen, which were retained to serue the king, and right worthilie they bare themselves, and therefore most liberallie recompensed at the kings hand, for the time they continued in his seruice.

The king enforced this siege by all waies and means possible, to bring the towne into subiection, as well by mines as otherwise, but they within the towne so valiantlie behaued themselves, as well by countermines (whereby at length they entered into the kings mines) as by other waies of resistance, that by force of assaults it was not thought anie easie matter to win the same. It fortuned on a daie, that whilst there rose a contention betwixt two lords of the kings host, who should haue the honor to go first into the mine, to incounter with the Frenchmen, that now had brought their mine through into the English mines, and made barriers betwixt, that they might safelie come and fight with the Englishmen: the king (to auoid the strife) entered the mine himselfe first of all other, and by chance came to fight hand to hand with the lord Barbafon, who was

likewise entered the mine before all other of them within the towne.

After they had fought a good season together, at length they agreed to discover either to other their names; so as the lord Barbafon, first declaring what he was, the king likewise told him, that he was the king of England. Whereupon, Barbafon perceiving with whom he had fought, caused the barriers forthwith to be closed, and withdrew into the citie, and the king returned backe to his campe. At length, vittels within the towne began to faile, and the patience began to wax hot, so that the lord Barbafon began to treat; and in conclusion, about the middes of Nouember (as Fabian saith) the towne was yielded vpon certeine conditions, whereof one was, that all that were consenting to the death of the duke of Burgognie, should be deliuered to the king of England, of whom the lord Barbafon was suspected to be one. The king sent them vnder the conduct of his brother the duke of Clarence, to the citie of Paris, whereof the French king made him capteine, and so at his comming thither, he took possession of the Bastill of S. Anthoine, the Loure, the house of Melle, and the place of Bois de Vincennes.

Monsieur de Barbafon was accused by the duke of Burgognie, and his sisters as guiltie to their fathers death; but he in open court defended himselfe as not guiltie of that crime, granting indeed and confessing, that he was one of the familiar seruants to the Dolphin, but that he was priuite or consenting to the death of the duke of Burgognie, he vtterlie denied. Whereupon he was not condemned, neither yet acquitted, by reason of such presumptions and coniectures as were alledged and brought against him, so that he remained in prison at Paris and else where, the space of nine yeares, till at length, being brought vnto castell Galliard, it chanced that the same castell was twome by those of the Dolphins part, and he being as then prisoner there, escaped out of danger, and so by that means was set at libertie, as after shall appeare.

Some write, that he had bene put to death, if he had not appealed from king Henries sentence, vnto the iudgement of the officers at armes; alledging, that by the lawe of armes, no man hauing his brother in armes within his danger, afterwards ought to put him to death for any cause or quarrell. And that he was the kings brother in armes he proued it, for that he had fought with him hand to hand within the mines (as before ye haue heard) which combat was thought of equall force by the heralds, as if he had fought with the king bodie to bodie, within solemn lists. The credit of this matter we leaue to the consideration of the readers. The earle of Huntingford was made capteine of Melun. In defense of this towne and castell, the French had gotten vnto them manie Scots. At the siege here the king kept with him yong James of Scotland, who sent to those Scots, that they should come out and yeld them bre to him, and not to stand in armes against their liege lord and king; but they gaue word backe againe, they could not take him for king, that was in the power of another, and so kept them in hold and in their armor still. King Henrie vpon winning of these forts, for their rebellion against their prince, which they would haue to be counted constancie, and for their contemptuous answer vnto him, thertie of the proudest, in example of the rest, caused he there to be hanged at once.

From thence the king departed with his armie vnto Corbeill, where the French king and the two queenes then sojourned; and after, both the kings, accompanied with the dukes of Bedford, Burgognie, Gloucester, and Excester, and the earls of Warwick

It was furnished about  
Alhalontide,  
as Thom.  
Wal. noteth.  
Melun yielded  
vnto king  
Henrie.

Titus Lilius.

Note this appeal.

Note in law  
of armes.

W. P.





The duke of  
Baker & his  
troope with  
the kings  
not departed,

Ab. Fl. out of  
Folios, pag.  
44. f. 3.

A small hand  
it.

Sentence  
gaint the  
Dolphin.

These countie  
they in  
toed of the  
kings gift.

We landed at  
Dover upon  
Candlemasse  
eue saith Tho.  
Walsingham.

King Henrie  
returneth into  
England  
with his new  
wife.  
Thomas wal-  
ingham saith,  
he was crow-  
ned the first  
in Kent.  
Which that  
were fell upon  
the ninth of  
February.  
The coronation  
of quene  
Katharine.

The first  
course.

The second  
course.

order and reuerend dutifulnesse exhibited on all sides  
to the new quene; of whome *Anglorum praelia saith,*  
*More coronatur maiorum regia coniux,*  
*Ingeminans rex o'vinat, reginaque vulgus,*  
*Alisoum suprema ferit clamoribus astra.*  
After the great solemnization at the foresaid  
coronation in the church of saint Peters at West-  
minster was ended, the quene was conueied into  
the great hall of Westminster, and there set to din-  
ner. Upon whose right hand sat at the end of the  
table the archbishop of Canturburie, & Henrie sur-  
named the Rich cardinal of Winchester. Upon the  
left hand of the quene sat the king of Scots in his e-  
state, who was serued with covered messe, as were  
the foreranked bishops; but yet after them. Upon  
the same hand and side, nere the howds end, sat the  
duchesse of Yorke and the countesse of Huntingdon.  
The earle of March, holding a scepter in his hand,  
kneled upon the right side: the earle marshall in  
like manner on the left of the quene. The countesse  
of Kent sat vnder the table at the right foot, and the  
countesse marshall at the left. The duke of Gloucester  
sir Humfre was that daie ouerser, and stood before  
the quene bareheaded. Sir Richard Percill was  
that daie caruer to the quene, the earles brother of  
Suffolke cupbearer, sir John Steward sewer, the  
lord Clifford pantler in the earle of Marwickes  
stead, the lord Willoughbie butler in stead of the erle  
of Arundell, the lord Craie Kitchin or Kitchin nape-  
rer, the lord Audley almoner in stead of the earle of  
Cambridge, the earle of Worcester was that daie  
earle marshall in the earle marshalls absence; who  
rode about the hall vpon a great courser with a mul-  
titude of tipped haues about him, to make and keepe  
roume in the said hall. Of the which hall the barons  
of the cinque ports began the table vpon the right  
hand, toward saint Stephens chappell; and beneath  
them at the table sat the bolochers of the chancerie.  
Upon the left hand next to the cupbord sat the ma-  
ior and his brethren the aldermen of London. The  
bishops began the table against the barons of the  
cinque ports; and the ladies against the males. Of  
which two tables, for the bishops, began the bishop of  
London and the bishop of Durham; and for the la-  
dies, the countesse of Stafford, and the countesse of  
March.  
The feast was all of fish: for the ordering of the  
seruice whereof were diuerse lords appointed head of-  
ficers, as steward, controller, surgeo, and other ho-  
nourable officers. For the which were appointed the  
earles of Northumberland and Westmerland, the  
lord Fitz Hugh, the lord Furneall, the lord Craie  
of Wilton, the lord Ferres of Grobie, the lord Wol-  
nings, the lord Harrington, the lord Darcie, the  
lord Dacres, and the lord de la Ware. These with o-  
thers ordered the seruice of the feast as followeth; and  
thus for the first course. Brawn and mustard, eels  
in burneur, frument with balsem, pike in herbage,  
lampre powdered, trotot, cooling, plaice fried, mat-  
tine fried, crabs, lech lumbard flourished, tartes;  
and a deuise called a pellican, sitting on his nest with  
his birds, and an image of saint Katharine holding a  
booke, and disputing with doctors. Holding this poe-  
sie in his right hand, written in faine and legible let-  
ters, *Madame le Roine;* and the pellican answering,  
*C'est la signe Cr. du roy, pour rent loy.*  
*Et a tout sa gent, elle metre sa entent.*  
The second course was: gellie coloured with co-  
lumbine flowers, white porage of cream of al-  
monds, breame of the sea, conger, soles, chetien, bar-  
bill and eich, fresh salmon, halibut, guinard, rochet  
boiled, smelts fried, creuis or lobster, lech damaske,  
with the kings poe-sie flourished thereupon. *Le fons  
plus;* lampre fresh baked, flampeine flourished with

a scutcheon rotall, and therein thre crownes of gold  
planted with flourdeluces and flour of camomill  
brought of confections: with a deuise of a panther,  
and an image of saint Katharine with a whele in  
one hand, & a scroll with a poe-sie in the other, to wit,

*La roynemafile, in ceste file,  
Per bon resoun, aies renoun.*

The third course was, dates in compost, creamie  
molle, carpe deore, turbut, tench, pearch with goton,  
fresh surgion with welks, popperous costed, mientes  
fried, creuisse de cau doure, prantz, eels roasted with  
lampre, a lech called the white lech flourished with  
hawthorne leaues & red hawes; a marchpane garni-  
shed with diuerse figures of angels, among which  
was set an image of S. Katharine, holding this poe-sie,

*Ne sefrit, par voir & eir,  
Per mariage pure, cest guerre ne dure.*

And lastly a deuise of a tiger looking in a miroir,  
and a man sitting on horse-backe all armed, holding  
in his armes a tigers whelp with this poe-sie; *Per force  
sans resounie ay prise ceste best;* and with his owne hand  
making a countenance of thowling of miroirs at  
the great tiger, which held this poe-sie; *Gile che mirrou  
ma fesse desfour.* Thus with all honour was finished the  
solemne coronation, after which the quene sojour-  
ned in the palace of Westminster till Palmesun-  
daie following; and on the morow she toke hir iour-  
nie towards Windso; where the king and she held  
their Easter.]

After the solemne feast of the coronation was en-  
ded, the king as well to visit certeine places for de-  
uotion by waie of pilgrimage, as also to see in what  
state and order diuerse parts of his realme stood, de-  
parted from the quene, appointing daie and place  
where she should meet him; and so iournied forth  
from place to place, thorough sundrie countreies, as  
well of Wales as England, and in euerie quarter  
where he came, he heard with diligent eare the com-  
plaints of iutors, and toke order for the administra-  
tion of iustice both to high and low, causing manie  
misdemeanours to be reformed. At length he came  
to the towne of Leicester, where he found the quene  
according to the appointment before taken. Here at  
Leicester, he held the feast of Easter. How then  
standeth this with the report of Fabian, who saith, that  
the king and quene kept their Easter at Windso;  
and that when the said festiual time was expired, the  
king made provision for his warres in France, de-  
voting the tearme of Richard Whittinghams meraltie  
of London, which was in the eight yeare of this king  
Henries reigne: Suerlie there must needs be an  
errout, either in mistaking the yeare or the place; or  
lesse we will grant the king and quene (with their  
court of attendants) to haue bene *hic ibi simul*, which  
privilege is granted to none but Abiquitaries.

But while these things were thus aduoying in Eng-  
land, the duke of Clarence, the kings lieutenant in  
France and Normandie, assembled together all the  
garrisons of Normandie, at the towne of Bernate,  
and from thence departed to the countrie of Maine,  
and at Pont le Gene he passed the river of Mayne,  
and rode through all the countrie to Lucie, where he  
passed the river of Loire and entered into Anjou, and  
came before the cite of Angiers, where he made ma-  
nie knights, that is to saie, sir William Bos, sir  
Henrie Goddard, sir Rowland Alder, sir Thomas  
Beaufort, called the bassard of Clarence and diuerse  
other; and after that he had forated, burnt, and spoiled  
the countrie, he returned with preie and pillage to  
the towne of Beaufort in the baillie, where he was  
aduerfised, that a great number of his enemies,  
Frenchmen, Scots, Spaniards, and other were as-  
sembled together, at a place called Aill Watige, that  
is, Old Wangle, with the duke of Alanson, calling  
himselfe

The third  
course.

Iustice mini-  
stred by king  
Henrie in pro-  
gresse.

Ab. Fl.

Anno Reg. 9.

The duke of  
Clarence made  
a rode into  
Anjou.

Aill Wange  
or Wangle.

Forzusa, a  
Lombard be-  
traeth the  
duke of Cla-  
rence.

himselfe lieutenant generall for the Dolphin.

The duke of Clarence had a Lombard resorting unto him, retreined with the part aduerse (his name was Andreu Forzusa) of whom the duke inquired the number of his enemies, to whom he reported, that their number was but small, & not of puissance to match with halfe the power of his strong armie, intising him with assurance of victorie, to set on the Frenchmen. The duke like a couragious prince, assem-  
bled together all the ho[m]emen of the armie, and left the archers vnder the guiding of the bastard of Clarence, and two Portingales, capteins of Fres-  
niele vicount, saying, that he onlie and the nobles would haue the hono[r] of that tourney. When the duke was passed a certeine streit and narrow passage, he espied his enemies ranged in good order of battell, by the monition of the Lombard, which had sold him to his enemies, & his aduerfaries had laid such ambush-  
ments at the streits, that the duke by no waie with-  
out battell could either retire or fle.

The English  
men discom-  
ted.

The duke of  
Clarence and  
diuerse nobles  
of England  
saine.

The Englishmen seeing this, ballantlie set on their enemies, who were fourte to one, by reason whereof at length the Englishmen were oppressed with mul-  
titude, and brought to confusion. There were saine, the duke of Clarence, the earle of Tankerville, the lord Roos, sir Gilbert Amfrenle earle of Angus, and sir John Lomlie, sir Robert Merend, and almost two thousand Englishmen: & the earles of Summerfet, Suffolke, and Berch, the lord Fitz Water, the John Berkelie, sir Rafe Peulle, sir Henrie Inglis, sir William Bowles, sir William Longton, sir Thomas Worrough, and diuerse other taken prisoners. And of the Frenchmen were saine aboute twelue hundred of the best men of warre they had, so that they gained not much.

The bastard of Clarence which tarried at Beau-  
fort, being informed of the great number of the Frenchmen, made forward with all the archers, to come to the succor of the duke, but they came too late. For the Frenchmen hearing of the approaching of the archers, fled with their prisoners, and left the bodie of the duke, and other the dead carcases behind them. The archers buried them all sauing the dukes corpe, which with great sollemnitie was sent to England, and buried at Canturburie beside his father. After this the Englishmen burnt and spoiled the countrie of spaine, and so returned to Alanson, and after de-  
parted euerie man to his garrison. This battell was fought on Easter euen, in the yeare 1421. But now to returne to the king.

After he had kept his Easter at Leicester, he with the queene removed and went northward, till they came to Poike, where they were receiued with great toy of the citizens, and other the nobles and gentle-  
men of the countrie. The king went vnto Beuerlie, to visit the shrine of saint John, and (stinted) attle by-  
on his departure from thence, the sorrowfull newes of his brother the duke of Clarences death, came to him, for which he was right pensife. But with moun-  
ting would not auaile, he called to remembrance what he had to doe, and thereupon without delay, sent Edmund earle of Mortaigne, brother to the earle of Summerfet into Normandie, giuing to him like au-  
thoritie and preheminentie, as his brother the late de-  
ceased duke of Clarence had before enioied.

The earle of  
Mortaigne  
made lieute-  
nant of Nor-  
mandie.

A parliament.

After this, he called his high court of parliament, in the which he declared with such great wisdom & grauitie, the aas which had bene done in France, the state of the time present, and what was necessa-  
rie to be provided for the time to come (if they would looke to haue that ielwell and high kingdome, for the which they had so long laboured and sought) that the communalitie gladlie granted a fifteenth, & the cler-  
gie beneuolentlie offered a double disme. And because

no delate should be in the kings affaires for lacke of payment, the bishop of Winchester the kings uncle lent unto him twentie thousand pounds, to be paid him againe of the same dismes. When all things ne-  
cessarie for this tourney were readie and prepared, he sent his brother the duke of Bedford before him to Calis with all his armie, being (as some write) foure thousand men of armes, and twentie thousand ar-  
chers and others, though some haue written, that the whole armie passed not twelue thousand of ony and  
other.

The king himselfe shortly after, about the middle of Aprill, passed the seas to Calis, and so from thence he marched through the countrie vnto Boies de Win-  
rennes, where the French king and the queene as-  
then sojourned. The duke of Burgognie also that had receiued him at Pontreuell, attended him to Do-  
mest in Pontreuel, and there hauing taken leaue of him for six daies, returned now againe to him, accor-  
ding to his promise. Then did they consult together about their affaires, and appointed in all hast to fight with the Dolphin, and to raise the siege of Chartres which he had there planted. Hereupon, the king of England with all his puissance, came to the towne of Spante, and thither repaired the duke of Burgognie, but per they departed from thence, they had know-  
ledge, that the Dolphin hearing of the puissant armie of the king of England approaching towards him, was recoiled with his people towards Towlers in  
Touraine.

Hereupon the king of England incontinentlie, did not onlie send backe the duke of Burgognie into Picardie, to resist the attempts of sir Jacques de Harecourt, which made war in that countrie for the Dolphin, but also appointed the king of Scots, with the duke of Gloucester, to besiege the towne of Wyer. They comming thither about the eighteenth of Iulie, planted siege on euerie side, both of the towne and castell, and that with power of batrre, and other for-  
mable meanes, so constrained them within, that on the eight date of August they compounded, that if no suf-  
ficient rescue came to raise the siege, before the end of twelue daies next ensuing, both the towne and castell should be deliuered to the king of Englands vse, so as the soldiers might depart with their goods whither they would, except one Englishman, which was knownen to be amongst them, being fled for treason out of the kings dominions.

On the thirtieth date of August, which was the day of the appointment, the king of Scots receiued the towne and castell to the behaue of his soueraine lord the king of England, who during all the time of the siege late at Mortuall. The townsmen that would remaine still in their houses, were sworne to be true subiects to the king; and the other which re-  
fused, departed with the soldiers. The Englishman that was excepted, was deliuered according to the covenants, and after executed, as he had deserved. The earle of Gloucester was made capteine of Wyer, and sir Henrie Mortimer balliue there. A his  
done, the king hearing that the Dolphin should be at Waugencie, assembling his power, hastied thither-  
wards: but at his comming into those parties, he found no appearance of enemies in the field, and so he remained there fifteene daies.

In which meane while, the earle of Suffolke was sent forth to discover the countrie, and the king went by assault the towne of Waugencie, and after when hitels began to fall, he marched forward, meaning to pursue the Dolphin. But the Dolphin doubting the English puissance, conueied all the vittels forth of those quarters, and retired himselfe to Wargies in Berrie, choosing that place as his first refuge, & there-  
fore determined there to remaine, till fortune turn-  
ing

The strong  
towne of Wy-  
er belleged  
by the Eng-  
lishmen.

A parliament  
called by the  
duke of Bed-  
ford, the king  
being in  
France.

Windsore.  
The birth of  
king Henrie  
the sixt.

ius Liuius.

Les histories  
des ducx de  
Normandie.  
Abr. Fl.

king Hen-  
rich the  
fourth  
in France.

The king of  
France  
in the  
fourth  
of  
June  
1421.

The king of  
Scots  
with  
the king  
Henrie.  
Wyer  
the  
king  
of  
England.

king Hen-  
rich the  
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Dom. 1421.

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re King Henrie  
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King Henrie  
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An. Reg. 9, 10.

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King Henrie  
he sailth into  
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ning his whele, should looke on them with a moze fau-  
orable countenance, hereof in scoone was he com-  
monlie called king of Berrie. The king of Eng-  
land followed, till vittels and forage began fore to  
faile on all sides, and then returning, passed towards  
Dyleance, taking the castell of Rouge Mont by as-  
sault.

He staied three daies before Dyleance, and from  
thence, for want of vittels, marched through Calvi-  
nois, till he came to Wignie sur Ponnoe, where he re-  
mained for a season, to restreth his people that were  
foze trauelled, in that painefull passed iournie: in  
which the king lost not onelie manie of his men for  
lacke of vittels, but also a great number of horses  
and carriages. Some haue witten, that about the  
same time, he should twin the citie of Sens, other-  
wise called the kings new towne by surrender; but  
after he had remained for a time at Wignie, we find  
that he remoued to Paris, where he was honorablie  
receiued. For he came among them as one hauing  
empire and dominion in his hand, so that to him they  
were no lesse forward in submision for feare of his  
indignation, than readie to giue him all the inter-  
tainment that they could deuise for the keeping of  
his fauour: the lacke whereof they knew stood with  
the hazard of their safetie, as the contrarie tended to  
their wellfare.

Shortlie after, considering with himselfe that the  
towne of Meaur in Brie, being replenished with e-  
nimies, was not to be suffered to remaine in that  
state, in the middes of his new gotten subiects; he de-  
termined to take awaie the open scruple that might  
poison and infect the members, dwelling hard by:  
wherefore with a great number of earles and barons  
in his companie, he came to besiege it. This towne  
was no lesse well vittelled than manned, and no bet-  
ter manned than fortified; so that the king could nei-  
ther haue it to him deliuered at his pleasure, nor  
gaine it by assault, without the great losse of his peo-  
ple: yet neuertheless, he determined not to depart,  
till he had got it by one meane or other. The river of  
Spaine diuided this towne into two parts, so that  
there was no enterie from the one into the other, but  
by a brydge, raised by, and made ouer the riuier, sus-  
tained with manie arches. The one part is called the ci-  
tie, and the other la March, being the strongest and  
best fortified. The king first lodged a mile off in a ca-  
stell, and sent the duke of Excester to begin the siege,  
which he did, according to his instructions, vpon the  
first of October.

Shortlie after, the king himselfe came, and lodged  
in the abbey of Baron, the duke of Excester in the  
abbey de Chage, the earle of March at the greie fri-  
ers, and the earle of Marwike directed against that  
part that is called la March. They within defended  
themselves right valliantlie, so that the Englishmen  
were not all at their ease, but specialie through lacke  
of vittels manie died, and manie fell sicke, by reason  
whereof, no small number returned home into Eng-  
land; where in the meane time, on the first of Decem-  
ber, a parlement was called and holden at West-  
minster, by the duke of Bedford, gouernour of the  
realme in the kings absence. In this parlement, a  
sixteenth was granted to the king towards the main-  
tenance of the warres, the one moiitie to be paid at  
Candlemasse, and the other at Martinmasse, of such  
monie as at the time of the grant was currant.

This yere at Windsoze on the daie of saint Mi-  
cholas in December, the queene was deliuered of a  
sonne named Henrie, whose godfathers were John  
duke of Bedford, and Henrie bishop of Winchester,  
and Jaquet, or (as the Frenchmen called hir) Jaque-  
line of Banier, countesse of Holland was his god-  
mother. The king being certified hereof, as he late at

siege before Meaur, gaue God thanks, in that it had  
pleased his diuine prouidence to send him a sonne,  
which might succeed in his crowne and scepter. But  
when he heard reported the place of his natiuitie;  
where it that he warned by some prophesie, or had some  
foreknowledge, or else iudged himselfe of his sonnes  
fortune, he said vnto the lord Fitz Hugh his trustie  
chamberleine these words: My lord, I Henrie bozne  
at Spommouth, shall small time reigne, & much get;  
and Henrie bozne at Windsoze, shall long reigne,  
and all lose: but as God will, so be it.

The king held his Christmasse at the siege before  
Meaur, for he would not giue ouer that siege, al-  
though his armie was greatlie diminished, by reason  
of lacke of vittels, extreame cold, foule weather, and  
other discommodities that byed great store of disca-  
ses and sickenesse among his people; notwithstanding,  
all the helps and means that might be, he deu-  
ised to remedie the same: so that besides such as died,  
as well of sickenesse as by the enimies hand, manie  
returned home into their countries. But yet he cea-  
sed not to continue the siege, beating the walles with  
his ordnance, and casting downe bulwokes and  
rampiers on eche side the towne, made approches as  
well by water as land, with mightie engines deu-  
ised of boards to defend the Englishmen, as they ap-  
proched the walles, and gaue assaults. The walles al-  
so were in diuerse places undermined.

After this, the Englishmen found meanes, by  
brydges made of boats, to passe the riuier; but yet the  
souldiers and other within defended their rampiers  
and breaches most stoutlie, and with guns and quar-  
rels still shot at the Englishmen, of whom they slue  
manie, and among other the earle of Worcester was  
slaine, with a bullet of the great artillerie, & the lord  
Clifford with a quarrell of a crossebow; yet the Eng-  
lishmen still won ground, and got nether and nether  
to the walles. They also twone the chiefest part of a  
brydge from the enimies, and kept watch and ward  
vpon and about the same. The earle of Marwike  
had also taken a tawmure from them of the market  
place, built on the southside thereof, able to receiue  
and lodge a good number of men, which seruing to  
good purpose, for the better bydeling of them within,  
he caused to be kept, and thus were they within Me-  
aur soze oppressed on euerie side.

Herevpon in Februarie, the capteins doubting  
least the citie could not be defended long, caused all  
the vittels and goods to be conueted into the market  
place, and retired all the men of warre into the same,  
leauing none in the other part of the citie, but the  
commons, and such as were not able to do any a-  
nailable seruice in the warre. The king aduertised  
hereof, commanded in all hast to assault the citie,  
which was quicklie done; so that the citie by fine  
force was within three houres taken and spoiled; and  
the same daie the market place besieged round a-  
bout, and a mill twone adioining vnto the same. In  
Aprill, the queene passed ouer into France, with a  
faire retinue of men, vnder the conduct of the duke  
of Bedford, the duke of Gloucester remaining lord  
gouernour of the realme in his place. At hir com-  
ming thither, she was so welcommed and honorablie  
receiued, first of hir husband, and after of hir father  
and mother, that she appeared to be no lesse loued of  
hir noble husband, than of hir deere and naturall pa-  
rents.

Whylest the siege still continued before Meaur, O-  
liver Spennie a valiant man of warre of the Wol-  
phins part (which before was capteine of Saleise, and  
pelding it, swate neuer to beare armour against the  
king of England) assembled a great number of men  
of warre, as well Brittaines as Frenchmen, that is  
to saie, the lord Pontbozier, the lord of Coinon, the

King Henrie  
propheseth of  
his sonne.

Titus Livius,

1 4 2 2

Meaur taken  
by assault.

Anno Reg. 10.  
Queene Ma-  
tharine sailth  
into France.

Oliver Spennie

lord of Chatelgiron, the lord Tintignace, the lord de la Housaie, and diuerse other, which entered into the countrie of Constantine in Normandie, and robbed and killed the Englishmen, where they might either espie or take them at their due aduantage. But the earle of Suffolke keeper of the marches, hearing of their doings, sent for the lord Scales, sir John Alton bailiffe of Constantine, sir William Hall, sir John Banaster, and many other, out of the garrisons within that territorie, the which incountred with their enemies at a place called *Le parke leuesque*, in English, The bishops parke.

A loze coſt.

There was a loze fight and a long betwixt them, but finally, the Frenchmen were put to flight, so that in the conflict and chase were slain, the lord of Coinon, the lord of Chatelgiron, and three hundred other: and there were taken prisoners, the lord de la Housaie, and sir Oliver Hannie, with threescore others. The king pardoned sir Oliver Hannie his life, though he ill deserued so great a benefit, for that he had broken his oath and promise, but he was sent into England, there to learne to speake English, and so being brought to London, shortly after died, being as then a verie aged man, & was buried in the white friers. ¶ But here note (by the waie) the rotall hart of this king, who as he tempered all his actions with singular circumspection; so with a pittifull mind he pondered the miserie of his enemies; so that when he might (*iure belli*, by the law of armes) haue spoiled them of goods and life, he diuerse times spared both; with clemencie comonly making conquest of them, who seemed by open hostilitie scarce conquerable.

Abr. Fl.

The king lying still before the market place at Meaux in Brie (as ye haue heard) soze beat the walls with his ordinance, and cast downe bulwokes and rampiers on euerie side the towne, so that he had made an open breach for his people to enter. Whereof the lord of Offemont being aduertised, with a companie of chosen persons sent by the Dolphin, assailed in the night season to enter the towne, to the succours of them within. But though diuerse of his people got ouer the walles, by helpe of ladders which they had set by; yet such was his chance, that as he passed a plank, to haue come to the walles, he fell into a deepe ditch; and in the meane time, the Englishmen perceiuing by the noise what the matter meant, came running to the ditch, took the lord of Offemont, and slue diuerse of his companie that stood in defense.

Continuation  
de la chroni-  
cles de Flan-  
ders.

The captaine within, perceiuing in what case they stood, by reason their succours were thus intercepted, and doubting to be taken by assault, for that they wanted munition and weapon, began to treat with the king of England, who appointed the earle of Marwike, and the lord Hungerford, to commune with them; and in conclusion an accord was taken, and so the towne and market place with all the goods were deliuered into the king of Englands hands, the tenth daie of Maie, in the yeare 1422. The appointment taken with them of this towne was this, that they should yeld themselves simplie vnto the kings pleasure, their liues onlie saued: and hereby on manie of them were sent ouer into England, amongst whome was the bishop of that towne, which shortly after his arriual here fell sicke and died.

Titus Livius.  
The conditi-  
ons of the  
surrender of  
Meaux into  
the kings  
hands.

There were also foure persons excepted, against whome the king might by order of law and iustice proceed as he saw cause, for their faults and trespasses committed. As first, the captaine of the towne, named the bassard of Claurcu, the which had done manie greuous oppressions to the people of the countrie thereabouts, in spoiling them of their goods and ransoming them at his pleasure. He had also put diuerse to death most cruellie, when they were not able to paie such finance and ransomes as he deman-

ded. Whereupon, being now put to death himselfe, his bodie was hanged vpon a tree that stood on an hill without the towne, on the which he had caused both husbandmen and townesmen, with other prisoners, to be hanged before time. His standard also, which was wont to be borne before him in battell, was set vp in the same tree. The bailiffe also of the towne, and two of the chiefe burgesses that had bene of counsell with him in his vnlawfull doings, were likewise executed. Also beside these, there were found in this towne diuerse that were accused to be guiltie of the duke of Burgognies death, wherefore they were put to their triall, in the parlement at Paris, and some of them being found guiltie, were executed.

When the deliuerie of the strong towne of Meaux was published thorough out the countrie, all the townes and fortresses in the Ile of France, in Lannois, in Brie, & in Champaigne, yelded themselves to the king of England, which appointed in the same balliant captaine, and hardie soldiers. After that he had thus got possession of Meaux, and the other fortresses, he returned againe to Bois de Vincennes, and being there receiued of the king and queene of France, and of the queene his wife the thirtieth daie of Maie, being Whitsun euen, they remoued all together vnto Paris, where the king of England lodged in the castell of Loure, and the French king in the house of saint Paule. These two kings kept great estate with their queenes, at this high feast of Pentecost, but the king of Englands court greatly erreced, so that all the resort was thither. The Parisiens that beheld his princelie port & high magnificence, iudged him rather an emperour than a king, and their owne king to be in respect of him like a duke or marquisse.

The Dolphin hauing knowledge by espials where the king of England and his power laie, came with all his puissance ouer the riuier of Loire, and besieged Cosneie, a towne situate vpon that riuier, a six score miles distant from Paris, and appointed part of his armie to waste and destroye the confines of the duchie of Burgognie, to the intent to diuide the power of the king of England, from the strength of the duke of Burgognie, supposing (as it came to passe indeed) that the duke would make hast towards Burgognie, to defend his owne lands. In the meane time, they within Cosneie were so hard handled, that they promised to render their towne to the Dolphin, if they were not relceued by the king of England within ten daies. King Henrie hearing these newes would not send arie one creature, but determined to go himselfe to the raising of that siege, and so with all diligence came to the towne of Corbeil, and so to Senlis, where (whether it were with heat of the arie, or that he with his daile labour were feebled or weakened) he began to waie sicke, yea and so sicke, that he was constrained to farrie, and send his brother the duke of Bedford to rescue them of Cosneie, which he did to his high honor. For the Dolphin hearing that the duke of Bedford was comming to raise his siege departed thence into Berrie, to his great dishonor, and lesse gaine.

About the same time, the duke of Britaine sent his chancelor the bishop of Gaunts, with the bishop ofannes, and others of his counsell, as ambassadours from him vnto king Henrie, with full commission, to ratifie and allow for him and his people the peace concluded at Troies: but by reason of the kings greuous sicknesse, nothing was then done in that matter. After the lesse, the duke himselfe in person came afterwards to Amiens, and there performed that which he had appointed his ambassadours at this time, in his name, to haue done and accomplished.

The king of  
England is  
brought sicke  
to Bois de  
Vincennes.His countie  
upon his  
death bed.The rotall  
hart of the k.  
of England.

Titus Livius.

Cosneie be-  
sieged by the  
Dolphin.Charles Ch-  
chele archb.  
of Cantuar. for-  
bearing & will-  
ing the  
clearge, as  
appeares  
before, pag.  
545, 546.The king  
with sick.He departed  
this life the  
last of August  
1422.The commu-  
dation of him  
Henrie the fift-  
as is expresse  
by most Hall.Titus Livius.  
The duke of  
Britaine  
death ambassa-  
dours to the k.  
of England.

The king of  
England is  
brought sicke  
to Bois de  
Wincent.

His countie  
began his  
weybed.

The roll  
port of the R.  
of England.

Cofrete be-  
ged by the  
Dolphin.

The king  
leth sicke.

Cofrete re-  
cued by the  
duke of Bo-  
ford.

Titus Livius.  
The duke of  
Britaine sen-  
deth ambassa-  
dors to the R.  
of England.

Christie Ch-  
rich archb.  
of Cantuar.  
begging & bull  
against the  
charge, as  
appeares  
before, pag.  
145, 146.

He departed  
thence the  
last of August  
1422.  
The com-  
mission of King  
Henrie the fift  
was receyved  
by mess. Hall.

thod. In the meane season, king Henrie waxed sicker  
and sicker, and so in an hoſpeller was conveyed to  
Bois de Wincent, to whom hostile after repa-  
red the dukes of Bedford and Gloucester, & the earles  
of Salisburie and Warwicke, whom the king lo-  
ungly welcomed, and seemed glad of their presence.  
Now, when he saw them penſive for his sickness,  
and great danger of life wherein he presentlie laie,  
he with manie graue, courteous, and pitie words,  
recomforted them the best he could, and therewith ex-  
horted them to be trustie and faithfull unto his sonne,  
and to see that he might be well and vertuouslie  
brought up. And as concerning the rule and gover-  
nance of his realms, during the minoritye and yong  
yeares of his said sonne, he willed them to ſoine to-  
gether in friendlie love and concord, keeping conti-  
nuall peace and amitie with the duke of Burgognie,  
and neuer to make treatie with Charles that called  
himselfe Dolphyn of Wienne, by the which anie part  
either of the crowne of France, or of the duches of  
Normandie and Guien may be lessened or dimini-  
shed; and further, that the duke of Orleans, and the  
other princes should still remaine prisoners, till his  
sonne came to lawfull age, least returning home a-  
gaine, they might kindle more fire in one daie than  
might be quenched in thre.

He further aduised them, that if they thought it  
necessarie, that it should be god to haue his brother  
Humfrey duke of Gloucester to be protectour of Eng-  
land, during the nonage of his sonne, and his brother  
the duke of Bedford, with the helpe of the duke of  
Burgognie to rule and to be regent of France, com-  
manding him with fire and sword to persecute the  
Dolphyn, till he had either brought him to reason and  
obedience, or else to drive and expell him out of the  
realme of France. And here with he protested unto  
them, that neither the ambitious desire to enlarge  
his dominions, neither to purchase baine renowne  
and worldlie fame, nor anie other consideration had  
moued him to take the warres in hand; but onelie  
that in prosecuting his iust title, he might in the end  
attaine to a perfect peace, and come to enioie those  
pieces of his inheritance, which to him of right be-  
longed: and that before the beginning of the same  
warres, he was fallie persuaded by men both wise  
and of great holinesse of life, that vpon such intent  
he might and ought both begin the same warres, and  
follow them, till he had brought them to an end iust-  
lie and rightlie, and that without all danger of Gods  
displeasure or perill of soule.

The noble men present, promised to obserue his  
precepts, and to performe his desires; but their hearts  
were so penſive, and replenished with sorrow, that  
one could not for weeping behold an other. Then he  
saw the seauen psalmes, and receiued the sacrament,  
and in saying the psalmes of the passion ended his  
daies here in this world, at Bois saint Vincent, the  
last of August, in the yeare a thousand four hundred  
twentie and two. This Henrie was a king, of life  
without spot, a prince whom all men loved, and of  
none disdained, a captaine against whom fortune  
neuer frowned, nor mischance once frowned, whose  
people him so feare, a iusticer both loued and obey-  
ed (and so humane withall) that he left no offence  
vnpunished, nor friendship vnrewarded; a ferret to  
rebels, and suppressor of sedition, his vertues nota-  
ble, his qualities most praiseworthy.

His strength and humblesse of heart from his  
youth seem to him comparable, for in travelling, lea-  
ping, and running, no man well able to compare. In  
calling of great iron barres and heauie stones he ex-  
celled conuulsie all men, neuer shynking at cold,  
nor stouthfull for heat; and when he most laboured,  
his head commonlie vncovered; no more wearie of

harnesse than a light cloake, herie valiantlie abiding  
at needs both hunger and thirst; so manfull of mind  
as neuer seeme to quinch at a wound, or to smart at  
the paine; not to turne his nose from euill sauour,  
nor close his eyes from smoke or dust; no man more  
moderate in eating and drinking, with diet not de-  
licate, but rather more meet for men of warre, than  
for princes or tender stomachs. Currie honest person  
was permitted to come to him, sitting at meale,  
where either secretlie or openlie to declare his mind.  
High and weightie causes as well betwene men of  
warre and other he would glablie beare, and either  
determined them himselfe, or else for end committed  
them to others. He slept verie little, but that verie  
soundlie, in so much that when his soldiers song at  
nights, or minstrels plaid, he then slept fastest; of  
courage inuincible, of purpose immutable, so wise-  
hardie alwaies, as feare was banisht from him; at  
euerie alarm he first in armor, and foremost in orde-  
ring. In time of warre such was his prouidence,  
bountie and hap, as he had true intelligence, not one-  
lie what his enemies did, but what they said and inten-  
ded: of his deuises and purposes few, before the thing  
was at the point to be done, should be made pruiue.

He had such knowledge in ordering and guiding  
an armie, with such a gift to encourage his people,  
that the Frenchmen had constant opinion he could  
neuer be vanquished in battell. Such wit, such prou-  
idence, and such policie withall, that he neuer enter-  
prised any thing, before he had fullie debated and fore-  
cast all the maine chances that might happen, which  
done with all diligence and courage he set his pur-  
pose forwarde. What policie he had in finding present  
remedies for sudden mischances, and what engines in  
sauiug himselfe and his people in sharpe distresses;  
were it not that by his acts they did plainlie appeare,  
hard were it by words to make them credible. Man-  
tonnesse of life and thirst in auarice had he quite  
quenched in him; vertues indeed in such an estate  
of souereigntie, youth, and power, as verie rare, so  
right commendable in the highest degree. So staied  
of mind and countenance beside, that neuer iolie or  
triumphant for victorie, nor sad or damped for losse or  
misfortune. For bountifullnesse and liberalitie, no  
man more free, gentle, and franke, in bestowing re-  
wards to all persons, according to their deserts: for  
his saying was, that he neuer desired monie to keepe,  
but to giue and spend.

Although that those properlie serues not for theme  
of praise or dispraise, yet what in bountie may well be  
remembered, in truth would not be forgotten by those,  
were it but onlie to remaine as a spectacle for mag-  
nimitie to haue alwaies in reie, and for encourage-  
ment to nobles in honourable enterprises. Knownen  
he it therefore, of person and forme was this prince  
rightlie representing his heroicall affects, of stature  
and proportion tall and manlie, rather leane than  
grosse, somewhat long necked and blacke haired, of  
countenance amiable, eloquent and graue was his  
speech, and of great grace and power to persuade; for  
conclusion, a matelike was he that both liued & died  
a paterne in princehood, a lode-starre in honour, and  
interour of magnificence: the more highlie exalted  
in his life, the more deeplie lamented at his death,  
and famous to the world alwaie. Peter Basset (a  
chefe man in his chamber) affirmed that he deceased  
of a pleurisie, though the Scots and French set it  
downe to be of saint Feacres disease, that they saie  
was a polle with a crampe, which Enguerant reports  
to be saint Anthonies fire, but neither of them true.  
Anglorum praeſat ſaith, that it was a sharpe fever,  
which happening vnto him (wearied with the broiles  
of warre) in a verie vnseasonable time of the yeare,  
namelie the dogdaies, tormented him the sooner, and

Ab. Fl. out of  
Angl. praeſ.  
ſub Hen. 5.

h k h. j. grew



greto to be not onelie dangerous, but also desperat;  
for it left him not till life was extingwished: the poets  
report is, as followeth:

*Interca fructibus, æstu nimioq; labore  
Corripit Henricum languentem febris acuta,  
Calci intemperies, sextili Sirum ardens  
Furva pestiferi fecit ingravescere morbi.*

"A pestilent  
fever.

His bodie imbalmed and closed in lead, was laid  
in a chariot of all, richlie appavelled with cloth of gold.  
Upon his coffin was laid a representation of his  
person, adorned with robes, diadem, scepter, & ball,  
like a king; the which chariot, six horses drew richlie  
trapped, with severall appointments; the first with  
the armes of S. George, the second with the armes  
of Poymandie, the third of king Arthur, the fourth  
of saint Edward, the fifth of France, and the sixth  
with the armes of England and France. On this  
same chariot gaue attendance James II. of Scots,  
the principall mourner, king Henries uncle Tho-  
mas duke of Excester, Richard earle of Marlowe,  
the earle of March Edmund, the earle of Stafford  
Humfrie, the earle of Powysaine Edmund Beau-  
fort, the lord Fitz Hugh Henrie, the lord Hunger-  
ford Walter, Sir Robert Robert lord Bourchier, Sir  
John Cornwall lord Fanhope, and the lord Crum-  
well were the other mourners. The lord Louell, the  
lord Audlete, the lord Poole, the lord Solow bare  
the banners of saints and annouries, as then they were  
called; the baron of Audlete bare the standard,  
and the earle of Longwile the banner. The hatchments  
were carried onelie by capteins to the number of  
twelue; and round about the chariot rode six hun-  
dred men of armes all in blacke armour, their hos-  
ses barbed blacke, and they with the but ends of their  
speares upwards.

Lord Crum-  
well.

The conduct of this dolorous funeral was com-  
mitted to Sir William Philip, treasurer of the kings  
household, and to Sir William Porter, his chiefe car-  
uer, and others. Beside this, on euery side of the cha-  
riot went three hundred persons, holding long tor-  
ches, & lords bearing banners, banners, and pennons.  
With this funeral appointment was he conueyed  
from Bois de Vincennes, to Paris, and so to Rome,  
to Avuile, to Calis, to Dover, from thence thorough  
London to Westminster, where he was interred  
with such solemn ceremonies, & mourning of lords,  
prayer of priests, and such lamentation of commons,  
as neuer before then the like was done in England.  
Shortlie after this solemn buriall, his sorrowfull  
quene returned into England, and kept his estate  
with the young king his sonne.

W.P.

Abr. Fl. out of  
Angl. prel.

This ended this pious prince his most noble and  
fortunate reign, whose life (saith Hall) though certell  
strokes abbeated, yet neither fate, malice, nor  
fretting time shall apall his honoure, & blot out the  
gloire of him that in so small time had done so mi-  
nite and roiall acts. [In this yeare, the nine and twen-  
tith of October deceased the gentle and welbelovd  
Charles French king the first of that name, who was  
buried at St. Denis.] So that deceased the death  
of these two kings, namelie the one of England, the  
other of France, there was no great space of time;  
for Charles departed in October, and Henrie in Au-  
gust: by the mutation of whose lives, which of the two  
reignes reigned the greater talle, it is a question  
not to be discused. Certaine it is that they were both  
sovereigns tenderlie loved of their subjects, as they  
were princes greatlie fauouring their people. Fi-  
nallie, in memorie of this Henrie the fift, a king of  
a roiall hart, and euery waie adorned with imperiall  
vertues, I find so fit a topick concerning in truth both  
his properties and disposition, that I thinke it verie  
conuenient here to be inserted in place of an epilogue.

*Henricus illustris prosperans mors occupat artus,*

*Ille sua patria decus immortale per ævum  
Penturion; virtutis & indelebile lumen,  
Celfo animi prorsus, leni quoque pectore cines  
Non solui, at iustos hostes fideique probata  
Dilexit; inuicem raro iracundior ore.*

Of learned men and writers, these I find remem-  
bered by Bale and others, to haue liued in the daies of  
this noble and valiant king Henrie the fift. First,  
Alaine de Lin, bozne in Lin, and professed a Car-  
melite frer in that towne, he at length became prior  
of that conuent, proceeded doctor of diuinitie in Cam-  
bridge, and wrote manie treatises; Thomas Otter-  
bozne that wrote an hystorie of England, is thought  
to liue about this season, he was a Franciscan or  
grate frer, as they called them, a great student both  
in diuinitie and philosophie; John Seguard an excel-  
lent poet, and arhetorician, kept a schole, and read  
to his scholars in Norwich, as is supposed, writing  
sundry treatises, reprobating as well the profaning  
of the christian religion in monks and priests, as the  
abuse of poeetrie in those that take upon them to  
write filthie verses and rimes; Robert Rose a frer  
of the Carmelites order in Norwich commonlie cal-  
led the white frers, both an excellent philosopher, and  
diuine, proceeded doctor at Orenford, promoted to be  
prior of his house, and writing diuers treatises; a-  
mongst all the sophists of his time (as saith Bale) he  
offended none of the Wickelites, who in that season  
set forth purelie the word of God, as maie appeare by  
his woorkes.

Moreover, John Lucke, a doctor of diuinitie in  
Orenford, a frere intimate to the Wickelites; Richard  
Cassiter bozne in Norfolk, vicar of saint Stephens  
in Norwich, a man of great holinesse and puritie in  
life, fauouring (though secretlie) the doctrine of the  
Wickelites, and reprobating in his sermons, the vi-  
cious manners and filthie example that appeared in  
the cleargie. Of Sir John Oldcastle lord Cobham ye  
haue heard before; William Wallers a blacke frer  
in Lin, and prouinciall of his order here in Eng-  
land, made a booke of moralisations vpon Ouids Me-  
tamorphoses, comparable to poissis vpon Aescops  
Fables; Richard Smetilham, a student in Orenford,  
where he professed to greattie in learning and wis-  
dome, that he was accounted the chiefe in all that  
vniuersitie, in respect whereof he was made chancel-  
lor of the same, chosen also to be one of the twelue to  
examine and iudge vpon Wickliffes doctrine by the  
archbishop of Canturburie; John Langene a  
monke of Chiffes church in Canturburie, an other  
of those twelue; William Talor a priest, and a ma-  
ster of art in Orenford, a stedfast follower of Wil-  
kliffes doctrine, & burnt for the same in Smithfield at  
London, the second day of March, in the yeare of our  
Lord 1422; & last of king Henrie the fift his reigne.

Furthermore, Richard Cradale student in Oren-  
ford, one of those twelue also; William Lindwood a  
labourer & Wickelike learned, as well in the ciuill as  
canon lawes, aduanced to the seruice of this king,  
and made by his keeper of the priuie seale, sent in  
ambassage both to the kings of Spaine and Por-  
tingale, about businesse of most weightie impor-  
tance. It is said that he was promoted to the bishop-  
ricke of Saint Paulo; Bartholomew Floartus, sup-  
posed (as Bale saith) by Richard Bingham, to be an  
Englishman, wrote a treatise called Florarium,  
whereof he took his surname, and also an other treatise  
of aduancement, in which he reprobeth certayne cor-  
rupt customs in the cleargie, and the profession of  
frers mendicants; Adam Beminelington, a Car-  
melite frer, studied both in Orenford and Paris;  
William Watercombe is placed by Bale about the  
same of other learned men that liued in this kings  
time, he was an excellent mathematician, as by the

1422  
Anno Reg. 1.

Buchan. lib. 10.

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Buchan. lib. 10.  
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the title of his works which he wrote it should appear.

Titus Lilius de Foro Luuifis liued also in these daies, an Italian bozne: but sith he was both resiant here, and wrote the life of this king, I haue thought good to place him among other of our English writers. One there was that translated the said historie into English, adding (as it were by waie of notes in manie places of that booke) sundrie things for the more large vnderstanding of the historie: a copie thereof I haue sene belonging to John Stow citi-

zen of London. There was also about the same time an other writer, who (as I remember) hath followed the said Lilius in the order of his booke, as it were chapter for chapter, onelie changing a good, familiar and easie stile, which the said Lilius vsed, into a certaine poeticall kind of writing: a copie thereof I haue sene (& in the life of this king partlie followed) belonging to master John Twine of Kent, who (as I was informed) meant to leaue to posteritie some fruits of his labours for the due vnderstanding thereof.

*Thus farre Henrie the fift sonne and successor  
to Henrie the fourth.*



## Henrie the sixt, sonne and heire to Henrie the fift.

1422  
Anno Reg. I.



Buchan. lib. 10.

After that death had bereft the world of that noble prince king Henrie the fift, his onelie sonne prince Henrie, being of the age of nine moneths, or thereabouts, with the sound of trumpets was openlie proclaimed king of England and France the thirtieth daie of August, by the name of Henrie the first; in the yeare of the world five thousand three hundred, eightie and nine, after the birth of our Saviour 1422, about the twelue yeare of the emperor Frederike the third, the fortieth and two and last of Charles the first, and the third yeare of Morozaks regiment (after his father Robert) gouernour of Scotland. The custodie of this yong prince was appointed to Thomas duke of Ercester, & to Henrie Beauford bishop of Winchester. The duke of Bedford was deputed regent of France, and the duke of Gloucester was ordeined protectour of England; who taking vpon him that office, called to him wise and graue counsellors, by whose aduise he provided and took order as well for the good gouernment of the realme & subiects of the same at home, as also for the maintenance of the warres abroad, and further conuinceth to be made in France, appointing valiant and expert captains, which should be readie, when need required. Besides this, he gathered great summes of monie to mainteine men of warre, and lest nothing forgotten that might aduance the good estate of the realme.

While these things were a doing in England, the duke of Bedford regent of France studied most carefully, not onelie, to keepe and well gouerne the countries by king Henrie late conquered; but also determined not to leaue off warre & trauell, till Charles the Dolphin (which was now alive, because king

Charles his father in the moneth of October in this present yeare was departed to God) should either be subdued, or brought to obedience. And suerlie the death of this king Charles caused alterations in France. For a great manie of the nobilitie, which before, either for feare of the English puissance, or for the loue of this king Charles (whose authoritie they followed) held on the English part, did now reuolt to the Dolphin, with all inducement to vntie the English nation out of the French territories. Whereunto they were the more earnestlie bent, and thought it a thing of greater facilitie, because of king Henries yong yeares; whome (because he was a child) they esteemed not, but with one consent reuolted from their sworne fealtie: as the recorder of the Englishmens battels with forren nations herie aptlie doth note, saieing:

*Hic Franci puerum regem neglectum habentes  
Desiscunt, violatque fidem gens perfida sacro  
Consilio ante datam.*

The duke of Bedford being greatly moued with these suborn changes, fortified his towncs both with garrisons of men, munition, and battels, assembled also a great armie of Englishmen and Normans, and so effectuallie exhorted them to continue faithful to their liege and lawfull lord yong king Henrie, that manie of the French captains willinglie swore to king Henrie fealtie and obedience, by whose example the commonaltie did the same. Thus the people quieted, and the countrie established in order, nothing was minded but warre, and nothing spoken of but conquest.

The Dolphin which lay the same time in the citie of Bourges, after his fathers deceasse, called himselfe to be proclaimed king of France, by the name of Charles the seventh; and in good hope to recover his patrimonie, with an haughty courage preparing war, assembled a great armie; and first the warre began by light skirmishes, but after it grew into maine battels. The Dolphin thinking not to lose any occasi-

1422.

long

Pont Aculan surprised  
by the French.  
1422  
Enguerrant.

sions of well doing, sent the lord Granville to the towne of Pont Aculan, standing on the river of Seine, who coming to the same upon the sudden, the fourteenth of Januarie, took it, and slew a great number of English souldiers, which he found within it.

When the duke of Bedford the regent, advertised of this sudden surprise, appointed the lord Thomas Montacute earle of Salisbury (a man both for policie and courage, liker to the old Romans than to men of his daies) accompanied with the earle of Suffolke, the lord Scales, the young lord Pointings, sir John Fastolfe maister of the household, with himselfe, and diuerse others, to besiege the said towne of Pont Aculan, which after two moneths siege was rendred to the said earle, and the lord Granville swore to be true to the king of England ever after that day: but shortly after, forgetting his oth, he turned French againe.

Lord Granville  
forsook his  
oth.

The earle of Salisbury appointed sir Henrie Hotimer, and sir Richard Vernon, captains of the towne, and from thence went into Champaigne, and there besieged the towne of Sens, took it, and sir William Maris the captaine within it, and slew all the souldiers that kept it, made captaine there sir Hugh Coddington, sir Richard Aubemond. ¶ In this season, Harrie duke of Gloucester, either stricken in loue, or upon some other occasion, married the ladie Jaquet or Jaquelin, daughter and sole heire to William of Barre duke of Holland, which was later full wife to John duke of Brabant then living, who afterwards (as after ye shall heare) recovered his out of the dukes hands.

The chances thus happening (as you before haue heard) John duke of Bedford, Phillip duke of Burgonie, and John duke of Britaine made a frendlie meeting in the citie of Amiens, where they renewed the old league and ancient amitie made betwene the noble prince king Henrie the sixt and them, adding thereto these conditions and agreements, each of them to be to the other frend and alder; and the enemie of the one to be enemie to the other; and all they to be friends and alders to the king of England, wellwiler to his wellwillers, and aduersarie to his aduersaries. And (because that amittie is commonlie the bond of amittie) there was concluded a marriage betwene the duke of Bedford, and the ladie Anne sister to the duke of Burgonie, which was after solemnized at Trets in Champaigne, in the presence of the duke of Burgonie brother to the bride, and of his vncle the duke of Brabant, the earles of Salisbury and Suffolke, and of nine hundred lords, knights, and esquires, with such feast and triumph, as before that time had not bene scene of the Burgognions.

Whilste these matters were in hand, the Parisiens, thinking to blind the eyes of the duke of Bedford, wrote to him how diuerse castles and fortresses lieng about their territories, were replenished with their enemies, daily stopping their passages, and robbing their merchants, to their utter vndoeing, if they by his helpe were not relieved. But this was but a glose of the Parisiens, meaning to cause him to go about the winning of some strong hold, whilste they in his absence might bring into the citie Charles the Dolphin, that then called himselfe French king; for so had they appointed, assigning to him the date of his coming, and the post of his entrie. But their practise being discovered to the duke of Bedford, he with a great power entered into Paris, one day before the feste was appointed, a two nights before he was looked for of his enemies being vnprouided, and suddenly caused the conspirators within the citie to be apprehended, and openlie to be put to execution.

This done, putting a mistrust in the Parisiens, he

caused the castles and fortresses nere and adioining to the citie, to be furnished with Englishmen. And to auoid all night-watchers about Paris, and the confines thereof, he first took into his possession either by assault or composition, the towne of Trainelle and Braie upon Seine. And because two castles, the one called Dacie, and the other Courlaie were also enill neighbors to the Parisiens, he sent sir John Fastolfe great maister of his household with a notable armie to win the same castles, which he did, and with preie and prisoners returned backe againe to his maister the regent.

In this verie season, the Dolphin sent the lord William Stewart earle of Buchquane that was constable of France, and the earle of Montadour in Auvergne, and manie other noble men of his part, to late siege to the towne of Crauant in the countie of Auvergne, within the parts of Burgonie. Wherof hearing the lord regent, and the duke of Burgonie they assembled a great armie, and appointed the earle of Salisbury to haue the guiding thereof; who with his captains and men of warre, English and Burgognions, came in good arrate to giue battell to the besiegers. And because the river of Yonne, which runneth by the said towne, was betwene the English armie, and their aduersaries, they could not well assault their enemies, which defended the bankes and passages verie stronglie: yet notwithstanding, both horsemen and footmen of the English part courageously put themselves into the river, and with fine force recovered the bankes, whome the Burgognions incontinentlie followed.

The English  
armie crossed  
the river and  
summed the  
bankes.

When they were all gotten into the plaine, the archers shot, the bill men strake, and long was the fight in doubtfull balance. But in conclusion the French men not able to resist the force of the English nation, were discomfited, slaine, and chased, leauing a glorious victorie to the Englishmen and Burgognions. There were slaine of the Frenchmen an eightene hundred knights and esquires, beside commons: of Scots were hand thre thousand. Amongest the Frenchmen these were chiefest that were slaine: the earle of Lestrake, the earle of Comignens, the earle of Commoite, the lord Coquart de Comeron, the baron of Ammaine, the vicount of Touraine, the baron of Forrester, the lord de Vost, and the lord Demozancie.

Of Scots the lord of Saint Johns towne, sir John of Balgarte, sir John Turnbull, sir John Poliburton, sir Robert Little, sir William Coningham, sir William Botoglas, sir Alexander Bume, sir William Little, sir John Kotherford, sir William Craford, sir Thomas Seton, sir William Hamilton, and his sonne, John Dillot. There were taken the earle of Buchquane constable of France, which lost his eye, the earle of Montadour, sir Alexander Meldoyne, sir Lewis Ferginie, and two and twentie hundred gentlemen of the French part. Of Englishmen there were slaine sir John Greie, sir William Hall, sir Gilbert Halsall one of the marshals of the field, Richard ap Wadocke, and one and twentie hundred souldiers and men of warre.

After this fortunate victorie was the earle of Salisbury made (by the lord regent) lieutenant and vicegerent for the king and the said lord regent in the countie of France, Brie, and Champaigne; and sir John Fastolfe was substituted deputie vnder the lord regent within the duchie of Normandie on this side the river of Seine; and withall he was also made gouernour of the countie of Andou and Maine. The earle of Salisbury after five moneths siege, won by surrender the towne and castell of Montaguillon in Brie, the captaine wherof, the one named Regent of Corinne, and Guille Bourgois Britons, swore ne

Anno Reg.

Affinitie an  
interminer of  
friendship.

The Parisiens  
prevented  
of their practice.

ner to beare armour against the Englishmen on this side the river of Loire. In the meane time of that siege, the earle of Suffolke took by force the castell of Coucis, and the strong castell of la Roch in Gasconnois he got by appointment.

In this second yeare of king Henrie the first, James (the first of that name & the hundred & second k. of Scotland, toke to wife the ladie Jane, daughter to John earle of Summerfet deceased, and sister to John then duke of Summerfet, and also coline germane remoued to king Henrie, and next to the duke of Winchester, and to the duke of Excester) was set at libertie, covenanting to paie a small portion of monie more than was allowed to him for his twines marriage monie, and left hostages for the same. But before his departure out of the realme, he did his homage unto the yong king of England Henrie the first at the castell of Windsor, before thre dukes, two archbishops, twelue earles, ten bishops, threentie barons, and two hundred knights and esquiers, beside others, in order of words according to the tenour hereafter following.

The formall recognifance or  
acknowledgement of the  
said homage.

**I** James Steward, k. of Scots, shall be true and faithfull unto you lord Henrie by the grace of God king of England & France, the noble and superiour lord of the kingdome of Scotland; and to you I make my fidelitie for the same kingdome of Scotland, which I hold and claime of you; and I shall beare you my faith and fidelitie of life and lim, and worldlie honour against all men; and faithfullie I shall knowledg and shall doe you seruice due for the kingdome of Scotland aforesaid. So God helpe me, and these holie euangelists.

But notwithstanding this his oth, and the great bounteous liberalitie of the mother & vncles of his wife, in bestowing on him abundance of plate & treasure, with rich clothes of arras; he had not bene long at home, but that some out of France into Scotland ouer came there James Steward, who (after manie of the Scottish nobilitie by diuerse occasions in France consumed) grew to be capteine of the hostesmen there. With him came the archbishop of Remes with power and commission for concluding a league betweene France and Scotland, and also of a marriage betweene Letwes the Dolphin's sonne and Margaret Jameses daughter, though both verie yong. Which matters accordinglie accomplished, to France againe they got them. So James became as firme French as any of his predecessours.]

But now to leaue the Scottish king amongst his countriemen in Scotland, and returne to the doings of England. I find that the duke of Glocester, being protector and gouernour of the realme, prepared an armie of ten thousand men, and sent them ouer to his brother the regent into France; who comming into the territorie of Paris, were toisallie of him rescued. About the same time the Frenchmen got by stealth diuerse towines out of the Englishmens hands, and amongst other the faire towne of Compiene was one, and the pretie towne of Crotoie another. When the duke of Bedford was aduertised hereof, he determined not to let the matter passe in such sort, but with all convenient speed sent forth a force to reconuer those towines againe. And first the

earle of Suffolke with the earle of Lignie, and diuerse other capteins of the Englishmen went to besiege Compiene, and lodged on the one side of the river of Somme, as the lord Lisle Adham, sir Thomas Kampston, and the prouost of Paris late on the other side. The Frenchmen within the towne well furnished with good souldiers, munition, and vittels, couragiously defended themselves.

The Englishmen remembering that Guiliam lemond, otherwile called Mariolaine had been the leader of the souldiers within the towne (which Mariolaine before at Paris was taken prisoner by sir John Falstolfe) caused him to be brought from Paris unto the campe, and set him in a chariot with an halter about his necke, and comred him to the gibet without the towne, sending word to them within, that if they would not without delaie render the towne, their capteine should incontinentlie be strangled afore their faces. Which moued the souldiers so much, by reason of the loue they bare to their old capteine and gouernour, that for the deliuerance of him and partlie of themselves they yielded the towne, so that both he and they might depart with honoure and harnesse onelie in sure conduct and safetie. Yet per this towne of Compiene was deliuered, sir Philip Hall, which was sent to Crotoie by the lord regent with eight hundred men to besiege it, got it suddenly by assault, for the Frenchmen had either disposed their garrison, or appointed their lodgings.

About the same time sir John de la Pote brother to the duke of Suffolke, being capteine of Auranthes in Normandie, assembled all the garrisons of the base marches of the countrie of Anion, and came before the citie of Angiers, burnt the suburbs, spoiled and destroyed the whole countrie; and hauing as manie prisoners as his men might go awaie with, he was encountered by the earle of Aumarle, the viscount of Parbonne, and sir Houlard Frenchmen; which finding the Englishmen out of arae, incumbrd with carriage of their great spoile, suddenly set on them, gaue them the ouerthrow, slew thre hundred and toke manie prisoners; as the said sir John de la Pote, sir John Ballet, John Anfort lieutenant of Faleise, John Clifton, Henrie Portimer, and other to the number of six hundred.

But though the Frenchmen got here in this place, they went not awaie with like gaine in an other: for the bassard de la Baulme, and the lord Craignat capteins of Courallon, with a great band made rode into Gasconnois, whom by chance Mattheu Cough and other Englishmen, which were also abrood in the countrie, met and encountered. There was a fore fight betweene the parties, being of courage and number in maner equall. But after long conflict, the Frenchmen almost all were slaine and taken, and the bassard being well hoisted, fled; after whome followed vpon the spurres, Mattheu Cough chasing him euen to his castell gate, and there toke him: for the which act he was much praised of the erle of Salisburie (to whom he presented the said bassard) and had not onelie the rights giuen him that belonged to the prisoner, but also was rewarded with a goodlie courser at the earles hands.

About this season, Arthur brother to John duke of Britaine, commonlie called the earle of Richmond, hauing neither profit of the name, nor of the countrie, notwithstanding that king Henrie the first had created him earle of Purie in Normandie, and gaue him not onelie a great pension, but also the whole profits of the same towne of Purie; yet now, because that the duke his brother was returned to the part of the Dolphin, he likewise, revolting from the English obedience, came to the Dolphin to Paris, and there offered himselfe to serue him, whom the

Compiene & Crotoie recovered from French.

\* Or rather Gough.

\* Gough.

1424  
Ann. 1423, per Buchanan.

Damage done by the king of Scotland to king Henrie the first.

English: entered into and with the

Buchan. lib. 1.  
An. 1423, W. P.

Reg. 4.

Compiene surrendered to the English by a police.

the Dolphin gladly accepted, resolving more thereof, than if he had gained an hundred thousand crownes: for the Britons within the towne of Purie, hearing that their maister was joined with the Dolphin, kept both the towne and castell against the duke of Bedford, furnishing it daile with new men and munition.

The lord regent aduertised hercof, raised an armie of Englishmen and Poymans, to the number of eightene hundred men of armes, and eight thousand archers and other. He had in his companie the earles of Salisburie and Suffolke, the lords Seales, Willoughbie, and Poinings, sir Reginald Graie, sir John Fastolfe, sir John Saluaine, sir Lancelot Ayle, sir Philip Hall, sir John Washlete, sir John Crete, sir Thomas Blunt, sir Robert Harling, sir William Oldhall, and manie other, both knights and esquiers, with whom he came before the towne of Purie, which was well defended, till they within perceiued themselves in danger, by reason of a mine which the Englishmen made, whereupon they yielded the towne. But the captaine of the castell would not presentlie render the place, howbeit they promised to deliuer it, if the same were not rescued at a day assigned by the Dolphin or his poster.

Upon this promise, hostages were deliuered into the possession of the lord regent, by whose licence an herald was sent to the Dolphin, to aduertise him of the time determined; who understanding the distresse of his friends, incontinentlie sent John duke of Alanson, as his lieutenant generall, the erle Douglas, whom at their setting forth he made duke of Touraine, and the earle Buchquhane as then constable of France, the erls of Aumarie, Montadour, Connerre, Paulieurier, and Forests, the vicounts of Parpigne, and Louars, the lords of Craulle, Gaulles, Malicorne, Hannie, Ballaie, Fountains, Pontfort, and manie other nobles knights and esquiers, to the number of sixtene thousand Frenchmen & Britons, besides five thousand Scots, whom the earle Douglas had but latelie transported out of Scotland.

This roiall armie approached within two miles of Purie. But when the duke of Alanson understood by such as he had sent to view the condaite of the Englishmen, that he could not get anie advantage by assailing them (although the Dolphin had given him strelc commandement to fight with the regent) he retired backe with his whole armie to the towne of Wernueill in Berch, that belonged to the king of England; sending word to the garrison, that he had discomitted the English armie, and that the regent with a small number with him by swiftnesse of horse had saved himselfe. The inhabitants of Wernueill, giving to light credit hereunto, received the duke of Alanson with all his armie into the towne.

In the meane time came the date of the rescues of Purie, which for want thereof was deliuered to the duke of Bedford by the capteine called Gerard de la Wallier, who presenting vnto the duke of Bedford the keyes of the castell, shewed him a letter also signed and sealed with the hands and seales of eightene great lords, who the date before promised by the tenour of the same letter to giue the duke battell, and to raise the siege. Well (said the duke), if their hearts would haue serued, their puillance was sufficient once to haue proffered, or so haue performed this faithfull promise; but sith they disdaine to seeke me, God and saint George willing, I shall not desist to follow the tract of their hostiles till one part of vs be by battell ouerthrowne. And herewith he sent forth the earle of Suffolke with six hundred horsemen, to espie the doings of the Frenchmen, and where they were lodged. The earle riding forth, passed

by Dampstie, and came to Bietueill, where he heard certeine newes where the Frenchmen had gotten Wernueill, and remained there still.

These newes he sent by post vnto the duke of Bedford, the which incontinentlie vpon that aduertisement set forward in great hast towards his enemies. The Frenchmen hearing of his coming, set their people in arrate, and made all one maine battell without fore ward or reere ward; and appointed foure hundred horsemen, Lombards and others to breake the arrate of the Englishmen, either behind, or at the sides, of the which was capteine sir Stephan de Winolles, called the Hirtz. The duke of Bedford likewise made one entier battell, and suffered no man to be on horsebacke, and set the archers (euerie one having a sharpe stake) both on the front of the battell, and also on the sides, like wings. And behind were all their hostiles tied together, either by the reins or by the talles, with the carts and carriages, to the defense whereof were two thousand archers appointed.

Herewith either part being come almost to the joining, the duke of Alanson, on the one side, exhorted his people to plaie the men, declaring vnto them, that the conclusion of this battell should either deliuer them out of vile seruitude, or place them in the bale of bondage. On the other side, the duke of Bedford, to incourage his men, willed them to remember how oft they had subdued those their aduersaries in battell (with whom they should now cope) for the most part, euer being the lesse number against the greater. Againe, he declared how necessarie it was to tame the bold attempts of the presumptuous Dolphin now in the beginning, least if the fire were suffered further to burne, it should haue need of the more water to quench it.

Wherewith he uttered, to put them in hope of good success, and victorie. But scarce had he ended his exhortation, when the Englishmen rushed forth, and boldly set on their enemies, crying; Saint George, a Bedford, a Bedford; and the Frenchmen likewise cried Pontop saint Denis. Then began the battell right fierce on both sides, continuing for the space of three houres in doubtfull balance, fortune shewing hir selfe so equall, that no eie could iudge to whether part she was more fauourable. But at length, after that those foure hundred horsemen, which were appointed, as we haue hard, to breake the arrate of the Englishmen, had passed thorough on the one side vnto the place where the carriages and hostiles stood, and could not passe further, by reason of the fierce shot of the English bowes, they falling to the spoile made a band, and therewith departed. Those archers then that were appointed to keepe the carriages, being now at libertie, came forward, and so fiercely shot at the thickest peeple of their enemies fighting on foot, that in the end they were not able longer to indure, but were done by fine force, and so vanquished.

This battell was fought the eight and twentieth of August, in the yeare of our Lord a thousand foure hundred twentie and foure, in the which battell were slaine of the Frenchmen, the earles of Aumarie, Montadour, Forest, Martie, the lords Craulle, Gaulles, Fountains, Ambois, Louars, Montente, Conbrette, Ryuell, Tumble, and Poisse, besides three hundred knights. The vicount Parbonnie was hanged on a gibbet, because he was one of the murderers of the duke of Burgognie. Of Scots also were slaine, Archembald earle Douglas, that was made (as before is mentioned) duke of Touraine, James Douglas sonne to the said Archembald earle of William, John earle of Boughen newlie made constable of France, sir Alexander Melduin, sir Henrie Balglaue, sir John Sterling, William of Pomelidon, sir James

Wernueill gotten from the Englishmen by crediting a lie.

The opening of their battell.

Face the faithfull Acus, but the Gile there die youre th on both!

Wernueill Charter two of f ally nobe were fla ths batt L. Meir.

The lord Seales to conque Wernueill a Againe.

The battell of Wernueill, the 28 of the aull, 1444.

James directed to the English.



James Graie, sir Robert Kanden, sir Alexander Linsate, sir Robert Steward, sir Robert Swinton, and seauen and twentie hundred Scots of name and armes, beside others.

So that in this battell were slaine by report of spottoy king at armes in France, and the English harolds there present, of Frenchmen & Scots nine thousand and seauen hundred: and of Englishmen one and twentie hundred, but no man of name, slaying five yong esquieres. And there were taken prisoners, John duke of Alanson, the bastard of Alanson, the lord of Falest, the lord of Hozmit, sir Piers Harrison, sir Louis de Gaucourt, sir Robert Wyllet, sir John Auerneball a Scot, and two hundred gentlemen, beside common soldiers. The Frenchmen with in Veruon, seeing the Dolphin's armie thus overthorne, deliuered the towne to the regent, their liues saued. Then was sir Philip Hall appointed capteine there, and the lord regent returned, and came to Honc, and after to Paris.

The Dolphin that called himselfe king of France, was sore appalled with the overthrow of his armie: for he was driven out of all the countries in maner, that appertained to the crowne of France, & might resort to none except to Bourbonnois, Aluergne, Berry, Poitou, Touraine, a part of Aniois, and Langue doc: yet to shew himselfe as king, he erected his court of parlement, his chancerie, & all other courts in the cite of Poitiers, and there established his great seale, with all due circumstances thereto appertaining: where he continued foureteene yeares together, and then was remoued to Paris, after he had got that cite, and expelled the Englishmen, as after shall appeare.

The duke of Bedford lieng at Paris, sent the lord Scales, sir John Pontgomerie, sir John Fastolfe, with two thousand men to winne the countiees of Aniois, and Maine, unto whom were rendezed with out assault, the strong castels of Beaumont le Vicount, Meune, Sillie, Olce, Courcieriers, Kouffe, Masse, Couetemenant, and twentie other, which I do here passe over. Such was then the opinion conceived of the English puissance, so oft tried, proued, and preuailing, that the Frenchmen thought the Englishmen would haue all which they wished for, or brought for.

The earle of Salisburie, with the said lord Scales, and the other capteins before named, were appointed with an armie of ten thousand men, to besiege the rich and strong cite of Paris, the chiefe cite of all the countie of France: whether when they came, they made their approaches, and planted their batterie to the walls, so that with the shot of their great peeces (which kind of engins before that time had not beene much knowne nor heard of in France) the cite was within a few daies despoiled of all his towres and outward defenses. The citizens and soldiers, perceiving in what danger they stood, & knowing not how to remedie the matter, offered the towne vpon this condition, that all persons which would farrte within the towne, might abide; and all that would depart with horse and harness onelie, should be permitted: which offers were accepted, and the towne rendered, whereof the earle made capteine the earle of Suffolke, and his lieutenant sir John Fastolfe.

After this, the earle of Salisburie besieged the faire towne of saint Sathan, whereof was capteine one Ambrose de Lorie, a right valiant chiefe. The earle caused the towne to be assaulted at his first coming to it: but he lost more than he gained, and therefore left off his assaults, and caused a trench to be cast about the towne, and so planted his batterie, by force whereof he overthrew the walles, in such sort that the capteine offered for himselfe and his soldi-

ers 200000 crownes, so that they might depart in their doublets onelie, which summe (because winter approached) was accepted, and the towne yielded. Of this towne sir John Potham was made capteine. When the earle went to Maine la Roche, which towne after five weekes siege was yielded, and appointed to the keeping of sir John Pontgomerie, knight.

After the feast of the Purification of our ladie, the earle of Salisburie besieged the castell de la Fert Barnard, during which siege a sale was made of the towne of Alanson being in the Englishmens possession, by a Gascoigne that was one of the garrison there. But this sale being opened to the earle of Salisburie by the same Gascoigne at the date appointed, the lord Willoughbie and sir John Fastolfe, with two thousand men were sent to encounter with the buiers of that towne, so that when Charles de Villiers chiefe merchant of this ware, came earlie in a morning with two hundred horsemen, and three hundred footmen, and approached the towne, abiding for the Gascoigne, yet he was aware, the Englishmen had compassed him and his companie round about, and setting vpon the Frenchmen, slue and toke all the whole number of them, saue Peter Danthenazie and five and twentie other, which by the swiftnesse of their horses saued themselves.

After this conflict, the lord Willoughbie returned to the earle of Salisburie, lieng still at siege before the towne de la Fert Barnard, which shortly after was rendered by into the earle of Salisburies hands, to whom the lord regent gaue it, to inioie to him and his heires for ever. Beside this, the said earle partlie by assault, & partlie by composition toke diuers other, as saint Bales; where he made capteine Richard Gethin esquier; Chauceaur Lermilage, where he made gouernour Hatthew Cough; Cherland, of the which he assigned ruler John Banasser; Spalcoigne, whereof he made capteine William Glasdale esquier; Lille Somb; Boulton, whereof was made capteine sir Lancelot Lille knight; Loupeland, whereof was made capteine Henrie Branch; Pontfleur, of the which was made capteine sir William Oldhall knight; la Suze was assigned to the keeping of John Suffolke, esquier. And besides this, a booke fortie castels and piles were overthrowne and destroyed. The newes hereof reported in England, caused great reioicing among the people, not onelie for the conquest of so manie townees & fortresses, but also for that it had pleased God to giue them victorie in a pitched field: whereof generall processions were appointed, to render vnto God humble thanks for his fauour so bestowed vpon them.

This yeare after Easter, the king called a parliament at Westminster, by aduise of the prelates; and comming to the parlement house himselfe, he was conueted through the cite vpon a great courser, with great triumph, the people flocking into the streets to behold the child, whom they iudged to haue the liuelie image and countenance of his father, and like to succeed him, and be his heire in all princelie qualities, martiall policies, and morall vertues, aswell as in his realmes, seignories and dominions. At this parlement was granted to the king a subside of sixelue pence the pound, towards the maintenance of his warres, of all merchandize, comming in or going out of the realme, as well of Englishmen as strangers.

During which parlement, came to London Peter duke of Dufimbre, sonne to the king of Portingale, couisine germane remoued to the king; which of the duke of Excester and the bishop of Winchester his vnckles was highlie feasted, he was also elected into the order of the garter. During the same season, Edmund Mortimer, the last earle of March,

\*Or rather  
Goche.

Generall processions  
after  
victorie.

Anno Reg 3.

A subside of  
tunnage and  
poundage.

The prince of  
Portingale  
commeth to  
London.

Five thousand  
saith Acunili-  
as, but Nicho-  
las Giles saith  
there died but  
four thousand  
on both parties.

Timley and  
Charleton  
two of the Eng-  
lish nobilitie  
were slaine at  
this battell as  
la Morte saith.

The lord  
Scales sent  
to conquer  
Normand  
and  
Maine.

which  
tells  
I 300  
4.

Spans deliue-  
red to the  
Englishmen.

of that name (which long time had bene restrained from his libertie, and finally wared lame) deceased without issue, whose inheritance descended to the lord Richard Plantagenet, sonne and heire to Richard earle of Cambridg, beheaded (as before ye haue heard) at the towne of Southampton. ¶ In the time of this parliament also was sir John Portiner cousin to the same earle, either for desert or malice, attainted of treason, and put to execution, of whose death no small slander arose amongst the common people.

After all these things done in England and in France, Humfreie duke of Gloucester, who had married the ladie Jaquet, or Jaqueline of Bauer, countesse of Heinault, Holland, and Zeland (notwithstanding she was coupled in marriage afore to John duke of Brabant, as yet living, and had continued with him a long space) passed now the sea with the said ladie, and went to Mons or Bergen in Heinault, where the more part of the people of that countrie came and submitted themselves unto him, as to their soveraigne lord, in right of his said wife, the ladie Jaquet or Jaqueline: with which doing his former husband was greatly moved. And likewise the duke of Burgognie, being great friend to the same duke of Brabant, was much offended: who of old familiarity wrote lovinglie to the duke of Gloucester, requiring him to reforme himselfe according to reason, and to forsake his ungodlie life, both in keeping of an other mans wife, and also in seeking to usurpe other mens rights and titles.

Whereupon went letters betwixt them for a time, but at length when the duke of Burgognie perceived that the duke of Gloucester meant to mainteine his interest, & to make warre against the duke of Brabant; he took part with the duke of Brabant so earnestlie, that he consented to fight with the duke of Gloucester bodie to bodie within liks in defense of the duke of Brabants quarrell, and further aided the duke of Brabant in his warres against the duke of Gloucester, with all his puissance, inasmuch that in the end (after the duke of Gloucesters retorne into England) the duke of Brabant recovered all the towns in Heinault, which the ladie Jaquet or Jaqueline held against him. And further the same ladie was by composition delivered by them of the towne of Mons unto the duke of Burgognie; who caused hir to be conveyed unto Gaunt, from whence she made shift to escape into Holland, where she was obayed as countesse of the countrie.

Then made the warre in hir owne defense against the dukes of Burgognie and Brabant, who sought to spoile hir of all hir towns and lands: but they procured pope Martin the first (before whom the matter was) to give sentence that the first matrimonie with the duke of Brabant was good, and the second with the duke of Gloucester to be unlawfull. But in the meane time, the lord J. F. Walter was sent over to the aid of the ladie Jaquet or Jaquelin, with a power of Englishmen, landed in Zeland, nere unto the towne of Zertre, against whome came the duke of Burgognie, and encountering with them and other such Hollanders and Zelanders, as were joined with them, nere to a place called Biewers haven, there discomfited them; so that of English, Hollanders, and Zelanders, with the said lord J. F. Walter, were slaine seven or eight hundred, and the residue chased to the water. At length, when the duke of Gloucester understood the sentence pronounced against him by the pope, he began to war wearie of his wife the said ladie Jaquet, by whom he never had profit but losse, and took in a second marriage Eleanor Cobham, daughter to the lord Cobham of Sterberoto, which before (as the same went) was his soveraigne para-

mour, to his slander and dishonour.

A little before this time, sir Thomas Rampton, sir Philip Branch, sir Nicholas Burdet, and other Englishmen, to the number of five hundred men of warre, repaired and fortified the towne of St. James de Beuron, situate on the frontiers of Normandie towards Britaine, within halfe a league of the duke of Britains ground, with whom as then they had open warre; and so began to dw. mantie displeasures to his people. Whereupon Arthur earle of Richmond and Purie, brother to the said duke, and latelie before created constable of France, assembled an huge power of men to the number of fortie thousand (as some haue written) and with the same came before the said towne of St. James de Beuron, and played his siege verie stronglie about it, enforcing with his great ordinance to overthrow the walls. And one day amongst other, he determined to give the assault, and so did, the which continued a long space verie hot and earnest.

The Britons Whytants were come downe into a low bottom, where there was a little pond or fish-pole, and they must needs passe by a street waie to come to the walles in great danger. On that side of the towne was a little bulwourke, which sir Nicholas Burdet kept, having with him a fortie or eightie fighting men: and over against the same bulwourke there was a gate well furnished also with English soldiers; so that the Britons which came downe into the ditches in great number to give the assault, heard on either side them the Englishmen (within the said bulwourke and gate) make a great noise, in crieng Saliburie and Suffolke; with the which crie the Britons being marvellouslie astonished, began to recoile in great disorder. And therewith the said sir Nicholas Burdet issued forth upon them, and pursuing them right valiantlie, slue them downe, so that there died of them what by the sword, and what by drowning in the said pole, about seven thousand or eight hundred, and to the number of fiftie were taken prisoners. And beside this, those Englishmen gained eightene standards and one banner.

Incontinentlie the newes hereof were reported to the constable of France, who was busie at the assault on the other side of the towne, whereof he was sore displeased, and no lesse amazed; so that he caused the retreat to be sounded, for all the siege on that side toward the pole was already raised. After this, upon counsell taken amongst the Frenchmen, it was determined that they should dislodge: and so about the middes of the next night, the constable and all the residue of his people departed toward Fougiers, leaving behind them great plentie of artillerie both great and small, with victuals, and all their other provisions: as fourtene great guns and fortie barrels of powder, three hundred pipes of wine, two hundred pipes of biscket and flower, two hundred stalles of figs and reissins, and five hundred barrels of herrings.

Somewhat before this season fell a great division in the realme of England, which of a sparkle was like to have grown to a great flame, for whether the bishop of Winchester called Henrie Beaufort, sonne to John duke of Lancaster by his third wife, enquired the authoritie of Humfreie duke of Gloucester, protector of the realme; or whether the duke disdained at the riches and pompous estate of the bishop: sure it is that the whole realme was troubled with them and their partakers: so that the citizens of London were faine to keepe daile and nightlie watches, and to shut by their shops for feare of that which was doubted to have ensued of their assembling of people about them. The archbishop of Cantuarbie and the duke of Aquitaine, called the prince of Portingale, rode

Alas the  
rou.

Twenty  
thousand  
Nicholas  
Giles  
St. James  
Beuron  
Leger.

Sir Philip  
Burdet  
was slain.

Enguerrand  
Mortimer.

A parliament  
holden at  
Gloucester.

Articles set  
forth by the  
duke of Gloucester,  
against  
Henrie bishop  
of Winchester.

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rode eight times in one date betwene the two parties, and so the matter was staied for a time. But the bishop of Winchester, to cleere himselfe of blame so farre as he might, and to charge his nephue the lord protectour with all the fault, wrote a letter to the regent of France, the tenor whereof insueth.

The bishop of Winchesters letter  
*excusatorie.*

**R**ight high and mightie prince, and my right noble, and after one, lieuest lord, I recommend me vnto you with all my hart. And as you desire the welfare of the king our soueraigne lord, and of his realmes of England and France, your owne health, and ours also: so halt you hither. For by my truth, if you tarie, we shall put this land in aduenture with a field; such a brother you haue here, God make him a good man. For your wisdom knoweth, that the profit of France standeth in the welfare of England, &c. Written in great hast on Allhallowen euen. By your true seruant to my liues end, Henrie Winchester.

The duke of Bedford being sore græued and disquieted with these newes, constituted the earle of Warwick, which was latelie come into France with six thousand men, his lieutenant in the French dominions, and in the duchie of Normandie; and so with a small companie, he with the duchesse his wife returned againe ouer the seas into England, and the tenth daie of Januarie he was with all solemnitie receiued into London, to whome the citizens gaue a paire of basins of siluer and gilt, and a thousand markes in monie. Then from London he rode to Westminster, and was lodged in the kings palace. The five and twentieth daie of March after his coming to London, a parlement began at the towne of Leicester; where the duke of Bedford openly rebuked the lords in generall, because that they in the time of warre, thorough their priuie malice and inward grudge, had almost moued the people to warre and commotion, in which time all men ought to shoulde be of one mind, hart, and consent: requiring them to defend, serue, & dread their soueraigne lord king Henrie, in performing his conquest in France, which was in manner brought to conclusion. In this parlement the duke of Gloucester laid certeine articles to the bishop of Winchester his charge, the which with the answers hereafter do insue, as followeth.

The articles of accusation and accord  
*betweene the lord of Gloucester, and the lord of Winchester.*

**A**re insueth the articles, as the kings counsell hath conceived, the which the right high and mightie prince my lord of Gloucester hath furnished vpon my lord of Winchester chancelour of England, with the answer to the same.

First, whereas he being protectour, and defender of this land, desired the Tower to be opened to him, and to lodge him therein; Richard Woodville esquier (hauing at that time the charge of the keeping of the Tower) refused his desire, and kept the same Tower against him vndilie and against reason, by the commandement of my said lord of

Winchester; and afterwarde in appointing of the said refusall, he receiued the said Woodville, and cherished him against the state and worship of the king, and of my said lord of Gloucester.

Item, my said lord of Winchester, without the aduise and assent of my said lord of Gloucester, or of the kings counsell, purposed and disposed him to set hand on the kings person, and to haue remoued him from Elham, the place that he was in, to Windsor, to the intent to put him in gouernance as him list.

Item, that where my said lord of Gloucester (to whome of all persons that shoulde be in the land, by the waie of nature and birth, it belongeth to see the gouernance of the kings person) informed of the said vndue purpose of my said lord of Winchester, declared in the article next abovesaid, and in letting thereof, determining to haue gone to Elham vnto the king to haue provided as the cause required: my said lord of Winchester vnrulie, and against the kings peace, to the intent to trouble my said lord of Gloucester going to the king, purposing his death, in case that he had gone that waie, set men of armes and archers at the end of London bridge next Suthwoker: and in forbarring of the kings high waie, let balaie the chaine of the stoupes there, and set by pipes and hurdles in manner and forme of bulwarks: and set men in chambers, cellars, & windowes, with bowes and arrowes and other weapons, to the intent to bring small destruction to my said lord of Gloucesters person, as well as of those that then shoulde come with him.

Item, my said lord of Gloucester saith and affirmeth, that our soueraigne lord his brother that was king Henrie the sixt, told him on a time, when our soueraigne lord being prince was lodged in the palace of Westminster in the great chamber, by the noyse of a spaniell, there was on a night a man spied and taken behind a tapet of the said chamber, the which man was deliuered to the earle of Arundell to be examined vpon the cause of his being there at that time; the which so examined, at that time confessed that he was there by the stirring and procuring of my said lord of Winchester, ordeined to haue slaine the said prince there in his bed: wherefore the said earle of Arundell let sacke him forthwith, and drowned him in the Thames.

Item, our soueraigne lord that was, king Henrie the sixt, said vnto my said lord of Gloucester, that his father king Henrie the fourth lining, and visited then greatlie with sicknesse by the hand of God, my said lord of Winchester said vnto the king (Henrie the sixt then being prince) that the king his father so visited with sicknesse was not personable, & therefore not disposed to come in conuersation and gouernance of the people; and so much, counselled him to take the gouernance and crowne of this land vpon him.

The answer of the bishop.

**A**re insue the answers to the accusations made by my lord of Winchester chancelour of England, vnto the causes and matters of heauinesse, declared in the articles against him by my lord of Gloucester.

First, as of the refusall made by to my lord of Gloucester, of opening the Tower to him, of his lodging therein, by the commandement of my said lord of Winchester; he answereth, that in the presence of my said lord of Gloucester before his coming out of his countrie of Heirault, for causes such as were thought resonable, it seemeth lawfull that the Tower shoulde haue bene notablie stozed and kept with vit-

W. B. on.

Twentye  
housand bay  
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holden at Leicester.

Articles set  
forth by the  
lord of Gloucester,  
against  
the bishop  
of Winchester.

tels: howebeit it was not forthwith executed, and that in likewise after that my said lord of Gloucester, was gone into his said countrie of Heinault, for seditious and odious billes and languages, cast and used in the citie of London, fowling of insurrection and rebellion against the kings peace, and destruction as well of diuerse estates of this land, as strangers being vnder the defense, in so much that in doubt thereof, strangers in great number fled the land. And for the more sure keeping of the said Tower, Richard Wodvile esquier so trusted with our soueraine lord the king that dead is (as well ye know) & also chamberlaine and counsellor vnto my lord of Bedford, with a certeine number of defendible persons assigned vnto him, was made deputie there by the assent of the kings counsell, being that time at London, for to abide therein, for the safegard thereof; and straitlie charged by the said counsell, that during that time of his said charge, he should not suffer any man to be in the Tower stronger than himselfe, without speciall charge or commandement of the king by the aduise of his counsell.

2 Item, that some after (vpon the comming of my said lord of Gloucester into this land from his countrie of Heinault) the said lords of the kings counsell were informed, that my said lord of Gloucester grudged with the said manner of inforcing the Tower, and let saie to them of London, that he had well vnderstand that they had bene heauilie threatened for the time of his absence, and otherwise than they shuld haue bene, if he had bene in this land. Wherefore he was right euill contented, and especiallie of the said forcing of the Tower, set vpon them in manner of a chased villain, considering the good equitie and truth that they had alwaies kept vnto the king, offering them there vpon remedie if they would.

3 Item, that after this, Richard Scot lieutenant of the Tower, by the commandement of my said lord of Gloucester, brought vnto him frer Randolph, the which had long before confessed treason done by him against the kings person that dead is, for the which knowlege he was put to be kept in the said Tower, & straitlie commanded vnder great paine giuen vnto the said Scot, to keepe him straitlie & suerlie, & not to let him out of the said Tower without commandment of the king by aduise of his counsell. The which frer Randolph, my said lord of Gloucester kept then with himselfe (not witting to the said Scot) as he declared to my said lord of Winchester, some after that he had brought the said frer Randolph to my lord of Gloucester; saieing to my lord of Winchester, that he was vndone but he helped him, & expulled, as for cause of the withholding of frer Randolph: and saieing moreover, that when he desired of my said lord of Gloucester, the deliuerance of the said frer Randolph, to lead him againe vnto the Tower, or sufficient warrant for his discharge: my said lord of Gloucester answered him, that his commandement was sufficient warrant and discharge for him. In the which thing abovesaid, it was thought to my lord of Winchester, that my said lord of Gloucester toke vpon him further than his authoritie stretched vnto, and caused him to doubt and dread, least that he would haue proceeded further. And at such time as the said Wodvile came vnto him, to aske his aduise and counsell, of lodging my said lord of Gloucester in the Tower; he aduised and charged him, that before he suffered my said lord of Gloucester, or any person to lodge therein stronger than himselfe, he should procure him a sufficient warrant therof, of the king, by the aduise of his counsell.

4 Item, as to the said article of the foresaid causes of heauinesse, my said lord chancelor answereth, that he neuer purposed to set hand on the kings per-

son, nor to remoue him, or that he should be removed, or put in any manner of gouernance, but by the aduise of the kings counsell. For he could not perceive any manner of godnesse or of auantage that might haue growne to him thereof, but rather great peril and charge; and hereof my said lord of Winchester is ready to make pprove, in time and place conuenient.

5 Item, as to the third article of the foresaid causes and heauinesse, my said lord chancelor answereth, that he was oft and diuerse times warned, by diuerse credible persons, aswell at the time of the kings last parlement, holden at Westminster, as before and since, that my said lord of Gloucester purposed him bodilie harme, & was warned therof, and counsellled by the said persons, and that diuerse times, to absteyne him from comming to Westminster, as my said lord of Winchester declared vnto my said lord of Gloucester.

6 Item, that in the time of the said parlement, diuerse persons of low estate of the citie of London, in great number assembled on a day vpon the wharfe, at the crane of the vinetree, and wished and desired that they had there the person of my lord of Winchester, saieing, that they would haue shewen him into the Thames, to haue taught him to swim with wings. Whereof billes and language of slander and threatenings were cast and spoken in the said citie by my said lord the chancelor, which caused him to suppose that they that so said and did, willed and desired his destruction, although they had no cause.

7 Item, that after the comming to London of sir Rafe Botiller, and maister Letwes, sent from my lord of Bedford, to the rest of the lords of the counsell, they being informed, that my said lord of Gloucester did beare displeasure to my said lord of Winchester, they came to the said lord of Gloucester to his In, the second sundae next before All hallondate, and there opened vnto him, that they had knowledge and vnderstanding of the said displeasure, praieing him to let them know if he bare such displeasure against my said lord of Winchester, and also the causes thereof. At the which time (as my said lord of Winchester was afterwards informed) my said lord of Gloucester affirmed that he was heauie toward him, and not without causes that peraduenture he would put in writing.

8 Item, that after the mondate next before All hallondate last past in the night, the people of the said citie of London, by the commandement of my said lord of Gloucester, as it was said (for what cause my lord the chancelor wist not) assembled in the citie, armed and arrayed, and so continued all the night. Amongst diuerse of the which (the same night by what excitation, my said lord the chancelor wist not) seditious and heauie language was used, and in especiall against the person of my lord the chancelor. And so the same mondate at night, my said lord of Gloucester sent vnto the Ius of court at London, charging them of the court dwelling in the same, to be with him vpon the morrow at eight of the clocke in their best arrate.

9 Item, that on the morrow being tuesday next following, my said lord of Gloucester sent earlie vnto the maiors and aldermen of the said citie of London, to ordeine him to the number of three hundred persons on horse backe, to accompanie him vnto such a place as he disposed him to ride, which (as it was said) was vnto the king, to the intent to haue his person, and to remoue him from the place that he was in, without assent, or aduise of the kings counsell. The which thing was thought vnto my said lord the chancelor, that he ought in no wise to haue done, nor had not bene seene so before.

Item, that my said lord the chancelloz, considering the things aboue said, and doubting therfore of perils that might haue insued thereof, intending to purueie there against, and namelie for his owne suertie and defense, according to the laie of nature, ordeined to let, that no force of people should come on the bidge of London towards him, by the which he or his might haue bene indangered or noied, not intending in any wise bodilie harme vnto my said lord of Glocester, nor to any other person, but onelie his owne defense, in eschewing the perill abouesaid.

Item, as toward the fourth and fift of the said articles, my lord the chancelloz answereth, that he was euer true to all those that were his soueraigne lords and reigned vpon him, and that he neuer purposed treason or vnturth against any of their persons, and in especiall against the person of our said soueraigne lord Henrie the sixt. The which considering the great wisdom, truth, and manhood that all men knew in him, he would not for the time that he was king, haue set on my said lord the chancelloz so great trust as he did, if he had found or thought in him such vnturth. The which thing my said lord the chancelloz offered to declare and shew, as it belongeth to a man of his estate to do, requiring therupon my lord of Bedford and all the lords spirituall and tempozall in this parlement, that it might be scene that there were iudges conuenient in this case, that they would do him right, or else that he might haue leaue of the king by their aduise to go sue his right, before him that ought to be his iudge.

And as toward the letter sent by my lord of Winchester vnto my lord of Bedford, of the which the tenor is before rehearsed, of the which my lord of Glocester complained him of the malicious and vnture purpose of my said lord of Winchester, as toward the assembling of the people, and gathering of a field in the kings land, in troubling thereof, and against the kings peace: my said lord of Winchester answereth, that if his said letters duellie vnderstand, and in such wise as he vnderstood and meant in the wryting of them, it maie not reasonable be gathered and taken, that my said lord of Winchester intended to gather any field, or assemble people in troubling of the kings land, and against the kings peace, but rather purposed to acquite him to the king in his truth, and to keepe the rest and peace in the kings land, and to eschew rebellion, disobedience and all trouble. For by that that in the beginning of the said letter, he calleth my said lord of Bedford his lieue lord after one, that is the king, whome he ought to accept of dutie of his truth, the which he hath euer kept, and will keepe.

Moreover, in the said letter he desireth the comming home of my lord of Bedford, for the welfare of the king and of his realmes of England and of France, which stand principallie in keeping of his rest and peace, and praieth my said lord of Bedford to speed his coming into England, in eschewing of iopardie of the land, and of a field, which he dread him might haue followed if he had long taried. As toward those wordes; If ye farie, we shall put this land in aduenture with a field, such a brother ye haue here, &c. My said lord of Winchester saith, the soth is: before or he wrote the said letter, by the occasion of certeine ordinances made by the mayo and aldermen of London against the excessive taking of masons, carpentars, tilers, plasterers, and other labourers for their baillie tournies, and approued by the kings devise and counsell, there were cast manie heauines and seditious billes vnder the names of such labourers, thetarning rising with manie thousands, and menacing of estates of the land, and likewise seditious and euill language sownen and so continued and likelie to haue insued, of purpose and intent of diso-

bedience and rebellon. To the redressing of which, it seemed to my lord the chancelloz, that my said lord of Glocester did not his indeuour nor diligence that he might haue shewed. For lacke of which diligence, they that were disposed to do disobedience were incouraged & emboldened, so that it was like, that they should haue made a gathering, and that the king and his true subiects should haue bene compelled to haue made a field to haue withstand them; the which field making, had bene aduenturing of this land, and in tokening that it was neuer my said lord chancellozs intent, to gather no field, but as truth most stirred him against such as riotouslie would make such assemble against our soueraigne lord, and the weale of this land, he desired so hastilie the comming of my said lord of Bedford: the which he would in no wise haue so greatlly desired, if he would haue purposed him vnto any vnlawfull making of a field; for he wist well, that my said lord of Bedford would most sharplie haue chastised and punished all those, that so would make any riotous assemble.

When this answer was made, the duke caused this writing following openlie to be proclaimed.

**B**E it knowne to all folkes, that it is the intent of my lord of Bedford, and all the lords spirituall & tempozall, assembled in this present parlement, to acquite him and them, and to proceed truelie, iustlie, and indifferently, without any parcialitie in any manner of matter or quarels, moued or to be moued betwene my lord of Glocester on that one partie, & my lord of Winchester chancelloz of England on that other partie. And for suer keeping of the kings peace it is accorded by my said lord of Bedford, & by my said lords spirituall and tempozall, an oth to be made in forme as followeth, that is to saie.

#### The oth of the lords.

**T**hat my said lord of Bedford, and my said lords, spirituall and tempozall, and ech of them shall (as far forth as their cunninges and discretions suffice) truelie, iustlie, and indifferently counsell and aduise the king, and also proceed and acquit themselves in all the said matters, and quarels, without that they or any of them shall prouillie and apertlie make or shew himselfe to be partie or parciall therein, not leaning or eschewing so to do for affection, loue, meed, doubt, or dread of any person or persons. And that they shall in all wise keepe secret all that shall be commoned by waie of counsell, in the matters and quarrels abouesaid, in the said parlement, without that they or any of them shall by word, wryting of the king, or in any wise open or discover it to any of the said parties, or to any other person that is not of the said counsell: but if he haue a speciall commandement or leaue thereto of the king or my said lord of Bedford. And that ech of them shall with all his might and power, assist by waie of counsell, or else shew it vnto the king, my lord of Bedford, and to the rest of my said lords to put the said parties to reason; and not to suffer that any of the said parties by them, or by their assistance, proceed or attempt by way of fight against the kings peace; nor helpe, assist, or comfort any of them thereto: but let them with all their might and power withstand them, and assist vnto the king, and my said lord of Bedford, in keeping of the



kings peace, and redressing all such manner of proceeding by waile of fight or force.

Dukes: the duke of Bedford, the duke of Norfolk, the duke of Excester. Bishops: the archbishop of Canturburie, the bishop of Carleill, the bishop of Bath, the bishop of Landaffe, the bishop of Rochester, the bishop of Wycheester, the bishop of Worcester, the bishop of saint Davids, the bishop of London, the bishop of Duresme. Carles: the earle of Northumberland, the earle of Stafford, the earle of Arford. Lords: the lord Hungerford, the lord Tiptoft, the lord Poinings, the lord Cromwell, the lord Borough, the lord Louell, the lord Botreux, the lord Clinton, the lord Zouch, the lord Audelie, the lord Ferrers of Groubie, the lord Talbot, the lord Roos, the lord Greie, the lord Greie of Ruthen, the lord Fitz Walter, the lord Barkleie. Abbats: the abbat of Waltham, the abbat of Claffenburie, the abbat of S. Augustines in Canturburie, the abbat of Westminster, the abbat of S. Maries in Porke, the abbat of S. Albons not knowne because he was not present. Which in manner and forme above rehearsed, all the lords aforesaid spirituall as temporall, being in this parliament at Leicester assembled, the fourth day of March, promised upon their faith, dutie, and allegiance, which they owe to the king their soueraigne lord, truelie to obserue and keepe, according to the true meaning and purport of the same.

### The arbitrement.

**I**N the name of God Amen. We Henrie archbishop of Canturburie, Thomas duke of Excester, John duke of Norfolk, Thomas bishop of Duresme, Philip bishop of Worcester, John bishop of Bath, Humfreie earle of Stafford, William Alnwickie keeper of the kings priuie seale, Kase lord Cromwell, arbitratours in all manner of causes, matters and quarrels of heauinesse & greouances, with all incidents, circumstances, dependents, or conneres being and hanging betwene the high & lowe prince Humfreie duke of Glocester on the one partie, and the worshipfull father in God Henrie bishop of Winchester and chancellor of England on the other partie, by either of them, for the peasing of the said quarrels and debates taken and chosen in manner and forme as it is conteined more plainelie in a compromise made thereupon, of the which the tenor insueth in this forme.

1424  
Anno Reg. 4.

Memorandum, the seauenth daie of March in the fourth yeare of our soueraigne lord the king, Henrie the sixt, the high and mightie prince Humfreie duke of Glocester at the reuerence of God, and for the god of the king our soueraigne lord in this land, & name: lie at the reuerence, and especiallie at the request and praier of the mightie and high prince my lord of Bedford his brother, agreed him to put, and putteth all manner matters and quarrels indeed, with all their incidents, circumstances, dependents and conneres that touchen him and his person, that he hath in anie wise do, or seeleth himselfe greued or heauie against my lord his brice, my lord of Winchester: or else that my lord of Winchester findeth him agreued against him, in as much as they touch him or his person from the beginning of the world unto this date, in the aduise, ordinance and arbitrement of the worshipfull father in God, Henrie archbishop of Canturburie, the high and noble prince Thomas duke of Excester, and John duke of Norfolk, the worshipfull father in God Thomas bishop of Duresme, Philip bishop of Worcester, John bishop of Bath, the noble lord Humfreie earle of Stafford, the worshipfull persons maister William Alnwickie keeper of the

kings priuie seale, and Kase lord Cromwell, promising and beighting by the faith of his bodie, & word of his princehood and kings sonne, to do, keepe, obserue, and fulfill for him and his behalfe, all that shall be declared, ordeined, and arbitrated, by the foresaid archbishop, dukes, bishops, earle, keeper of the priuie seale, and lord Cromwell in all matters and quarrels aforesaid.

Granting also and promising ouer that, to be comprehended in the foresaid arbitrement, as toward putting a waile all heauinesse and displeasures, in anie wise conteined, by my lord of Glocester against all those that haue in anie wise assisted, counselled, or fauoured vnto his said vnckle of Winchester, and as toward anie matters that be touching my lord of Glocester, remitteth it, and the gouernance thereof vnto the king & his counsell, they to deme it by the aduise of his counsell, as him thinketh it to be done. In witness of the which thing to this present compromise my said lord of Glocester hath subscribed his name with his owne hand: Humfreie Glocester. And in like forme my lord of Winchester in another compromise hath subscribed with his owne hand vnder the word of his priesthood, to stand at the aduise, ordinance, & arbitrement of the persons aforesaid, *mutatis mutandis*.

A decree or order taken by the kings  
counsell for the pacifying of the quarrels  
& variances that were betwene  
the duke of Glocester, and the bishop  
of Winchester.

**T**he causes aforesaid and quarrels by us seene, heard, and diligentlie examined and decreed, by the assent of the said parties, ordeine and award, that my lords of Glocester, and of Winchester, for any thing done or spoken, by that one partie against that other, or by anie of theirs, or anie other person or persons, afoze the seuenth daie of this present moneth of March, neuer hereafter take causes, quarrels, displeasures, or heauinesse, that one against the other, ne neither against the counsellors, adherents, or fauourers of that other for anie thing or things that are past. And that my said lord of Glocester be good lord to my said lord of Winchester, & haue him in loue and affection as his kinsman & vnckle. And that my said lord of Winchester haue to my said lord of Glocester true and full loue and affection, do and be readie to do him such service as apperteineth of honestie to my said lord of Winchester and his estate to do. And that each of them be good lord vnto all those adherents, counsellors, and fauourers of that other, and shew them at all times fauourable loue and affection, as for anie thing by them done or said, before the seauenth daie of March.

And we decree, ordeine, and award, that my said lord of Winchester, in the presence of the king our soueraigne lord, my lord of Bedford, and my lord of Glocester, and the residue of the lords spirituall and temporall, and commons being in this present parliament, sale and declare in manner and forme that followeth: My soueraigne lord, I haue well vnderstand, that I am noised among the states of your land, how that the king our soueraigne lord that was, at that time being prince, and lodged in the great chamber at Westminster, by the baseng of a spannell, there was on a night taken behind a tapet in the same chamber, a man, that should haue confessed, that he was there by mine excitation and procuring, to haue slaine the foresaid prince there in his bed; whereupon he was sacked, and forthwith also drowned in the Thames.

Further

An. Reg. 4.

Furthermore, I am accused, how that I should haue stirred the king that last died, the time also that he was prince, to haue taken the gouernance of this realme, and the crowne vpon him, his father liuing the same time, being king. Although which language and nothing, I feele my name and fame greatly emblemished in diuerse mens opinions. Wherevpon, I take first God to my witnes, and after all the world, that I haue bene at all times, and am true louer, and true man, to you my soueraigne lord, and shall be all my life. And also, I haue bene to my soueraigne lord that was your father, all the time of his reigne, true man, and for such he toke me, trusted me and cherished me to his liues end; and as I trust, no man will affirme the contrarie, nor neuer in my life procuring nor imagining death nor destruction of his person, ne assenting to any such thing, or like thereto, the time that he was king or prince, or else in other state.

I was likewise true man to king Henrie the fourth, all the time that he was my soueraigne lord, and reigned vpon me. In which matters, in all manner of wise that it liketh to you my soueraigne lord for to command me, I am ready for to declare me: and furthermore, where, how, and when it shall like you, by the aduise of your counsell, to assigne me. Wherefore I beseech you my soueraigne lord, as humble as I can, considering that there is no grounded proccesse, by the which I might lawfully in these matters be abused, be conuict (blessed be God) to hold me, and declare me, by the aduise of all the lords, spiritual and temporal, being in this present parlement, true man to you my soueraigne lord, and so to haue bene vnto my soueraigne lords that were your father and grandfather, and true man also to haue bene at all times to your said father whilest he was prince, or else in any other estate, the said slander and noise notwithstanding, and this same declaration to be made in this your said present parlement.

The which words declared in manner as it is above said, it seemeth to my said lords the arbitrators, that it is meet, that my said lord of Winchester shoulde him apart, and in the meane time, the lords being present, be singularly examined therevpon, and saie their aduise. And if it be assented by them, in manner as my said lord of Winchester desireth, let him be called againe, and that then my lord of Bedford haue these words in effect that follow: Faire vncle, the king my lord by the aduise of his counsell, hath commanded me to saie to you, that he hath well understood and considered all the matters which ye haue here openly declared in his presence, and therevpon ye desire a petition, that he will declare you, and by the aduise and assent of the lords spiritual and temporal, being in this present parlement, he declareth you a true man to him, and that ye haue so bene to my lord his father, and grandfather, also true man to my lord his father while he was prince, or else in any other estate, the said slander and nothing notwithstanding, and will that the said declaration be so made in this present parlement.

After the which words thus said (as before is declared) it was decreed also by the said lords arbitrators, that the said lord of Winchester shoulde haue these words that follow vnto my said lord of Gloucester: My lord of Gloucester, I haue conceiued to my great heauinesse, that ye should haue receiued by diuerse reports, that I should haue purposed and imagined against your person, honor, and estate, in diuers matters, for the which, ye haue taken against me great displeasure: Sir, I take God to my witness, that what reports so euer haue bene to you of me, peradventure of such as haue had no great affection to me, God forgive it them, I neuer imagined, ne purposed

any thing that might be hindring or prejudice to your person, honor, or estate: and therefore I praise you, that ye be vnto me good lord from this time forth; for by my will, I gaue neuer other occasion, nor purpose not to do hereafter by the grace of God. The which words so by him said, it was decreed by the same arbitrators, that my lord of Gloucester, shoulde answer and saie: Faire vncle, with ye declare you such a man, as ye saie, I am right glad that it is so, and for such a man I take you. And when this was done, it was decreed by the same arbitrators, that euery each of my lord of Gloucester, and Winchester, shoulde take either other by the hand, in the presence of the king and all the parlement, in signe and token of good loue & accord, the which was done, and the parlement adioyned till after Easter.

At this reconciliation, such as loued peace reioiced (with it is a fowle & pernicious thing for priuat men, much more for noblemen to be at variance, with vpon them depend manie in affections diuerse, whereby factions might grow to the shedding of blood) though others, to whom contention & hartgrudge is delight, wished to see the bittermost mischance that might therof insue, which is the bitter overthrow and desolation of populous tribes, even as with a little sparkle whole houses are manie times consumed to ashes; as the old proverbe saith, and that verie true and aptly;  
*Sola scintilla perit hac domus aut tota incensa.*

But when the great fier of this difference betwene these two noble personages, was thus by the arbitrators (to their knowledge and iudgement) utterly quenched out, and laid vnder boord; all other controuersies betwene other lords, taking part with the one partie or the other, were appeased, and brought to concord, so that for soy the king caused a solemne feast to be kept on Whitsunday; on which date he created Richard Plantagenet, sonne and heire to the erle of Cambridge (whome his father at Southampton had put to death, as before ye haue heard) duke of York, not foreseeing that this preferment shoulde be his destruction, nor that his seed shoulde of his generation be the extreame end and finall conclusion. He the same date also promoted John lord of Powys, and earle marshall, sonne and heire to Thomas duke of Norfolk (by king Richard the second exiled this realme) to the title, name, and stile of duke of York.

During this feast, the duke of Bedford adioyned the king with the high order of knightshood, who on the same date dubbed with the sword these knights, whose names insue: Richard duke of York, John duke of Norfolk; the earle of Westmerland, Henrie lord Persie, John lord Butler, sonne to the earle of Dyons, the lord Kosse, the lord Patrauers, the lord Welles, the lord Warhelie, sir James Butler, sir Henrie Greie of Tankerville, sir John Talbot, sir Rafe Greie of Marke, sir Robert Wre, sir Richard Greie, sir Edmund Hungerford, sir Walter Wingfield, sir John Butler, sir Reginald Cobham, sir John Passhelen, sir Thomas Tunstall, sir John Chebocke, sir Rafe Langstre, sir William Dzurie, sir William ap Thomas, sir Richard Carnonell, sir Richard Wadville, sir John Shirdlow, sir Nicholas Blunket, sir William Cheintestice, sir William Babington, sir Rafe Butler, sir Robert Beauchampe, sir Edmund Trafford, sir John June these baron, and diuerse others.

After this solemne feast ended, a great aid and subsidie was granted for the continuance of the conquest in France, and so therevpon monie was gathered, and men were prepared in euery citie, towne, and countrie. During which businesse, Thomas duke of Excester, great vncle to the king, a right sage and  
A lly. The duke of Excester be-  
dis, etc.

discreet counsellor, departed out of this mortal life, at his manor of Greenewich, and with all funerall pompe was conveyed through London to Berrie, and there buried. ¶ In the same yeare, also died the ladie Elizabeth, halfe sister to the same duke, and of the whole blood with king Henrie the fourth, married first to the lord John Holland, duke of Excester, and after to the lord Janhope, buried at the blacke friers of London.

Fr. Thin.

1425

[Philip Morgan after the death of John Foxham (sometime treasurer of England, bishop of Elie and Durham, both which bishopricks, for any thing that I can yet see, he inioined both at onetime) was made bishop of Elie in the yeare of our redemption 1425, in this sort. Henrie the first and manie of the nobilitie had written to the convent of the church of Elie, to chuse William Alnewicke (doctor of both lawes confessor to the king and keeper of the privie seale) to be their bishop. Notwithstanding which (they having more regard to their owne privileges and benefit) chose Peter the prior of Elie to succeed in the place of John Foxham. But none of both these inioined that come; for Martin bishop of Rome (stepping into the matter to make the third part, neither favouring the kings motion, nor approving the monks election) removed this William Morgan from the see of Worcester into Elie, sometime called Helix: as I have seen it set downe in Saron characters in an ancient booke of the lives of saints written in the Saron tongue, about the yeare of Christ 1010, before the time of Edward the confessor, and much about the time of Albo Floriacensis. This Morgan sat at Elie nine yeares, twentie and six weeks, and foure daies, departing this life in his manour of Hatfield, in the yeare 1434, and was buried at the Charterhouse of London; being the twentie and fourth bishop that was installed in that place.]

1426

\* Or rather  
Goche.

John Winter.

While these things were thus a doing in England, the earle of Warwicke, lieutenant for the regent in France, entered into the countrie of Paine, & besieged the towne of Chateau de Loire, the which hostile to him was rendered, whereof he made captaine Battellin Cough, esquier. After this, he took by assault the castell of Patet, and gave it for his valiantnesse to John Winter esquier, and after that he conquered the castell of Lude, and made there captaine William Glafeldale gentleman. Here he was informed, that the Frenchmen were assembled in the countrie of Beausse, whereupon he halted thitherwards to have given them battell, but they having knowledge of his approach, durst not abide to trie the matter with him by a pight field, but fled before he came nere them.

The earle of  
Warwicke  
made gouver-  
nour of the  
young king.

Anno Reg. 5.

1427

The earle in his returne won the castell of Pont-dublean by surrender; where he left the valiant lord Willoughbie, and then returned to Paris. During which season, he was ordained by the three estates of the realme of England, to be gouvernour of the young king in the place of the duke of Excester deceased: howbeit, he did not as yet returne into England, but remained in France for a season, and attended manie worthy enterprises. Whilest the lord regent of France was thus in England, meanes was made by the duke of Burgognie, for the delivrie of the duke of Alanson, taken at the battell of Verneille, and now for the summe of two hundred thousand crownes he was set at libertie; but he would not by any meanes acknowledge the king of England to be his liege and soueraine lord.

After that the duke of Bedford had set all things in good order in England, he took leave of the king, and together with his wife returned into France, first landing at Calis, where the bishop of Winchester (that also passed the seas with him) received the

habit, hat, and dignitie of a cardinal, with all ceremonies to it appertaining: which promotion, the late ambitious mind of the man, that even from his youth was ever to checke at the highest: and also right well ascertained with what intollerable pride his head should some be swollen under such a hat: did therefore all his life long keepe this prelat backe from that presumptuous estate. But now the king being young and the regent his friend, he obtained his purpose, to his great profit, and the impoverishing of the spiritualitie of this realme. For by a bull legantine, which he purchased from Rome, he gathered so much treasure, that no man in manner had monie but he: so that he was called the rich cardinal of Winchester.

After that the lord regent was arrived in France, the lord of Rustinian, marshall of Britaine, assembled a great compaignie of the Britith nation, which fortified and repaired the towne of Pontorion: and after, the said marshall, with a thousand men, entered into the countrie of Constantine, and comming before the towne of Arranches, was encountered by the Englishmen of that garrison; & after long fight, his people were put to the worse, chased, and discomfited, and he himselfe taken prisoner in the field. The duke of Bedford, hearing that the towne of Pontorion, situate within two leagues of Pont Saint Michel, was wellic fortified, and strongly defended, sent thither the earle of Marlboke, accompanied with the lord Scales, and other valiant captains and souldiers, to the number of seaven thousand men, to besiege the towne; who so intrenched it on euerie side, that no man could scale neither in nor out.

The siege thus long continuing, vittels began to war scant in the English armie: wherefore the lord Scales, having in his compaignie sir John Harpelete bailiffe of Constantine, sir William Bearton bailiffe of Caen, sir Rafe Tesson, sir John Carbonell, and three thousand good men of warre, departed from the siege to get vittels, powder, and other things necessary for their purpose. And as they were returning with their carriages by the sea coast, nere to Saint Michaels Mount, they suddenie were encountered by their enemies, whereof were chiefe, the baron of Coloses, the lord Daulebois, captaine of the said Mount, the lord Mountabon, the lord Pontburcher, the lord of Chateaugiron, the lord of Lintignat, the lord of Chateaublan, with six thousand men of warre.

The lord Scales and his compaignie, perceiving themselves beset on the one side with the sea, & on the other with their enemies, alighted from their horses, and like courageous persons, there in an onspeakeable furie, set on their enemies. The fight was fierce & cruell. The Englishmen kept themselves close together; so that their enemies could get no advantage of them. At the last, the lord Scales cried, *St. George they die*. Whereupon, the Englishmen took such courage, and the Frenchmen that fought before, were so dismayed, that they began to flee in deed. The Englishmen leaped on horse-backe, and followed them so, that they slew and took aboute eleven hundred persons, among the which were taken the baron of Coloses, the vicount of Rone, and others. The lord of Chateaugiron, with a Scotch captaine, & divers other men of name were slaine. After this victorie, the lord Scales with his vittels, provision, and prisoners, returned to the siege, where he was of the earle and other noble men toiouslie receiued.

Whilest the siege continued thus before Pontorion, Christopher Hanson, and other souldiers of the garrison of Saint Susan, made a rode into the countrie of Anjou, and came to a castell called Hamfort, which

The lord of  
Rustinian  
taken and by  
people there  
and killed  
red.Pontorion  
rendered to  
the English  
men.\* Or rather  
Goche.On the  
Englishmen

Enguar.

The bishop of Winchester made a cart mall. W.P.

The lord of Rostman taken and his people slain and discomfited.

hot fire in.

in the camp in date.

guarant.

castell was so pitulie scaled, that the capteine with in, and his companie, were taken or slaine, before they knew of their enemies approaching. When know ledge herof was given unto the Frenchmen which were assembled, to the number of twentie thousand, to raise the siege that late before Pontorson, they left that encirpise, and went to recover the said castell of Ramfort, and so comming before it, planted their siege so on each side of it, that at length by composition the Englishmen within, doubting to be taken by force, rendered by the castell, having libertie to depart with bag and baggage.

Shortlie after the lord of Hain, calling himselfe lieutenant generall for the Dolphin, entered into Spaine with an armie of three thousand men, and by force toke the castell of Malicorne, wherof was capteine an Englishman, one Oliver Waterhouse. In like manner, they toke the little castell of Lude, and therein William Blackborne, lieutenant for William Glasdale esquire. After this, the Frenchmen returned backe to the Dolphin, and kept not on their journey to Pontorson, for that they understood by espials, that the earle of Marwike, and the Englishmen there, determined to give them battell, if they once attempted to raise the siege. They within the towne, being streake besieged, perceiving no likelihood of succours, and seeing the English armie daily increase, fell to treatie for doubt to be taken by force, and so rendered the towne upon condition, that they might depart with horse and harnesse onelie. Which being granted to them, the earle like a valiant capteine entered into the towne, and there appointed for gouernours, the lord Ros, and the lord Talbot, and leaving there a conuenient garrison, returned to the lord regent.

After the taking of this towne of Pontorson, there was a league, and treatie concluded, betwix the regent and the duke of Britaine; by the articles of which agreement, the townes of Pontorson and saint James de Beuron were beaten downe to the ground and razed. When the lord of Hain was departed out of Spaine (as ye haue heard) Christopher Hanlon, Philip Gough, Martin Godfre, called the Scaler, toke by stealth the castell of saint Laurence de Spottiers. At the same time, when the capteine and the most part of his companie were gone forth to heare masse, in a church ouer against the same castell, and keeping themselves close, till the capteine returned, they toke him as he was entered within the first gate, & so was this castell stuffed with Englishmen, and capteine thereof was appointed sir William Dohall.

The same season, sir John Fastolfe, gouernour of the countries of Anjou and Spaine, assembled a great puissance of men warre, and laid siege before the castell of saint Owen Disrais, beside the towne of Laual; and after he had laine there ten daies, the castell was deliuered, they within departing with their liues and armour onelie to them granted, by the tenor of the composition, which they toke with the same sir John Fastolfe. After the winning of this castell, the Englishmen remoued to the strong castell of Craule, and after twelue daies, they within offered to yeld the castell by a daie, if they were not succoured by the Dolphin or his power: the offer was taken and pledges deliuered.

When sir John Fastolfe returned in post to the regent, aduertising him of this composition and agreement; wherefore, the said regent raised a great power to fight with the Frenchmen at the daie appointed, and in his companie were the earles of Montaigne and Marwike, the lord Ros and Talbot, sir John Fastolfe, sir John Aubmond, sir John Hatchette, and diuerse other, to the number of twen-

tie thousand men; and so marched forwards, in hope to meet and ioine battell with their aduersaries. But the French power, being not far off from the place, durst not approach. Wherefore, the regent sent to sir John Fastolfe incontinentlie, to reueue the castell: but they within (contrarie to promise and appointment) had rebolie vnto the place, and so forsaking the pledges and their fellowes in armes, refused to render the fortresse; wherefore, the pledges were brought before their sight, and there before the castell openlie put to death.

After this the lord Talbot was made gouernour of Anjou and Spaine, and sir John Fastolfe was assigned to an other place. This lord Talbot, being both of noble birth, and of hardie courage, after his comming into France, obtained so many glorious victories of his enemies, that his onelie name was yet so dreadfull to the French nation, and much renowned amongst all other people. This justie and most valiant capteine entered into Spaine, where he slue men, destroyed castles, burnt townes, and in conclusion suddenly toke the towne of Laual. The lord Lechar, and diuerse other, withdrew into the castell, in the which they were so streake besieged, that in the end they agreed to paie the lord Talbot an hundred thousand crownes, for licence to depart, with all their bag and baggage.

When this castell deliuered to the keeping of Gilbert Hallsall, which after was slaine at the siege of Orlance, in whose place Matthew Gough was made capteine there: who being at the founte of Scellis, by treason of a miller that kept a mill adioining to the wall, the Frenchmen entered into the towne, and brought it againe into their subiection. Now the duke of Bedford hearing that the towne of Montargis, in the territoirie of Orlance, was but slenderlie kept, and not thoroughlie furnished, sent the earle of Suffolke, with his brother sir John Pole, and sir Henrie Bisset, hauing in their companie a sir thousand men, to assalt that towne; but when they came thither and found the towne both well manned and stronglie fortified, contrarie to their expectation, they successed from giving the assalt, and onelie laid their siege round about it.

The earle of Marwike was appointed to lie with a great number of men of warre, at S. Sparthelines de Archempe, to encounter the Frenchmen, if they would attempt to aid or vittell those within the towne. The situation of this towne was such, that by reason of waters and marshes, the English armie must needs seuer it selfe into three parts, so that the one could not easilie helpe the other, but either by boats or brydges. This siege continued aboue two moneths, so that in the meane time the Frenchmen had leasure to prouide for the succour thereof; and so it came to passe, that the constable of France Arthur of Britaine, the lord Boissac one of the marshals, Stephan la Hire, Dathan de Saintreilles, the lord Craule, and diuerse others, to the number of three thousand horsemen, were sent forth by the Dolphin.

These pitulie in the night season came on that side, where sir John de la Pole and sir Henrie Bisset lay, whome they found so out of order, and without good watch, that the Frenchmen entered into their lodgings, slue many in their beds, and spared none, for their resistance was but small. Sir John de la Pole with his horse saved himselfe, and sir Henrie Bisset escaped by a boat, and eight other with him. The residue lying in plumpes, and straining to passe by a brydge of timber, the which was pestered with peeale of the multitude, brake, and so there were a great number drowned: inso much that there were slaine by the enemies sword, and drowned in the wa-

Hollages executed for promise broken.

The lord Talbot, a valiant capteine.

Or rather Gough.

A great slaughter by negligence of the watch at Montargis.

ter, sixtēne hundred men.

Sir Nicholas Burdet,  
Polydor.

The earle of Marlowe hearing of this misfortune, departed from saint Mathelines with all speed, and comming before Pontargis, offered battell to the French captaine, which answered, that they had manerly and vittelled the towne, and intended to do no more at that time. The Englishmen hereupon came hostlie backe againe with all their ordnance to the burgh of Bedford. Yet had not the French so great cause to vaunt of their successe: for at this verie time, Sir Nicholas Burdet, appointed by the duke of Summerset, to indamage his enemies in the coastes of Britaine, sent byemen into euery part, working all the displeasure to the people that might be devised. The countie, through which he passed, was wasted: the townes were burnt, the houses spoiled, and great number of prisoners taken, the small villages were despoiled, and the wasted townes ransomed, and so without hurt or damage the said Sir Nicholas Burdet returned into Normantie.

These newes being signified to the constable, and other the French captaine, alluaged their great wrath and triumphant ioy, conceived for the victorie of Pontargis, that loth they were to attempte further enterprises against the English nation. But the duke of Alanson, who (as ye haue heard) was lastlie deliuered out of captiuitie, reuiued againe the pulled spirits of the Dolphin, and somewhat aduanced, in hope of good speed, the fainting hartes of his captaine; so that (some occasion offered) they determined to atchieue a notable feat (as they took it) against the Englishmen, which was the recouerie of the citie of Orlans out of their hands: for so it happened, that diuers of the chiefe rulers in that citie, and namelie diuerse spiritual persons, meaning to revolt to the Dolphin, advertised him by letters of their whole mind, which letters were conuieied vnto him by certēne fleters.

The Dolphin glad of those newes, appointed the lords de la Beche and Faget, marshals of France, accompanied with the lords of Mount Jehan, of Beutell, Donnell, L'Orle, Beaumanoir, the Bre, and his brother Guillaime, with fūe hundred other valiant captaine and souldiers, to the accomplishing of this enterprise; who comming thither at the date assigned, in the night season approached towards the walles, making a little fire on an hill, in sight of the towne, to signifie their comming, which perceiued by the citizens that nere to the great church were watching for the same, a burning cresset was shewed out of the steeple, which suddenly was put out and quenched. What needeth manie wordes?

Orlans lost  
by treason of  
the citizens.

The captaine on horsebacke came to the gate, the traitors within due the porters and watchmen, and let in their friends, whereby the French entered first, and the men of armes waited at the barriers, to the intent that if need required, they might fight it out in open field. Whereby manie Englishmen were slaine, & a great cry and garboile raised through the towne, as in such surprises is wont. The cause of this mischance was not knowne to any, but onelie to the conspirators; for the remnant of the citizens being no partakers, imagined, that the Englishmen had made haucke in the towne, and put all to the sword. The Englishmen on the other side iudged, that the citizens had begun some new rebellion against them, or else had fallen amongst themselves.

The earle of Suffolke, which was gouernour of the towne, hauing perfect knowledge by such as escaped from the wals, how the matter went, withdrew without any tarriance into the castell, which standeth at the gate of saint Vincent, thereof was constable Thomas Colver esquier, whither also fled manie Englishmen; so as for byging of the enimie, prease

of the number, and lacke of vittells, they could not haue endured long: wherefore they prauellie sent a messenger to the lord Talbot, which then late at Alanson, certifieng him in how hard a case they were. The lord Talbot hearing these newes, like a careful captaine in all hast assembled together about seuen hundred men, & in the evening departed from Alanson, so as in the morning he came to a castell called Oulch, two miles from Orlans, and there staid a while, till he had sent out Matthew Cough as an espiall, to vnderstand how the Frenchmen demeaned themselves.

Matthew Cough so well sped his business, that prauellie in the night he came into the castell, where he learned that the Frenchmen were negligent to see themselves without taking heed to their watch, as though they had bene out of all danger: which well vnderstood, he returned againe, and within a mile of the citie met the lord Talbot, and the lord Stales, and opened vnto them all things, according to his credence. The lords then, to make hast in the matter, because the date approached, with all speed possible came to the posterne gate, and alighting from their horses, about six of the clocke in the morning, they issued out of the castell, crying saint George, Talbot.

The Frenchmen being thus suddenly taken, were so amazed, in so much that some of them, being not out of their beds, got vp in their shirts, and leapt ouer the walles. Other ran naked out of the gates to save their liues, leauing all their apparell, harness, armour, and riches behind them, none was hurt but such as resisted. A hard fight was made on all hands for safetie of life, & hapie was he that could find a place of refuge where to lurke vnsuspe and vnhurt of the enimie; who in the execution of their vengeance were so petympoize, that it was a matter of great difficultie or rather impossibilitie to escape their force. To be short, there were slaine and taken, to the number of foure hundred gentlemen, the priuat souldiers were franklie let go. After this, inquisition was made of the authors of the treason, and there were found & condemned thirtie citizens, twentie priests, and sixtēne friers, who according to their demerits were all hanged.

The citie of Orlans being thus recovered, the lord Talbot returned to Alanson, and shortly after the earle of Marlowe departed into England, to be gouernour of the young king, in stead of Thomas duke of Excester, lastlie departed to God, and then was the lord Thomas Montacute earle of Salisbury sent into France, to supplie the roome of the said earle of Marlowe, who landed at Calis with fūe thousand men, and so came to the duke of Bedford as then lying in Paris, where they fell in counsell together concerning the affaires of France, and namelie the earle of Salisbury began maruellouslie to praise the gaining of the citie & countrie of Orlance.

This earle was the man at that time, by whose wit, strength, and policie, the English name was much fearefull and terrible to the French nation, which of himselfe might both appoint, command, and do all things in manner at his pleasure, in whose power (as it appeared after his death) a great part of the conquest consisted: for suerlie, he was a man both painefull, diligent, and ready to withstand all dangerous chanches that were at hand, prompt in counsell, and of courage inuincible, so that in no one man, men put more trust; no; any singular person wan the parts so much of all men.

Hereupon, after this great enterprise had long bene debated in the priue counsell, the earle of Salisburyes desire therein was of them all granted and allowed, so that he being replenished with good hope of victorie, and furnished with artillerie & munition apper-

W. P.  
Les grandes  
chroniques de  
Britaigne.

Anno Reg. 7.  
Orlance be-  
siegé.  
Talbot of  
Orlance.

Orlans was  
taken.  
Abr. Fl.

Tristram  
cruc.

Anno Reg. 4.  
Duke of  
Excester de-  
ceased.  
1428

Orlans  
captured  
by the  
English  
army.



apertaining to so great an enterprize, accompanied with the earle of Suffolke, and the lord Talbot, and with a valiant armie, to the number of ten thousand men, departed from Paris, and passed through the countie of Beausse. There he took by assault, the towne of Crenulle, and within five daies after had the castell deliuered unto him, by them that were fled into it for their safegard. He also took the towne of Baugencie, suffering such a man which would be come subiect to the king of England, to intioe their lands and goods. The townes of Meun upon Loire, and Jargeaulx, hearing of these doings, presented to them the heles of their townes upon like agreement. [About this time in this 1428, the towne of Bauntes and territories there with a fearefull earthquake were shaken, houses castels and strong buildings, in such terror, as it was thought the end of the world had bene come.]

After this, in the moneth of September the earle came before the citie of Orlance, and planted his siege on the one side of the river of Loire; but before his coming, the barbard of Orlance, the bishop of the citie, and a great number of Scots, hearing of the earles intent, made diuerse fortifications about the towne, and destroyed the suburbs, in which were twelve parish churches, and foure orders of friers. They cut also downe all the vines, trees, and bushes, within five leagues of the citie, so that the Englishmen should haue neither refuge nor succour.

After the siege had continued full three weekes, the barbard of Orlance issued out of the gate of the bridge, and fought with the Englishmen; but they received him with so fierce and terrible strokes, that he was with all his companie compelled to retire and flee backe into the citie. But the Englishmen followed so fast, in killing and taking of their enemies, that they entered with them. The bulwooke of the bridge, with a great tower standing at the end of the same, was taken incontinentlie by the Englishmen, who behaued themselves right valiantlie vnder the conduct of their couragious capteine, as at this assault, so in diuerse skirmishes against the French; partly to keepe possession of that which Henrie the sixt had by his magnanimitie & puissance atchieued, as also to enlarge the same. But all helped not. For who can hold that which will atwaie? In so much that some cities by fraudulent practises, other some by martiall prowesse were recovered by the French, to the great discouragement of the English and the appelling of their spirits; whose hope was now dashed partly by their great losses and discomfitures (as after you shall heare) but chiefly by the death of the late deceased Henrie their victorious king; as Chr. Okland herie truelie and agreeable to the storie noteth:

*Dolphinus, comit'que eius fera praelia tentant,  
Fraude domi capiant alius, virtute recepta  
Sunt verbes alia quidam, sublapsa referunt  
Anglim spes retro, languescere pectora dicat,  
Quipe erat Henricus quintus, dux strenuus olim,  
Mortuus: hinc damni grauior causa atque doloris.*

In this conflict, manie Frenchmen were taken, but moze were slaine, and the keeping of the towne and bulwooke was committed to William Glasdale esquier. By the taking of this bridge the passage was stopped, that neither men nor vittels could go or come by that waie. After this, the earle caused certeine bulwookes to be made round about the towne, casting trenches betwene the one and the other, laicng ordinance in euerie place where he saw that any batterie might be deuised. When they within saw that they were environed with fortresses and ordinance, they laid gun against gun, and fortified towers against bulwookes, and within cast new rampiers, and fortified themselves as stronglie as might be deuised.

The barbard of Orlance and the fire were appointed to see the walles and watches kept, and the bishop saw that the inhabitants within the citie were put in good order, and that vittels were not vainelie spent. In the tower that was taken at the bridge end (as before you haue heard) there was an high chamber, hauing a grate full of barres of iron, by the which a man might looke all the length of the bridge into the citie; at which grate manie of the  
10 these capteins stood manie times, biewing the citie, and deuising in what place it was best to giue the assault. They within the citie well perceived this watching hole, and laid a peece of ordinance directlie against the window.

It so chanced, that the nine and fiftith daie after the siege was laid, the earle of Salisburie, sir Thomas Cargraue, and William Glasdale, with diuerse other went into the said tower, and so into the high chamber, and looked out at the grate, and within a  
20 short space, the sonne of the maister-gunner, perceiving men looking out at the window, took his match (as his father had taught him) who was gone downe to dinner, and fired the gun; the shot whereof brake, and shivered the iron barres of the grate, so that one of the same bars strake the earle so violently on the head, that it stroke atwaie one of his eyes, and the side of his cheeke. Sir Thomas Cargraue was likewise stricken, and died within two daies.

The earle was conueied to Meun on Loire, where  
30 after eight daies he likewise departed this world, whose bodie was conueied into England with all funerall appointment, and buried at Wilsam by his progenitors, leauing behind him an onelie daughter named Alice, married to Richard Beull, sonne to Rafe earle of Westmerland, of whose moze shall be said hereafter. The damage that the realme of England receiued by the losse of this noble man, manifestlie appeared; in that immediatlie after his death, the prosperous good lucke, which had followed the  
40 English nation, began to decline, and the glorie of their victories gotten in the parties beyond the sea fell in decaye.

Though all men were sorrowfull for his death, yet the duke of Bedford was most stricken with heavinesse, as he that had lost his onelie right hand, and these aid in time of necessitie. But sith that dead men cannot helpe the chances of men that be liuing, he like a prudent gouernour appointed the earle of Suffolke to be his lieutenant and capteine of the siege, and joined with him the lord Scroales, the lord Talbot, sir John Fastolfe, and diuerse other right valiant  
50 capteins. These persons caused bastilles to be made round about the citie, and left nothing vnattempted, that might aduance their purpose, which by long toiling effect there was not arie want, as of no cautelous policie, so of no valiant enterprize, tending to the enemies overthrow.

In the Lent season, vittels and artillerte began to waiescant in the English campe, wherefore the earle  
60 of Suffolke appointed sir John Fastolfe, sir Thomas Kemplton, and sir Philip Hall, with their retinues, to ride to Paris, to the lord regent, to informe him of their lacke, who incontinentlie vpon that information provided vittels, artillerte, and munitions necessarie, and lobed therewith manie chariots, carts, and horses: and for the sure conueiung of the same, he appointed sir Simon Dorchier, prouost of Paris, with the gard of the citie, and diuerse of his owne household-feruants to accompanie sir John Fastolfe and his complices, to the armie lieng at the siege of Orlance. They were in all to the number of sixtine hundred men, of the which there were not past  
five or six hundred Englishmen.

These departing in good order of battell out of Paris,

The earle of Salisburie slaine.

1429

Enguerrant.

ris, came to Genuille in Beaulle, and in a morning  
earlie, in a great frost, they departed from thence to-  
ward the siege; and when they came to a towne called  
Rouzaie, in the lands of Beaulle, they perceived  
their enemies coming towards them, being to the  
number of nine or ten thousand of Frenchmen and  
Scots, of whom were capitaine Charles of Cler-  
mont, sonne to the duke of Bourbon then being pri-  
soner in England; sir William Stewart constable  
of Scotland, a little before deliuered out of captiui-  
tie, the earle of Derbyake, the lord John Maudslowe,  
the Widame of Chartres, the lord of Tournes, the lord  
of Lohar, the lord of Eglerie, the lord of Beaulieu,  
the baron Tremolle, and manie other valiant cap-  
tains.

Wherefore sir John Fastolfe set all his companie  
in good order of battell, and pitched stakes before e-  
uerie archer, to breake the force of the horsemen. At  
their backs they set all the wagons and carriages,  
and within them they tied all their horses. In this  
maner stood they still, abiding the assault of their ene-  
mies. The Frenchmen by reason of their great num-  
ber, thinking themselves sure of the victorie, egerlie  
set on the Englishmen, which with great force then  
received, and themselves manfully defended. At  
length, after long and cruell fight, the Englishmen  
droue backe and vanquished the proud Frenchmen,  
a compelled them to flee. In this conflict were slaine  
the lord William Stewart constable of Scotland,  
and his brother the lord Donalle, the lord Chateau-  
briant, sir John Baskot, and other Frenchmen and  
Scots, to the number of five and twentie hundred,  
and aboue eleuen hundred taken prisoners, although  
the French writers affirme the number lesse.

After this fortunate victorie, sir John Fastolfe and  
his companie (having lost no one man of any repu-  
tation) with all their carriages, vittels, and prisoners,  
marched forth and came to the English campe before  
Dyleance, where they were safely received, and  
highly commended for their valiance and worthie  
prowesse shewed in the battell; the which because most  
part of the carriage was herring and lenton stiffe,  
the Frenchmen called it the battell of herrings. The  
earle of Suffolke being thus vittelled, continued the  
siege, and euerie daie almost skirmished with the  
Frenchmen within, who (at length being in despair  
of all succours) offered to treat, and in conclusion, to  
saue themselves and the citie from captiuitie of their  
enemies, they desired to submit the citie, themselves,  
and all theirs vnder the obedience of Philip duke of  
Burgogny, because he was extract out of the stocke  
and blond roiall of the ancient kings of France,  
thinking by this means (as they did in deed) to breake  
or diminish the great amitie betwene the English-  
men and him.

This offer was signified by them vnto the duke of  
Burgogny, who with thanks certified them againe,  
that he would gladly receiue them, if the lord regent  
would therewith be contented. Whereupon he dispat-  
ched messengers to the duke of Bedford, who though  
some counselled that it should be verie good and ne-  
cessarie for him to agree to that maner of yielding;  
yet he and other thought it neither conuenient nor  
honourable, that a citie so long besieged by the king  
of England, should be deliuered vnto any other  
prince, than to him, or to his regent, for that might  
be a verie bad president to other townes in any like  
case. Whereupon the regent answered the Burgogny-  
an ambassadors: that after so long a siege on his  
part, and obstinate resistance of theirs, he might not  
receiue rendering and conditions at their appoint-  
ment. At this answer the duke hong the groine, as  
concluding that our side should enuie his glorie, or  
not to be so forward in aduancing his honour as he

would haue it.

In time of this siege at Dyleance (French writers  
saie) the first weeke of March 1428, vnto Charles the  
Dolphin, at Chinon as he was in verie great care  
and studie how to iustifie against the English nati-  
on, by one Peter Baudicourt capitaine of Maconleu-  
(made after marshall of France by the Dolphins  
creation) was carried a poore French of an eightene  
yeeres old, called Jone, the name of his father (a  
sorte shepheard) James of Arc, and Isabell his mo-  
ther, brought by pooretie in their trade of keeping cat-  
tell, borne at Dompzin (wherefore reported by Bal-  
zone Dompzin) vpon Denise in Lorraine within the  
diocesse of Thoul. Dismaur was the countie like  
some, of person stronglie made and manlie, of cou-  
rage great, hardie, and stout withall, an understand-  
er of counsels though he were not at them, great  
semblance of chastitie both of bodie and behaviour,  
the name of Iesus in his mouth about all his busi-  
nesses, humble, obedient, and fasting diuerse daies in  
the weeke. A person (as their bookes make him) raised  
by by power diuine, onelie for succour to the French  
estate then depelie in distresse, in whom, for plan-  
ting a credit the rather, first the companie that to-  
ward the Dolphin did conduct him, through places all  
dangerous, as holden by the English, where the ne-  
uer was afore, all the waie and by nightertale safe-  
lie did the lead: then at the Dolphins sending by his  
assignement, from saint Batharins church of Fier-  
bois in Touraine (where the neuer had bene and  
knew not) in a secret place there among old iron, ap-  
pointed the his sword to be sought out and brought  
him, that with fine flour delices was grauen on both  
sides, therewith he fought & did manie slaughters by  
his owne hands. On warfar rode he in armour cap  
a pie & mulleted as a man, before him an ensigne all  
white, wherein was Iesus Christ painted with a flour  
delice in his hand.

Vnto the Dolphin into his gallerie then first he  
was brought, and he shadowing himselfe behind,  
setting other gale lords before him to trie his run-  
ning from all the companie, with a salutation (that  
indeed marz all the matter) he pickt him out alone,  
who therupon had him to the end of the gallerie,  
where he held him an houre in secret and private  
talke, that of his private chamber was thought verie  
long, and therefore would haue broken it off; but he  
made them a signe to let him see on. In which (among  
other) as likelie it was, he set out vnto him the sin-  
gular seats (for sooth) giuen him to vnderstand by re-  
velation diuine, that in vertue of that sword he should  
achieve, which were, how with hono- and victorie he  
would raise the siege at Dyleance, set him in state of  
the crowne of France, and digne the English out of  
the countie, thereby he to intole the kingdome a-  
lone. Whereupon he hartened at full, appointed him a  
sufficient armie with absolute power to lead them,  
and they obedientlie to do as he had them. Then fell  
he to worke, and first defeated indeed the siege at  
Dyleance, by and by encouraged him to crowne him-  
selfe king of France at Reims, that a little before  
from the English he had wonne. Thus after pursued  
the manie bold enterprises to our great displeasure  
a two yeare together, for the time he kept in state vntill  
he were taken and for herse and withcherte  
burned: as in particularities hereafter followeth.  
But in his prime time he armed at all points (like a  
solie capitaine) roade from Poitiers to Blois, and  
there found men of warre, vittels, and munition,  
readie to be conueied to Dyleance.

Here was it knowne that the Englishmen kept  
not so diligent watch as they had bene accustomed  
to do, and therefore this man (with other French  
captaine) comming forward in the dead time of the  
night

1500 English  
did slay and  
brought 10000  
French.

The battell of  
herrings.

W. P.

W. P.  
Lehi de Tice  
Les chroni-  
de Breange  
Le Robert de  
lethum de  
bert.  
Lone de Arc  
Pucell de den  
In vita Dunc-  
vice.

Grand chro.

From head  
to foot.

This saluta-  
tion appert-  
after here.

Les grand  
chronic.

The siege of  
Dyleance  
broken by.

night, and in a great raine and thunder entred into the citie with all their vittels, artillerie, and other necessaries provisions. The next daie the Englishmen boldie assailed the towne, but the Frenchmen defended the walles so, as no great feat worthy of memorie chanced that daie betwixt them, though the Frenchmen were amazed at the valiant attempt of the Englishmen, wherupon the baron of Orlance gaue knowledge to the duke of Alanson, in what danger the towne stood without his present helpe, who comming within two leagues of the citie, gaue knowledge to them within, that they should be ready the next daie to receiue him.

This accordingly was accomplished: for the Englishmen willingly suffered him and his armie also to enter, supposing that it should be for their advantage to haue so great a multitude to enter the citie, wherby their vittels (whereof they within had great scarcitie) might the sooner be consumed. On the next daie in the morning, the Frenchmen altogether issued out of the towne, wone by assault the bastille of saint Lou, and set it on fire. And after they likewise assaulted the tower at the bridge foot, which was manfully defended. But the Frenchmen (more in number) at length took it, yet the lord Talbot could come to the succours, in the which William Gladel dale the capteine was slaine, with the lord Hollins, and lord Hoinings also.

The Frenchmen pushed by with this good lucke, fetched a compass about, and in good order of battell marched toward the bastille, which was in the keeping of the lord Talbot: the which upon the enemies approach, like a capteine without all feare or dread of that great multitude, issued forth against them, and gaue them so sharpe an encounter, that they not able to withstand his puissance, fled (like sheepe before the wolfe) againe into the citie, with great losse of men and small artillerie. Of Englishmen were lost in the two bastilles, to the number of six hundred persons, or thereabout, though the French writers multiplie this number of hundreds to thousands, as their manner is.

The earle of Suffolke, the lord Talbot, the lord Scales, and other capitaines assembled together in counsell, and after causes shewed to and fro, it was amongst them determined to leaue their fortresses and bastilles, and to assemble in the plaine field, and there to abide all the daie, to see if the Frenchmen would issue forth to fight with them. This conclusion taken was accordingly executed: but when the Frenchmen durst not once come forth to shew their heads, the Englishmen set fire of their lodgings, and departed in good order of battell from Orlance. The next daie, which was the eight daie of Maie, the earle of Suffolke rode to Jargeaur with foure hundred Englishmen, and the lord Talbot with an other companie returned to Mehun. And after he had fortified that towne, he went to the towne of Laual, & wone it, together with the castell, soe punishing the townsmen for their cankered obstinacie against them.

Thus when the Englishmen had severed themselves into garrisons, the duke of Alanson, the baron of Orlance, Jone le Pucell, the lord Gaiw court, and diuerse other capitaines of the Frenchmen, came the twelue daie of June, before the towne of Jargeaur, where the earle of Suffolke and his two brethren sojourned, & gaue to the towne so fierce an assault on thre parts, that Poiton de Sentrailes, perceiving an other part void of defendants, scaled the wals on that side, and without difficultie took the towne, and slue sir Alexander Poole, brother to the erle, and manie other, to the number of two hundred. But the Frenchmen gained not much thereby, for they lost thre hundred good men and more. Of the

Englishmen fortie were taken, with the earle and his other brother named John.

The Frenchmen, as they returned to Orlance, fell at variance for their prisoners, and slue them all, saving the earle and his brother. Shortly after, the same French armie came to Mehun, where they took the tower at the bridge foot, and put therein a garrison. From thence they remoued to Baugencie, and constrained them that were within the towne to yeld, upon condition they might depart with bag and baggage. At the same place there came to the duke of Alanson, the new constable Arthur of Britaine, and with him the lord Dalbjet, and other. Also after this the earle of Wandosme came to them, so that by the daile repaire of such as assembled together to strengthen the French part, they were in all to the number betwene twentie and thre and twentie thousand men.

All which being once joined in one armie, shortly after fought with the lord Talbot (who had with him not past six thousand men) nere vnto a village in Beaulle called Pataie: at which battell the charge was giuen by the French so vpon a sudden, that the Englishmen had not leisure to put themselves in a rate, after they had put up their stakes before their archers, so that there was no remedie but to fight at aduventure. This battell continued by the space of thre long houres: for the Englishmen, though they were overpressed with multitude of their enemies, yet they neuer fled backe one foot, till their capteine the lord Talbot was soe wounded at the backe, and so taken.

When their hearts began to faint, and they fled, in which flight were slaine about twelue hundred, and fortie taken, of whom the lord Talbot, the lord Scales, the lord Hungerford, & sir Thomas Hampston were chiefe. Diuerse archers, after they had shot all their arrowes, hauing onelie their swords, defended themselves, and with helpe of some of their horsemen came safe to Mehun. This overthrow, and specially the taking of the lord Talbot, did not so much reioice the Frenchmen; but it did as much abash the Englishmen: so that immediatly thereupon, the townes of Jennie, Mehun, Fort, and diuerse other, returned from the English part, and became French. From this battell departed without anie stroke striken sir John Fastolfe, the same yeare for his valiantnesse elected into the order of the garter. But for doubt of misdealing at this hant, the duke of Bedford took from him the image of saint George, and his garter; though afterward by meanes of friends, and apparant causes of good excuse, the same were to him againe deliuered against the mind of the lord Talbot.

Charles the Dolphin that called himselfe French, perceiving fortune to smile thus vpon him, assembled a great power, and determined to conquer the citie of Reimes, that he might be there sacred, crowned, and annointed, according to the custome of his progenitors, that all men might iudge that he was by all lawes and decrees a iust and lawfull king. In his waie thitherwards he besieged the citie of Arrerre, the citizens whereof compounded with him to yeld, if they were not rescued within certeine daies. From thence he came before Trois, and after twelue daies siege had that citie deliuered vnto him, by composition, that the capteine sir Philip Hall (with his people and moneables) might depart in safetie. After that Trois was yelded, the communalte of Chaalons rebelled against sir John Aubemond their capteine, and constrained him to deliuer the towne vpon like composition. In semblable manner did they of Reimes, desiring him to giue safe conduct to all the Englishmen safelie to depart. When Reimes was

Prisoners  
slaine by the  
French as  
they were  
taken.

Nichol. Giles.  
Five thousand  
saith Hall.

Great losse on  
the English side  
The lord  
Talbot,  
Scales, and  
Hungerford  
taken.

The siege of  
Orlance  
broken vp.

The French  
king crowned.

was thus become French, the foresaid Charles the Welphyn in the presence of the dukes of Lorraine and Barre, and of all the noble men of his faction, was sacred there king of France by the name of Charles the seauenth, with all rites and ceremonies thereto belonging. They of Auerre, when the terme of their appointment was expired, submitted themselves to him; and so likewise did all the cities and townes adjoining.

One taken to  
be a witch.

The duke of Bedford advertised of all these doings, assembled his power about him, and hauing together ten thousand good Englishmen (beside Normans) departed out of Paris in warlike fashion, & passing thorough Brie to Montfresau fault Ponne, sent by his herald Bedford, letters to the French king, signifying to him; that where he had (contrarie to the small conclusion accorded betwene his noble brother H. Henrie the sixt, & king Charles the first, father to him that was the usurper) by allurement of a diuellish witch, taken upon him the name, title, & dignitie of the king of France; and further had by murder, stealing, craft, and deceitfull meanes, violently gotten, and wrongfullie kept diuerse cities and townes belonging to the king of England his nephew; for proofe thereof he was come downe from Paris with his armie, into the countrie of Brie, by dint of sword and stroke of battell to proue his writing and cause true, willing his ennemie to chosse the place, and in the same he would giue him battell.

The new French king being come from Reims to Dampmartine, studieng how to compasse them of Paris, was halfe abashed at this message. But yet to set a good countenance on the matter, he answered the herald, that he would sooner seeke his master, than his master should need to pursue him. The duke of Bedford hearing this answer, marched toward the king, and pitched his field in a strong place. The French king though at the first he meant to haue a bidden battell; yet when he understood that the duke was equall to him in number of people, he changed his purpose, and turned with his armie a little out of the waie. The duke of Bedford, perceiuing his faint courage, followed him by the hills and dales, till he came to a town not far from Senlis, where he found the French king and his armie lodged; therefore he ordered his battels like an expert cheffaine in martiall science, setting the archers before, and himselfe with the noblemen in the maine battell, and put the Normans on both sides for wings. The French king also ordered his battels with the aduise of his captains.

The French  
armie fled in  
the night.  
Boheme.

Thus these two armies late two daies and two nights either in sight of other, without anie great doing, except a few skirmishes, wherein the dukes light horsemen did vertie valiantlie. At length in the dead of the night (as ytuillie as might be) the French king brake vp his campe, and fled to Bzaie. The duke of Bedford had much adoe to staie his people in the morning from pursuit of the French armie: but for that he mistrusted the Parisiens, he would not depart farre from that citie, and so returned thither againe. ¶ In this season pope apart in the first of that name, meaning to subdue the Bohemers that dissent from the church of Rome in matters of religion, appointed Henrie Beaufort Bishop of Winchester & cardinal of saint Eusebie, to be his legat in an armie that should invade the kingdome of Boheme, and to bring a powder of men with him out of England. And because the warre touched religion, he licenced the cardinall to take the tenth part of euerie spirituall dignitie, benefice, and promotion.

This matter was opened in the parlement house, and assented to: whereupon the bishop gathered the

monie, and assembled foure thousand men & above, not without great grudge of the people, which daillie were with tallages and aids wearied and sore burdened. As this bishop was come to Douer ready to passe the seas ouer into Flanders, the duke of Gloucester hauing receiued letters from the duke of Bedford, containing an earnest request to releue him with some speedie aid of men of warre, was constrained to write vnto the bishop of Winchester, willing him in time of such need, when all stood upon losse or gaine, to passe with all his armie toward the duke of Bedford, to assist him against his aduersaries; which thing done, and to his honour achieved, he might performe his iournie against the vngenerous Bohemers. The cardinall (though not well contented with this countermand) yet least he should run into the note of infamie, if he refused to aid the regent of France in so great a cause, passed ouer with his power, and brought the same vnto his cosine to the citie of Paris.

About the same season, the French king, in hope to be receiued into the townes of Campaigne and Beaunois (by reason of the fauour and good will which the inhabitants bare towards him) was come with an armie towards Campaigne. Whereof the duke of Bedford being advertised, and hauing now his host augmented with the new supplie, which the cardinall had of late brought vnto him, marched forward with great speed toward the place where he understood the French king was lodged: and coming to Senlis, he perceiued how his enemies were incamped upon the mount Billoth, betwene Senlis and Campaigne.

Here might either armie behold the other: whereupon for the auoiding of dangers that might insue, the camps were trenchted, and the battels pitched, and the fields ordered as though they should haue tried the matter by battell: but nothing was done except with skirmishes, in the which the Normans sore vexed the Frenchmen; and therefore receiued great commendations & praises of the lord regent: who vndoubtedly determined to haue giuen battell to his enemies if they would haue abidden it. But after the armies had thus lien either in sight of other, for the space of two daies together, the French king not determining to aduenture in an open battell the whole chance of the game, least he might thereby receiue a perpetuall checkemate, in the night season removed his campe, and fled to Crespie, though his number was double to the English armie. The duke of Bedford, seeing that the French king was thus cowardlie recoiled with all his power and armie, returned againe to Paris, euer suspecting the deceitfull faith of the Parisiens.

The bishop of Winchester, after that the French king was retreated backe, went into Boheme, and there did somewhat, though hostlie after without anie great praise or gaine he returned into England, more glad of his coming backe than of his aduancing forward. Anon after the pope vblegated him, and set an other in his place, wherewith he was nothing contented. On the first daie of November, being the daie of saint Leonard, king Henrie in the eight yeare of his reigne was at Westminster with all pompe and honour crowned king of this realme of England. In the same yere the French king was receiued into the towne of Campaigne, and hostlie after were the townes of Senlis and Beaunois recovered to him. And the lord Longueuall toke by selfe the castell of Amarle, and due all the Englishmen within it.

Also about the same time, the Frenchmen recovered Calisard south of the Englishmens hands, where the lord Warbason was found in a dungeon, inclosed

Parlement  
at Rome called  
by the  
duke of Bedford.

The French  
got saint De-  
mas.

One had a  
hurt in the leg  
and a fall,  
spawnt all  
buried out of  
the mire.

Anno Reg.

Bohemia.

The pope had  
vblegated the  
cardinal of  
Winchester.  
B. Beaufort  
copied from a  
manuscript.

Thom. W.

inclosed within a great grate of iron like to a little chamber, and forthwith they brake open the grate: but Barbason would not come forth; because he had given his faith and promise to one Kingston that was capitaine of that fortreffe for the king of England, to be true prisoner, untill the Frenchmen had sent to the same Kingston (that was departed upon such covenants as they were agreed upon at the bellverie of that fortreffe) willing him to come backe againe upon safe conduct. Which at their earnest request he did, and withall discharged the lord Barbason of his oath; and so then he came forth, and remained at his libertie, to the great reioicing of the Frenchmen, which iudged that he had bene rather dead than alive all that time of his imprisonment.

About the same time also the French king sought by all meanes possible to breake the amitie betwixt the realme of England, and the house of Burgognie. Whereof the duke of Bedford having intelligence, thought it stood him upon the more earnestlie to looke to his charge; and namelie as it were an anchorhold, he determined to provide that he might defend and safelie keepe the duchie of Normandie, and therefore appointing the bishop of Terroven and Elie, named Elwes of Lutzenburgh, chancelor for king Henrie of the realme of France, to remaine at Paris upon the defense of that citie, with a convenient number of Englishmen, he departed into Normandie, and coming to Rone, called a parlement there of the three estates of the duchie, in the which he declared manie things unto them, touching the happie life, and great freedom which they might be assured to enjoy, so long as they continued under the English obedience: and therefore he exhorted them to abide constant in their allegiance, faith, and promise made and swoyne to his noble brother king Henrie the sixt.

Whiles the duke of Bedford was busie to reteine the Normans in their due obedience, the French king departed from Senlis; and coming to the towne of Saint Denis, found it in maner desolate, so that he entered there without resistance, and lodged his armie at Mount Martyr and Amberuilliers, nere unto the citie of Paris; and from thence sent John duke of Alanson, and his forceresse Jone la Pucelle, with three thousand light horsemen to assault the citie, and followed himselfe, in hope to get it, either by force or treatie. But the English captains, everie one keeping his ward and place assigned, so manfully defended themselves, their walles and towers, with the assistance of the Parisiens, that they repelled the Frenchmen, and threw downe Jone their great goddesse into the bottome of the towne ditch, where she lay behind the backe of an asse sore hurt in the leg, till the time that she (all filthie with urine and durt) was dravne out by Gulschard of Thienbzone, servant to the duke of Alanson.

The French king, perceiving that he could not prevail in this enterprise, left the dead bodies behind him; and taking with him the wounded captains, returned into Berrie. But in the meane waie, the inhabitants of Laigrie submitted themselves unto him. The duke of Bedford being in Normandie, hearing of this sudden attempt, with all hast possible came to Paris, where he gave manie great thanks, with high commendations unto the captains, souldiers and citizens for their assured fidelitie, great hardihood and manlie doing. Which his gentle words so encouraged the hearts of the Parisiens, that they swore, promised and concluded, to be friends for ever to the king of England and his friends, and enemies alwaies to his foes and adversaries, making proclamation by this stile: Friends to H. Henrie, friends to the Parisiens, Enemies to England, enemies to

Paris. Marie whether this was uttered from their hearts, it is hard so to saie, for the sequela of their acts seemed to prove the contrarie.

Some after these doings, came to Paris with a great companie Philip duke of Burgognie, and then upon long consultation had for the recouerie of their losses, it was agreed that the duke of Bedford should raise an armie, & that the duke of Burgognie should be his deputie, and tarry at Paris for the defense of the citie. The duke of Bedford then without any great resistance recovered againe the towne of Saint Denis, with diuerse other fortresses. And after this he sent the bastard of Clarence to laie siege to the castell of Lozlie, the which (notwithstanding the great strength thereof) after six moneths siege, was recovered by into his hands. During the siege of this castell, sir Thomas Iairrell knight, with foure hundred Englishmen departed from Courneie in Normandie, and rode by Beauuois, spoiling and wasting the countie to the suburbs of Cleremont. Whereof the earle of that towne having aduertisement, assembled all the men of warre of the garrisons adjoining, and with the same set forward to fight with the Englishmen, whom he found in a streit place nere to Beauuois.

The earle of Cleremont, perceiving that he could not hurt them with his men of armes, by reason of the strength, came downe on foot with all his companie, and fiercelie set on the Englishmen: but by the terrible shot of the English archers, the Frenchmen in the end were constrained to flee; and the Englishmen perceiving the matter, straight leapt on horsebacke and followed the chase. In the which were taken two hundred prisoners, and thise as manie slaine. The earle escaped by the swiftnesse of his horse. At the same season the earle of Suffolke besieging the towne of Aumarle (whereof was capitaine the lord of Hambures) after foure and twentie great assaults, had the towne and castell simple to him rendered. Thus by little and little the Englishmen recovered manie townes which before they had lost. Wholbeit about the verie same time, the Frenchmen scale the towne of Laual, by treason wrought by a miller, which keeping a mill that ioined to the wall, suffered the French to passe through his mill into the towne. Shortly after also sir Steuen de Wignolles, surnamed la Hire, toke by scaling the towne of Louiers in Normandie. The Englishmen in the cold moneth of December besieged the towne of Laigrie in the which was the Pucelle, and diuerse other good captains.

[In the moneth of Maie 1430, with a valiant man in feats of armes on the duke of Burgognions side, one Franquet and his band of three hundred souldiers, making all towards the maintenance of the siege, the Pucelle Jone and a foure hundred with hir did meet. In great courage and force did she and hir people sundrie times assaile him, but he with his (though much vnder in number) by meanes of his archers in good order set, did so hardlie withstand them, that for the first and second push the rather lost than won: Whereat this captinesse striken into a fretting chafe, called out in all haste the garrison of Laigrie, and from other the forts thereabout, who thicke and threefold came downe with might and maine, in armour and number so far exceeding Franquets, that though they had done hir much hurt in hir horsemen; yet by the verie multitude were they oppressed, most in hir furie put to the sword; & as for Franquet that worthy capitaine himselfe, hir rage not appeased, till out of hand she had his head stroken off: contrarie to all manhood (but she was a woman, if she were that) & contrarie to common right & law of armes. The man for his merits was verie much lamented, and she by hir malice then found of what spirit

Saint Denis  
by his recou-  
ered againe.

Parlement  
at Rone cal-  
led by the  
duke of Bed-  
ford.

The French  
king Saint De-  
nis.

no Reg. 8.

hence.

the poeple dis-  
regard the  
small of  
scholers  
heares  
mation of  
disturbance.

the wall.

La Hire.

Laigrie be-  
sieged by the  
Englishmen.

W. P.  
1430  
Le Rosier.



rit the was.]

Campaigne  
besieged.

After this the duke of Burgognie accompanied with the earles of Arundell, and Suffolke, and the lord John of Lutzenburgh besieged the towne of Campaigne with a great puissance. This towne was well walled, manned, and vittelled, so that the besiegers were constrained to cast trenches, and make mines, for otherwise they saw not how to compass their purpose. In the meane time it happened in the night of the Ascension of our Lord, that Ponton de Saintreilles, Jone la Pusell, and five or six hundred men of armes issued out by the bridge toward Pont-decier, intending to set fire in the tents and lodgings of the lord Batodo de Poelle.

Abr. Fl. ex  
Gefnero.

In this yeare of our Lord, among diuerse notable men of learning and knowledge, one Richard Fleming, English borne, a doctor of diuinitie professed in Oxford, did flourish: who by the prouidence of God grew in such fauour with this king Henrie the first, & the nobles nere & about him, that he was preferred to the bishops see of Lincolne. This man founded Lincolne college in Oxford, in which vniuersitie he had bene a profitable student. Diuerse bookes he wrote (as the vniuersitie librarie doth beare witness) whereof these following haue bene scene vnder their names and titles; to wit: A protestation against the Spaniards, the Frenchmen, and the Scots, made in the generall counsell holden at Sens: one booke of the Etymologie of England; besides diuerse other treatises, as Gefner reporteth *Ex bibliotheca Oxonijs*, aforesaid.]

Richard Fleming  
bishop  
of Lincolne.

The books  
that he wrote.

At the verie same time that Campaigne was besieged (as before is said) sir John of Lutzenburgh, with eight other gentlemen, chanced to be nere vnto the lodging of the said lord Batodo, where they espied the Frenchmen, which began to cut downe tents, overthrow paullions, & kill men in their beds: whereupon they with all speed assembled a great number of men, as well English as Burgognions, and courageously set on the Frenchmen, and in the end beat them backe into the towne, so that they fled so fast that one letted another, as they would haue entered. In the chase and pursute was the Pusell taken, with diuerse other, besides those that were slaine, which were no small number. Diuerse were hurt also on both parts. Among the Englishmen, sir John Pontgomerie had his arme broken, and sir John Steuward was shot into the thigh with a quarell.

Jone the Pusell  
taken.

W. P.

Chroniques  
de Britaigne.

[As before ye haue heard somewhat of this damells strange beginning and proceedings, so with the ending of all such miracle-mongers doth (for the most part) plainlie decipher the vertue and power that they worke, by hir shall ye be aduertised what at last became of hir; cast your opinions as ye haue cause. Of hir louers (the Frenchmen) reporteth one, how in Campaigne thus besieged, Guillaume de Flaue the capteine hauing sold hir aforeshand to the lord of Lutzenburgh, vnder colour of halting hir with a band out of the towne towards their king, for him with speed to come and leaue the siege there, so gotten hir forth he shut the gates after hir, when anon by the Burgognians set upon and overmarcht in the conflict she was taken: marie yet (all things accounted) to no small maruell how it could come so to passe, had she bene of any deuotion or of true beleefe, and no false miscreant, but all holie as she made it. For earlie that morning she gat hir to saint James church, confessed hir, and receiued hir maker (as the booke formes it) and after setting hir selfe to a pillar, manie of the towne-men that with a five or six score of their children stood about there to see hir, vnto them

“ (quod she) God children and my dere friends, I tell you plaine one hath sold me. I am betrayed and horrible shall be deliuered to death; I beseech you praye to

God for me, for I shall neuer haue moze power to do seruice either to the king or to the realme of France” againe.

Saith another booke, she was intrapt by a Picard capteine of Spoilons, who sold that citie to the duke of Burgognie, and he then put it ouer into the hands of the lord of Lutzenburgh, so by that meanes the Burgognians appoched and besieged Campaigne, for succour whereof as damself Jone with hir capteins from Laignie was thither come, and dailie to the English gaue manie a hot skirmish, so happened it one a daie in an outfallie that she made by a Picard of the lord of Lutzenburghs band, in the fiercest of hir fight she was taken, and by him by and by to his lord presented, who sold hir ouer againe to the English, who for witchcraft and sorcerie burnt hir at Rone. Tillet telleth it thus, that she was caught at Campaigne by one of the earle of Lignies soldiers, from him by to Beaunevoir castell, where kept a thre months, she was after for ten thousand pounds in monie and thre hundred pounds rent (all Turinois) sold into the English hands.

In which for hir pranks so vnconu and suspicious, the lord regent by Peter Chauchon bishop of Beaunots (in whose diocesse she was taken) caused hir life and beleefe, after order of law to be inquired vpon and examined. Wherein found though a virgin, yet first shamefullie reiecting hir sex abominable in acts and apparell to haue counterfett mankind, and then all damnable faithlesse, to be a pernicious instrument to hostilitie and bloudshed in diuells witchcraft and sorcerie, sentence accordingly was pronounced against hir. Holbeite vpon humble confession of hir iniquities with a counterfeit contrition pretending a carefull sorrow for the same, execution spared and all mollified into this, that from thenceforth she should cast off hir vnnaturall wearing of mans abilliments, and keepe hir to garments of hir owne kind, abjure hir pernicious practises of sorcerie and witcherie, and haue life and leasure in perpetuall prison to bewaile hir misdoers. Which to performe (according to the manner of abjuratiō) a solemn oath verie gladlie she toke.

But herein (God helpe vs) she fullie afore possest of the sword, not able to hold hir in anie towardnesse of grace, falling straight waie into hir former abominations (and yet seeking to eetch out life as long as she might) stak not (though the shift were shamefull) to confesse hir selfe a strumpet, and unmarried as she was) to be withchild. For trial, the lord regents lentle gaue hir nine moneths staie, at the end whereof she found herein as false as wicked in the rest, an eight daies after, vpon a further definitive sentence declared against hir to be relapse and a renouner of hir oath and repentance, was she thereupon deliuered ouer to secular power, and so executed by consumption of fire in the old market place at Rone, in the selfe same stead where now saint Michaels church stands, hir ashes afterward without the towne walls shaken into the wind. Now recounting altogether, hir passioall bringing by, rude without any vertuous instruction, hir campestrall conuersation with wicked spirits, whome in hir first salutation to Charles the Dolphin, she vttered to be our Ladie, saint Katharine, and saint Annes, that in this behalfe came and gaue hir commandements from God hir maker, as she kept hir fathers lambs in the fields (where saints in warres among christen men were (be true) neuer so parciall patrons or partners to maintenance of horrible slaughters, rapines and bloudshed) hereto hir murderous mind in killing of Franquet hir owne prisoner, hir two yeares continuance in hir abominations and deadiie mischief without anie hir trauell or motion betwene the princes for peace, hir relapse

Christianiss  
vix.

Tillet.  
This yelate  
in his death  
was a hundred  
and fiftene  
crownes in  
gold, that vnder  
colours of  
warres with  
the milites  
he had steeled  
from christen  
princes.  
Platina.

Lij. in vita  
H.6.

Polydore  
in H.6.

Les grand  
chron.

Les grand  
chronicle  
liure.

Anno Re39.

relapse at last & falling againe into his abiured iniquities, by his virginitie (if it were ante) by his holie words, his fasting and prayers that they might be, with satan (after S. Paule) can change himselfe into an angell of light, the deapler to deceiue.

These matters may verie rightfullie denounce vnto all the world his execrable abominations, and well iustifie the iudgement he had, and the execution he was put to for the same. A thing yet (God wot) verie smallie shadowed, and lesse holpen by the verie trauell of the Dolphin, whose dignitie abroad foulie spotted in this point, that contrarie to the holie degree of a right christen pince (as he called himselfe) for maintenance of his quarels in warre would not reuerence to prophane his sacred estate, as dealing in diuelish practises with misbelievers and witches. Which malicie he full forlittie salued (like one that to kill the strong sent of onions would cheau a cloude of garlike) so a fir and twentie yeares after, he pact with pope Calixt the third, by whose mandat directed to his three delegats, the bishops of Paris, Reims, and Constance, at the cathedrall church of Paris, in presence of Jone (the pufels mother) John and Peter his brethren, the seven and twentieth date of November 1455, the validitie and goodnesse of the proccesse and sentence vpon him was called in question, and in great solemnitie sit vpon.

Wherein the cause was so sincerelie canuassed among them, that afterward, on the eight of Julie 1456, a quite contrarie sentence was there declared: of effect, that this Jone (forsooth) was a damsell diuine, no fault in the Dolphin for his counsell and witcherie practises with him; the proccesse, iudgement, and condemnation against him all wrong and iniurious. And for iustificacion and remembrance aswell of his innocencie in life and death, as also of the sinceritie of their later sentence, a new crosse in that old market to be reared. In this tale of Tillet is the further likened to Deboza, Iahell, and Iudith, and vnto Romanee Clelia compared by Polydor, that shames not somewhat also to carpe at his iudgment, and much pitie his paine. But what puritie or regard of deuotion or conscience is in these writers trow yee, who make no consideration of his heinous enormities, or else any difference betweene one stirred by by mercie diuine, or naturall loue, and a damnable forcerer suborned by satan? And thus much of this gentle Jone, and of his god oratours that haue said so well for him: now iudge as ye list.]

After the bestowing of this Pusell in fort as yee haue heard, the siege still continued before Campiegne, and the duke of Bedford sent to the duke of Burgognie lieng at the siege, the earle of Huntingdon, and sir John Robbert (two tollie gentlemen, of no lesse prudence to parte with the enemie, than puissance to encounter them) with a thousand archers (whose activitie, I warrant you, stood not then vpon the first triall) which daile skirmished with them within, and made such bastiles & fortresses, that the towne had bene rendred into their hands, but that the duke of Burgognie departed from the siege to go into Babant, to receive the possession of that duchie, by the death of his cousin Philip the duke of that countie, as then departed this world.

Sir John de Lutzenburgh was left by the duke of Burgognie as generall of the siege before Campiegne, the which he raised within a short space after, contrarie to the minds of the Englishmen, which were verie desirous to haue lien there till the towne had bene rendered, which if the siege had bene continued but eight daies longer, must needs haue come to passe; by reason that pestilence and famine had almost consumed all the souldiers within the towne, so that it remained in maner without defense. After

the breaking by of this siege, John duke of Norfolk toke againe the townes of Dampmartine, and the Chasse Mongaie, with diuerse other townes. Also the earle of Stafford toke the towne of Bin countie Robert, and from thence foraged all the countie to Sens, and after toke Queinoie in Brie, Grand Puis, and Kampellon.

During this time, the Frenchmen on the other side toke Louiers, and Villeneuf. Then also did the towne of Melun rebell, and had such aid of other townes adjoining, that the English souldiers were faine to leaue Melun, Bozret, and Corbell. Thus did things wauer in doubtfull balance betwixt the two nations English and French. But because the English fore mistrusted further danger, it was concluded, that king Henrie in his roiall person with a new armie should come into France, partlie to visit and comfort his owne subiecs ther, and partlie either by feare or fauour (because a child of his age and beaute doth commonlie procure them loue of elder persons) to moue the Frenchmen to continue their due obediencce towards him.

Wherefore after a great host conuenient for that purpose assembled, and monie for maintenance of the warre readie gathered, and the realme set in an order vnder the gouernement of the duke of Glocester protecor (which during the kings absence appeared diuerse riots, and punished the offenders) the king with a great power toke shipping at Douer on saint Georges euen within night, and landed at Calis on the morrow being saint Georges daie, and sundate, by seven of the clocke in the morning. He remained in Calis a good space, and from thence he removed to Rone, being there receiued with all triumph. He tarried in that citie a long time, his nobles daile consulting on their great businesse & weightie affaires.

In this kings time, & somewhat about this yeate, a certaine Breton, whose a good honest widow had receiued into his house, and conceived well of him in opinion, was by him mainteined of his owne purse, & (as Polychronicon saith) she found him of almes and for Gods sake. This charitable deed of hers deserued a deuout mind to God ward, and a thankful hart to him. But (good soule) how was she recompensed? Euen murdered in his bed by the hands of that villaine whose so bountifullie she succoured, and motherlike tendered. Vnto which bloudie fact (which was a preparatiue to a further mischance byed in his vnnaturall hart) he added another offense: for when he had dispatched the woman, vying the riddance of his to his aduantage, and as he had obtained oportunitie (to his thinking) he conueied all that she had a waite with him for his owne release. When being persecuted with guiltinesse of conscience, which troubleth offenders with ceaselesse verations, and forreth them from place to place to seeke corners of euasion and shift, he toke priuilege of holie church at saint Georges in Southwarke, where lateng hands on the crosse, as a shield of sufficient safegard, he abiured this land, and by that meanes thought himselfe free from afterclaps.

Neuerthelesse, God (whose mercifull nature abhorreth the effusion of mans blood) prepared a punishment for the malefactor, who passing through the suburbs of London, without Agate (the place where he had committed the murder) the women of the same parish and street (as it were intraged) came out with stones, flanes, kenell dong, and other things, wherewith they so bethwackt him on all parts of his bodie, that they laid him a stretching, and rid him quite of life. In the working of this their teene they were so fell and fierce, that the constables with their assistants (which were no small number) doing what they could by their authoritie and maine strength,

¶ m. f.

were

King Henrie  
the first in person  
goeth  
with an armie  
into France.

S. Albons.

Ed. Hall.

Abr. Fl. ex  
Polychron.  
A widow  
without Agate  
murdered in  
his bed by a  
Breton whose  
charitableness  
releued.  
A fowle ingratitude.

The mother  
reuenge by  
women at the  
appointment  
of Gods iustice.

Christiani-  
mus rex.

Tillet.  
This puelete  
at his death  
like a hundred  
and sixteen  
crowns in  
gold, that but  
the colour of  
marrow with  
the milk  
he had sucked  
from christen  
purses.

Hay, in vita  
his.

let,

ic du  
is leg.  
hon-  
ours  
round  
ic,  
ndred  
tic  
arm.

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14

Ano Reg.

were not able to rescue him out of the womens hands; who had sworne in their hearts (as it seemed by the manner of their reuenge which was void of all mercie) to see the end of such a villaine as most unnaturalie had laine a woman, a neighbour, a widow, a pittifull woman, a good neighbour, an honest widow; the wretch himselve being a fugitiue, a stranger boine, a begger, and he to whome she shewed hir selfe the staffe of his support. A singular ingratitude which nature abhorreth, law disalloweth, heauen disclaimeth, God detesteth, humanitie condemneth, and euerie good bodie to the verie death detesteth; as the old distichon excellentlie and with good sense noteth;

*Lex & natura, calum, Deus, omnia iura*

*Damnant ingratum, merent illum quos, natum.*

But to returne to the affaires of king Henrie, who in the moneth of Nouember remoued from Rone to Pontoise, and so to saint Denis, to the intent to make his entrie into Paris, and there to be sacred king of France. There were in his companie of his owne nation, his vncle the cardinall of Winchester, the cardinall and archbishop of Poike, the dukes of Bedford, Poike, and Dorset, the earles of Warwicke, Salisburie, Drenford, Huntington, Dymond, Powys, and Suffolke. Of Gascoignes, there were the earles of Longuile and Marche, besides manie other noble men of England, Guier, and Normandie. And the cheefe of the French nation were the dukes of Burgognie, and Leues of Lutzenburgh, cardinall and chancelor of France for king Henrie: the bishops of Beauuois and Poion, both pères of France, beside the bishop of Paris, and diuerse other bishops; the earle of Wandemount, and other noble men, whose names were superfluous to rehearse. And he had in a gard about his person three thousand pike archers, some on horsebacke, and part on foot.

To speake with that honour he was receiued in to the cite of Paris, what pageants were prepared, and how richlie the gates, streets, and bridges on euerie side were hanged with collie clothes of arras & tapestrie, it would be too long a procelle, and therefore I doe here passe it ouer with silence. On the seventeenth daie of December, he was crowned king of France, in our ladies church of Paris, by the cardinall of Winchester, the bishop of Paris not being contented that the cardinall should doe such an high ceremonie in his church and iurisdiction. After all the ceremonies were finished, the king returned toward the palace, hauing one crowne on his head, and another boine before him; and one scepter in his hand, and the second boine before him. As touching other the roiall seruices and princelie appointments, they are verie diligentlie & at large set out in the French chronicle of that time. This coronation of the king, *Anglorum prelia* as manie other good and memorable matters, so this also he hath noted, saleng thereof in comelie breuitie and truth, as after followeth:

*Aeterna fame paulo post rege sepulto,  
Parisis, diadema vias & compita circum  
Iunior Henricus portat lepidissimus infans.*

This high and tofous feast passed not without some spot of displeasure among the English nobilitie: for the cardinall of Winchester, which at this time would haue no man be equall with him, commanded the duke of Bedford to leaue off the name of regent, during the time that the king was in France, affirming the cheefe ruler being in presence, the authoritie of the substitute to be clerelie derogate, according to the common saleng; In the presence of the higher power, the smaller giueth place. The duke of Bedford took such a secret displeasure with this doing, that he neuer after fauoured the cardinall, but stood against him in all things that he would haue forward. This

was the root (as some haue thought) of that diuision amongst the English nobilitie, where through their glorie within the realme of France began first to decline.

The next daie after the solemn feast of the kings coronation, were kept triumphant iusts and toynies, in the which the earle of Arundell, and the bastard of St. Paul, by the iudgement of the ladies wone the pize. The king kept open hall the space of five daies to all commers, and after (because the aire of Paris seemed contrarie to his pure complexion) by the aduise of his counsell, he remoued to Rone, where he kept his Christmase. But before his departure from Paris, the noble men as well of France and Normandie did to him homage, and the common people swore to him fealtie. In this meane time, sir Francis called the Aragoignois, a noble capteine of the English part in Normandie, took by force and policie the towne of Pontargis, with a great pize of treasure and prisoners, and put therein a garrison, leauing it well furnished with vittels and munition.

About the same time, the earle of Arundell, being truelie informed that the lord Bonlac marshall of France was come to Beauuois, intending to doe some feat in Normandie, assembled the number of three and twentie hundred men, and comming nere to the said towne of Beauuois, sent a great number of light horsemen to run before the towne, to traîne out the Frenchmen within; the which issuing out and following the English horsemen vnto their scale, were so inclosed and fought with, that in manner all the number of them, save a few which fled backe into the towne with the marshall, were slaine or taken. Amongst other of the cheefest prisoners, that valiant capteine Ponton de Santrails was one, who with out delaie was exchanged for the lord Talbot, before taken prisoner at the battell of Patie. There was also taken one called the shepheard, a simple man, and a milie soule; but yet of such reputation for his supposed holinesse amongst the Frenchmen, that if he touched the wall of any of their aduersaries townes, they beleued verelie it would incontinentlie fall downe.

This chance succeeded not fortunatlie alone vnto the English nation, for Richard Beauchampe earle of Marbois had a great skirmish before the towne of Gournie, where he discomfited and repelled his enemies: and beside those that were slaine, he took fortie horsemen, all being gentlemen of name and armes. Like chance happened to the friends of king Charles, towards the marches of Lozrairie, where Reigner duke of Bar besieged the towne of Wandemont pertaining to the earle thereof named Anthoine, coufine to the same duke Reigner. This earle, before the dukes approaching, left a conuenient crue within the towne to defend it, and with all speed rode to the dukes of Bedford and Burgognie, being then at the foresaid great triumph at Paris, where he purchased such fauour at their hands, because he had euer taken their parts, that not onelie sir John Falstolf was appointed to go with him, hauing in his companie sir hundred archers, but also the duke of Burgognies marshall named sir Anthoine Coulon-gon, accompanied with fiftene hundred other men of warre.

When the duke of Bar heard that his enemies were thus comming towards him, like a hardie capteine he raised his siege, and met face to face with the earle and his companie, betwene whome was a cruell and mortall battell. The horsemen of the French side endured long, but in conclusion the English archers so galled their hostes, and so wounded the men, that the Barrois, Almaines, and other of duke Reigners side were compelled to flee. In the chase was taken

King Henrie  
the first crowned  
in Paris.

Le Rosier  
historiall,

rather  
boke.  
saint Denis  
was besieged

Montargis  
recovered by  
the English

The lord Talbot  
does ransom  
by exchange.  
The shepheard  
the shepheard.

Coche.

A legat from  
Rome sent to  
treat a peace  
betwixt the  
English and  
French.

A truce for six  
years.

Charles taken  
by treason  
notwithstanding  
the truce.

Wandemont  
besieged.

hen the duke of Bar, the bishop of Metz, the lord of of Roquedemaque, sir Guerard of Salceburgh, the Viscount Barcie, and two hundred other, beside three thousand which were slaine.

In this luckie time also, no lesse occasion of victorie was offered to the Englishmen in an other part, if they could haue vsed it with such circumspect warinesse as had bene expedient. For Robert lord Willoughbie, and Matthew Gough, a valiant Welshman, with fiftene hundred Englishmen, laid siege to a towne in Anton called saint Severine. Whereof Charles the French king being aduertised, sent with all speed the lord Ambrose de Loxe, with manie noble men to the succours of them within the towne, whereof the same lord Ambrose was capitaine: and therefore made the more hast to releue his deputie, and the other being streiallie besieged, but yet staied at the towne of Beaumont, till his whole power might come to him.

The Englishmen aduertised of this intent of the capitaine, came vpon him in the night, and found the Frenchmens watch so out of order, that a thousand men were entered into the campe before they were espied; by reason whereof the Englishmen found small resistance. But when the daie began to appeare, and that the sunne had set forth his bright beames abroad, that all things might be sene, the Englishmen giuen wholie to spoile, followed not their enemies in chase, but being contented with their preie and gaine, began to retreat toward the siege againe, which the lord Willoughbie still maintained with a part of the armie.

But see the chance. The Frenchmen which were coming after, hearing by the noise of the people that some fraie was at hand, put spurs to their horses, and set on the Englishmen pestered with bag and baggage of the spoile and preie which they had gotten in the French campe. The other of the Frenchmen which before had fled, returned againe, and added their fellowes; so that the Englishmen being taken out of order, were compelled to flee, of whom Matthew Gough and diuerse other were taken prisoners. And yet of the other part manie were slaine, and a great number taken: amongst whom was the lord de Loxe, who (for all that the Frenchmen could doe) was kept, and not deliuered. The lord Willoughbie hearing of this mishap, raised his siege, and departed verie sore displeased in his mind, but could not remedie it.

About this season, Nicholas the cardinall of the holie crosse was sent into France, as a legat from Eugenie the fourth as then bishop of Rome, to treat a peace betwixt the English and French. But when after great instance and labour made betwene the parties, he saw their obstinate and forward minds, nothing inclined to anie agreement, he was so much at their hands by earnest sute, that a truce was granted to indure for six yeares to come: but as the same was hardlie granted, so was it of the Frenchmen sone and lightlie broken. For the bastard of Orleans newlie made earle of Dunois, took by treason the towne of Chartres from the Englishmen, affirming by the law of armes, that stealing or buieng a towne, without inuasion or assault, was no breach of league, amitie, or truce. In which towne he slue the bishop, because he was a Burgonian. Whereby did new malice increase, and mostall warre began effones to be put in vze.

Whilest these things were doing in France, the cardinall of Winchester was come backe againe into England, to appease certeine commotions and sturres attempted by sundrie persons vnder colour of religion: but after that William Pandenulle, and John Sharpe the chiefe authours thereof were agree-

bended and executed by the gouernour and the kings iustices, the residue yielded and confessed their offences, whereof two articles were these (as some write) that priests should haue no possessions, and that all things by the order of charitie among christian people should be in common. Other thought their opinions were not such errours, but that their enemies spread abroad such rumors of them, to make them more odious to the people.

After that, a parlement was called by the duke of Glocester, in the which monie was assigned to be leuied, and men appointed, which should passe ouer into France to the aid of the duke of Bedford, for the maintenance of the warres: because it was suspected the truce would not long continue. During this parlement, James the king of Scots sent ambassadoys to conclude a peace with the duke of Glocester, who (because the king was absent) referred the matter to the three estates. After long consultation, not without great arguments, a peace was concluded. When the parlement was ended, the cardinall well furnished with men & monie, departed out of England, and came to Rome to the king, to whome also resorted the duke of Bedford from Paris, to consult of things not vnlikelie to follow.

Herevpon a great counsell was kept in the castell of Rome, and manie doubts moued, and few weightie things out of hand concluded. At length, after great disputation, with manie arguments ended, the dukes of Bedford and Yorke, and Edmund late earle of Mortaigne, and now (by the death of John duke of Summerfet, leauing behind him a sole daughter and heire, married to the earle, and called Margaret after the countesse of Richmond) attained to the name and title of duke of Summerfet, approved the reason of those, that held it expedient to haue an armie in a readinesse for defense, least the Frenchmen suddenlie should attempt anie enterpryse to the danger of the Englishmen, and losse of those townes and countries that were vnder them.

When all things were agreed, king Henrie came to Calis, from thence to Douer; and so by easie courtesies the one and twentieth daie of Februarie to London, where he was triumphantlie receiued, and richlie presented, as in the chronicles of Robert Fabian it maie at large appeare. After that the king was departed into England, the duke of Bedford regent of France, and capitaine of Calis, taried behind in the marches of Picardie, where he was informed certeine souldiers of Calis grudging at the restraint of twolles, began to murmur against the king and his counsell, to some danger of the towne. The duke vpon due examination had, caused diuerse to be put to death, and manie banished that towne and marches for euer.

In the meane time, the ladie Anne duchesse of Bedford departed this life at Paris, by whose death the fast knot of faithfull friendship betwixt the duke of Bedford and his brother in law the duke of Burgonie began somewhat to slacken. Shortly after, to wit, about the beginning of the next yeare 1433, the said duke of Bedford being thus a widower, through the perswasion of the lord Lewis of Lutzenburgh bishop of Teruine and Cle, and chancelor of France for king Henrie, agreed to marrie the ladie Jaquet, daughter to Peter earle of saint Paule, and neece to the said bishop, and to the lord John of Lutzenburgh.

The marriage was solemnized at Teruine with great triumph. Which ended, the duke with his new spouse (being about the age of seauentene yeares) came vnto Calis, and so into England, from whence in the moneth of August next he returned to Paris. The duke of Burgonie, though nothing pleased

The two estours.

A parlement called by the duke of Glocester the king being in France. A peace concluded with the Scots.

1432 King Henrie returneth out of France into England.

The duchesse of Bedford lieth to the duke of Burgonie deceased.

The duke of Bedford marrieth with the earle of saint Paules daughter.

Drachre Gode. Saint Hermene beinge.

ontargis oared by English.

ye lord Ed ransomed exchange.

ye holie pheard.

Exch.

ndemont ged.

I legat from Rome sent to treat a peace betwixt the English and French.

Truce for six yeares.

Chartres taken by treason notwithstanding the truce.

with this new alliance contracted by the duke of Bedford, with the house of Lutzenburgh, but yet not able to do anie thing to let it; because of the marriage consummate yet he could find any power or knowledge to hinder it. Whilist these things were a doing, in some places the French souldiers of the Dolphins, lacking wages (as the time serued) took both Englishmen and Burgognians, ransoming and spoiling them at their pleasure. Herewith the regent much moued, prepared for warre after six moneths the truce had bene taken: and so the warre againe was renewed.

The Frenchmen anon as open truce-breakers, raised a crue, and suddenlie took the towne of saint

Valerie in Normandie, nere to the mouth of the riuer of Some. An other armie, vnder the leading of sir Ambrose de Loe, wasted and destroyed all the countrie about Caen. The duke of Bedford on his part sent the earle of Arundell, the earle of Marwickes sonne, the lord Lisle Adant<sup>1</sup> marshall of France for king Henrie, and twelue hundred men of warre with ordinance and munition to besiege the towne of Laignie vpon the riuer of Sarne. The earle with shot of canon brake the arch of the bridge, and got from the Frenchmen their bulwourke, and set it on fire. Diuerse assaults were attempted, but the towne was well defended: for there were within it an eight hundred men of armes, besides other meane souldiers.

Laignie besieged.

The duke of Bedford herewith gathered an armie of sir thousand men, whereof were capitains; Robert lord Willoughbie, sir Andew Dgard chamberlaine to the duke, sir John Saluaine bailiffe of Rone, sir John Montgomerie bailiffe of Caer, sir Philip Hall bailiffe of Ternoill, sir Richard Katcliffe deputie of Calis, sir Rafe Beuill, sir Rafe Standish, sir John Hanford, sir Richard Cuthin, sir Richard Harington bailiffe of Curreur, sir William Fulthorpe, sir Thomas Griffin of Ireland, Dauid Hall, Thomas Stranguish, Leonard Dymstone esquiers, and Thomas Gerard. All gentlemen of courage, and as forward to giue the French the foile, as the French for their liues to giue them the discomfiture. But vnto which side the victorie should befall, wicerteine it was before the trial of both their chancas had determined the doubt by the event of the conflict.

The duke of Bedford furnished with this armie and companie of worthe capitains came to the siege before Laignie, where he made a bridge of boats, and sought his ordinance so nere the towne, that to all people it seemed not long able to resist. But the earle of Dunois, otherwise called the bastard of Orleans, with diuerse hardie capitains, as valiantlie defended as the Englishmen assaulted. At length the French king, perceiuing this towne to be the third cornerd keie betwene the territories Burgognion, English, and French, and the losse thereof should turne him to irreuocable damage, sent the lord of Rieux, Poiton, the Hure, the lord Caluocourt, and sir thousand men, with great plentie of vittels, to the intent either to raise the siege, or else to vittell the towne.

The Frenchmen made a brag, as though they would haue assailed the Englishmen in their campe, but when they perceiued the courage of the lord regent, and the desire he had to fight, they framed themselves so in order of battell, as though they could do all things, and yet in effect did nothing: but that whilist part of them maintained a skirmish, a sort of rude & rusticall persons were appointed to conueie into the towne thirtie oren, and other small vittels. But this sweet gaine was derelie paid for, if the losse with the gaine be pondered in equal balance: for hauing regard to their 30 leane oren, in the skir-

mish were slaine the lord Saintrelles brother to that valiant capitaine Poiton de Saintrelles, also capitaine John brother to the lord Caluocourt, and fiftie other noble and valiant personages.

The Frenchmen thus politike hauing done their feat, in the beginning of August, removed their armie vnto Fort vnder Per, where, by a bridge of tuns they passed into the Ile of France. The duke of Bedford (like a wise prince) not minding to leave the more in ieopardie for hope of the lesse, nor the accident for the substance, raised his siege, and returned to Paris, nothing more minding than to trie his quarrell with dint of sword against the enemies, if they would thereto agree. And hereupon sent Bedford his herald to the lord Caluocourt and other capitains of the French armie, offering them battell and a pitched field within a convenient time, and where they would appoint. The French capitains answered the English herald, that there was time to gaine, and time to lose: and so choise of times they would vse their owne discretions.

Shortlie after, Piers Aubeuse constable of the castell of Rone, corrupted with monie, suffered the marshall of France, with two hundred other persons disguised to enter the place by stealth: but they were soone espied, and diuen to the dungeon, where they were constrained to yeld themselves prisoners: of the which some were hanged, some beheaded, and some ransomed, at the pleasures of the regent. This pageant thus plaid, the lord regent sent the earle of saint Paule, and Robert lord Willoughbie, with a competent number of men to besiege the towne of S. Valerie, which the Frenchmen a little before had taken. This siege continued the space of thre weeks; at the end whereof the Frenchmen within yelded the towne, and departed with their hofle and harnesse onelle to them saved.

The earle put there in garrison fresh and valiant souldiers, and appointed capitaine there, sir John Aubemond. ¶ In the same towne (whether by infection of aire, or by corrupt vittels, which the townsmen did eat) a great pestilence shortlie after happened, which consumed within a small time two parts of the people. The earle of saint Paule, and the lord Willoughbie returning backe to the regent, were tofullie receiued, and within a while after, the earle departed from Paris to laie siege to the castell of Pouchas. But being incamped nere the towne of Blangie, he by a sudden maladie departed this life, the last of August, leaving his seignories to Lewis de Lutzenburgh his sonne and heire. Because this dead earle was father in law to the regent, solenne obsequies were kept for him both in Paris and in London.

In the meane season, the Frenchmen entering into high Burgognie, burnt, took, and destroyed diuerse townes; whereupon the Burgognians assembled a great armie, both to reuenge their quarrels, and to recouer their townes taken from them. To whome as to his friends the duke of Bedford sent the lord Willoughbie, and sir Thomas Kirtell, with a convenient number of souldiers, which entering into the lands of Laonnais, were encountered with a great power of their enemies. But after long fight, the Frenchmen were ouerthrowne, and of them left dead in the field an hundred and fiftie hoisemen, besides prisoners, which after vpon urgent cause were all killed.

Whilist these things happened thus in France, John lord Calbot gathered together a crue of chosen men of warre in England, to the number of eight hundred, and sailed into Normandie, and passed by Rone to Paris. In his waie he took the strong castell of Joing betwene Beauuois and Gisors, and caused

The lord Calbot.

Parte of Arundell.

Souldiers besieged.

Saint Paule was taken by assault.

The lord of saint Paule was slain.

Anno Reg.

Souldiers killed.

The lord Calbot.

Intervention in Normandie.



An. Reg. 12.

caused all the Frenchmen within to be taken and hanged, and after rased and defaced the castell. After he had rested himselfe a while at Paris, and taken advise with the counsell there, what waie it should be best for him to take, without prolonging time; he with the lord de Alie Adam and others, departed from thence, having in their retinues sixtene hundred men of warre. And coming to the castell of Amadour upon Aise, thereof was capteine sir Amadour de Cignois brother to the Hirc, they found it abandoned by them that had it in keeping, who were withdrawne to the towne of Creill.

Whither therefore the lord Talbot followed, who haing in a skirmish the said Amadour, he wan at length the said towne of Creill, and after the townes of Pont St. Parence, Beussile in Cimoie, la Rouge maison, Crespie in Walois, & Cleremont in Beauuois, and after with great riches and good prisoners returned to Paris. Neither had the lord Talbot such good and prosperous successe alone, but the earle of Arundell also at the verie same season toke the castell of Somelme, & rased it to the ground, after he got by force the castell of Doyle, & from thence came to S. Selerine, where the lord Ambrose de Loze, being capteine, issued out and fought with the Englishmen so egerlie, that he drove them backe an arrowe shot by fine force: but the earle so encouraged his men, that they gaue a fresh onset upon the Frenchmen, and followed it so fiercelie, that they slue a great number of them, and drove the residue into the towne.

After this victorie, he besieged Louiers, whereof was capteine the Hirc, and his brother, who rendered the towne without assault. Then the earle assembling together a great armie, returned againe to S. Selerine, & intoned the towne with a strong siege. When he had lien there almost thre moneths, euerie daie attempting or doing somewhat, he finallie gaue so fierce an assault, that by force he entered the towne, and slue John Almaine, and Guilliam saint Albine, the chiefe capteins, and eight hundred other men of warre. The children of le seigneur de Loze were taken prisoners. The earle put new men of warre into the towne, and made capteine there sir John Cornetwall. After this, he before the strong towne of Sillie pitched his campe. The inhabitants terrified at the losse of saint Selerine, deliuered him pledges, upon condition; that if they were not rescued within thirtie daies next, then they (their lues saued) should render the towne into his possession: which offer was received.

The French king, being aduertised hercof, by a post, appointed (as some saie) Arthur earle of Richmond (as other write, John duke of Alanton) with a great companie of men of warre to go to the rescue of this towne. But whether it was the earle or duke, certeine it is at his approaching to the siege, he incamped himselfe by a broke side, ouer the which a man might haue striden, & perceiving how stronglie the English were incamped against him, he thought it not for his profit to giue battell; & so in the night season raised & went his waie without further attempt. When they within the towne knew that their succours failed, they rendered themselves to the mercie of the earle of Arundell, who gentillie received them, and leauing a garrison in the towne, departed to Spais, and in his waie toke the castles of Spallate, and saint Laurence. About this time the lord Willoughbie & sir Thomas Strick, returning with great victorie out of Burgognie, passing by the towne of Louiers, latelie reduced to the English obedience, furnished it both with men and munition.

Among so manie good chances, some euill are accustomed to happen, or else the gainers would not know themselves. And so at this time it happened,

that a great number of the common and rusticall people in Normandie dwelling by the sea coast; either prouoked by the French king, or desirous of alteration and change (which thing the commons much comēt and desire) made an insurrection, put on harnesse, and by force expelled certeine English garrisons out of their holds, publishing and proclaiming openlie, that their onelie purpose and intent was to expell and banish the whole English nation out of their countries and coasts. Wherefore it maie be likelie, that the blacke Norman will sooner become white, than the people bred in France will heartilie loue an English bozne. For it standeth not with their enuious nature, to alter their malicious manners; as the old prouerbe saith truelie of them:

*Celica natura semper sequitur sua iura.*

These rebels thus fantastickie assembled, with all speed marched toward Caen, to the intent thre both to increase their number, and also to consult what waie they should follow in their new begun enterprise. But the dukes of Yorke and Summerset, then lieng in Normandie, haing perfect knowledge hereof, immediatlie sent forth the earle of Arundell, and the lord Willoughbie with six thousand archers, and thirtene hundred light horsemen, to staie and keepe them from making anie further progresse. The earle of Arundell appointed the lord Willoughbie, with two thousand archers, and certeine horsemen to go afoze him, and lie in a skale within some couert place. Which done, the earle followed; & so keeping in the multitude at the backe, drove them before him as deere into a buckestale: and when the miserable wretches came nere to the skale, the earle made a token, whereat a gun shot off for a signe. Therewith the lord Willoughbie set on them before, and the earle behind, shooting so fiercelie, that the poore creatures, wounded and galled with the shot of arrowes, threw awaie their harnesse, and cried out instantlie for mercie.

The earle of Arundell moued with compassion, caused his souldiers to staie from further slaughter, and apprehending those that were known to be stirrers and leaders of the rest, let the other returne home without further damage: but yet, per the souldiers could be brought backe under their standards, there were aboue a thousand of the rebels slaine. And this commotion thus appeased, upon inquirie of the principall offenders, such as were found guiltie were put to terrible executions; as they had well deserved. During which rebellion, Peter Rokeford and his companie gat by treason the towne of Diepe, and diuerse other holds thereto adioining. After the earle of Arundell had obtained so good successe in his enterprises (as partlie ye haue heard) he attempted another, which was the last tooke and final labour of his liuing daies. For the duke of Bedford, being informed that his aduersaries had gotten the towne of Hue, and therein put a garrison, which soze bared the countries of Ponthieu, Arthois, and Bolenois, sent word to the earle that he without delay should besiege the said towne.

The earle obeleng his commandement assembled his people, and came to Courneie, where he heard tell how there was a castell nere to Beauuois called Gerberote, the which being fallen in decaye, Charles the French king had appointed sir Stephan de Wigmois, commonlie called the Hirc, to repare and retolde to fortifie, because it stood commodiouslie to serue as a countergarrison against the English townes and fortresses on those frontiers. The earle aduertised hercof, and perceiving that this new building would be greatlie prejudiciall to the Englishmen, determined first to dispossesse his enemies of that place, supposing to find small resistance: but he

sp in m. ly. was

om. 147

Anno Reg. 12.

The lord Talbot.

Earle of Arundell.

1477  
The castell of  
Alone libere  
be taken by  
treason of the  
capteine.

Louiers be-  
sieged.Saint Selerine  
taken by  
assault.

The lord of  
saint Paule  
deceased.

Anno Reg. 12.

Prisoners  
killed.

1478  
The lord  
Talbot was  
killed in  
France.

Handwritten  
note in  
margin.

was deceived. For there was the said Wyre, and three thousand men of warre with him. The erle comming thither, incamped himselfe with five hundred horsemen in a little close not farre from the castell.

The Frenchmen, perceiuing that the earle and his horses were wearie, and that his archers were not yet come, determined to set vpon him before the coming of his footmen, the which they knew to be little more than a mile behind. Wherefore for a policie, they set forth fiftie horsemen, as though there had bene no mo within the castell. The earle perceiuing this, sent forth sir Randolfe Standish to encounter them, hauing with him an hundred horses. The Frenchmen fought couragiously awhile, and suddenly came out all the remnant, and due sir Randolfe Standish and all his companie, and boldly set on the earle and his band, which manfully resisted the Frenchmen, till at length the Wyre caused three culuerings to be shot off amongst the Englishmen, whereof one strake the earle on the ancle, and so brake his leg, that for paine he fell from his horse.

When the Frenchmen entered amongst the Englishmen, took the earle lieng on the ground, with sir Richard Woodville, and sir scoe more, and there were slain almost two hundred. The residue saved themselves as well as they might. The earle was caried to Beaunois, where of his hurt he shortly died, & was buried in the frier priors. He was a man of singular vertue, constancie, and grauitie, whose death in so troublous a season did sore appall the hearts of the English people. Thus oftentimes varied the chance of doubtful warre, so that one time the Englishmen got by assault, and yielded diuerse strong townes, castels, and piles: and at another season the French people, sometime by bargaine, sometime by assault obtained the same againe, or other in their stead.

About the moneth of June in this twelfth yeare, John duke of Bourbon and Auvergne, taken prisoner at the battell of Agincourt eightene yeeres past (as before ye haue heard) now paying his ranstone, which was eightene thousand pounds sterling, was taken with a most sore and grievous feuer, the which made an end of his life in the citie of London, on the same daie that was appointed for his departure towards France, whose corpse was interred in the grate friers of the same citie. This yeare also about the latter end of Aprill, was a meeting appointed to be had at saint Omers betwixt the dukes of Bedford and Burgognie, for the qualifieng of certeine displeasures and grudges betwixt them kindled and maintained by some flattering tale-tellers, who raising matters of reproch touching their honors, bred such grudges, that all loue betwixt them ceased, all amitie reiected and all old friendship forgotten; such enuie insuech where enmitie once hath princes hearts possessed.

These two dukes come into the towne of saint Omers, the duke of Bedford being then regent of France, some, brother, and uncle to kings, thought that the duke of Burgognie should haue come and visited him in his lodging. The duke of Burgognie on the other part, being lord and soueraigne of the towne, iudged it as much vniuersall for him to go to the regent where he was lodged. Howbeit by intreatie of friends, to meet in a place indifferent betwixt both their lodgings was appointed; which offer not accepted, both parties departed discontent, and neuer after saw nor communed together. Thus by the proud disdain & enuious discord of these two high stomached princes, Bedford not minding to haue a nie pèrre, and Burgognie not willing to abdo aie superiour, shortly after England much lost, and Burgognie greatly gained not, as by the sequelle may appeare.

The bastard of Orleans, called the earle of Daunois, the lord Rochford marshall of France, with others, in the beginning of this thirteenth yeare, took the towne of S. Denis by treason, furnished with them of Paris, and leauing behind them a great garrison, took the towne of Howdone, and Pont saint Marce by composition. And at the same time was the towne of Pont Aenlan taken by the sudden scaling of two fisher men, who entered up at a common priue standing in the wall. Thus warre continually lasted betwixt these two mightie nations, English and French, within the realme of France (than which therefore no countrie thought more miserable.) And though the poore people and inhabitants of the good townes and villages, sustained most losse in their substance, yet the men of warre oftentimes paid deare for the bargaine, being daily slain, wounded, and taken prisoners: for warre seldom beareth any other fruit.

[It may serue verie well here to recount, how somewhat before these dates, Martin the sixt, in the sixteenth yeare of his popedom, An. 1431, agreeing vpon a generall councell to be holden at Basill the same yeare, did anon after deceasse: whom Eugenie the fourth succeeding, and liking right well of the time and place, by his authoritie signified and sent with Julian Cesarine his legat, did confirme the choise. Whereupon as the councell the nineteenth of Iulie the same 1431 was there begun, and his holiness soon after advertised how malapertlie his ghostlie children had imbusied themselves in chiding at their holie fathers faults, and about reformation of his church at Rome; his sublimitie therat highlie offended (for great cause it had) commanded his legat by and by to dissolve that synod, and in his name to appoint a new at Ferras, and so come his waie: vnder colour forsooth how that place was meetest for the prelats of the Graue church, who had to confer with the Latine councell about points of religion, wherein they long had remained at square.

But these Basillien clerks, there still fastlie contending themselves, so smallie regarded this summons of Eugenie (who then with his prelats, as the time was run on, vpon prorogation from Ferras kept an other councell at Florence 1439) as by a confident countermand cited Eugenie & all his cardinals to come to them at their solemne set councell at Basill. Which his supremacie (for so best became it, notwithstanding sundrie citations) utterly contemning to do, they soon after like verie impious imps, first for contumacie accursed his holie fatherhood, then depriued him of his papacie, and out of hand chose another in his office, one Amedeus late duke of Savoye, who afore that time hauing giuen by his possessions & dignitie vnto his children, became an heremite in a monastrie of his owne building by mount Ceuenna in Sawoye nigh the lake Leman, where he by title of *Decanus militum Iesu Christi*, and ten more of nobilitie with him, had settled themselves to liue.

The vertuous minded man thus chosen pope by spirituall counsell inuigiled, lest the holie life (such as it was) that he had profest, take the papacie vpon him the same 1439, and called Felix the sixt, which promotion yet he not long inloved. For after, by his successeur Nicholas the sixts ambition, that had suborned emperor Frederike to be a toacher in the matter, this sixt Amedeus was confined of his popes golden crowne for a cardinals felt hat. When (good man) at last could he find, whether were nearer to christen profession, the life of a vertuous prince ruling in iustice, of a solitarie heremite vertuously occupied, of an imperious pope that may know no pèrre, or of a licentious cardinal to liue as he list. This poore prince had experience of all, & then knew the

The earle of  
Brundel de-  
ceased.

The duke of  
Bourbon de-  
ceaseth at Lon-  
don.

W. P.

A tower be-  
gun by  
France & a  
common pri-  
ue.

The French  
warre.

Solemn  
service of pe-  
re Arras.

W. P.  
1434  
Omnipotent  
Pantheon

An. 5

An. Reg. 13.

the best: when well might he lament him, but too late repent him.

And in the fift yeare of this Basillen counsell that had a continuance of eleuen yeare (whereof an eight were run per Felix was chosen, in which Eugene remaining pope still, though of curst hart he neuer came at them) motion was made among Sigismund the emperour and other churche kings (who for appeasing this schisme betwene the pope and his prelates, were all present by person or pporie) that sith such horroz of bloudshed betwene the two nations continuallie so lamentable raged in France, some mediation might be made for accord: whereof one thing seemed to minister occasion of the moze hope, because the duke of Burgognie was willing (so that it were not of his owne lute) to returne and reconcile himselfe with the French king his mortall enemye and ancient aduersarie.]

Whereupon by authoritie of this generall counsell, two graue prelates, the one Nicholas Albergat a Carthusian frier, intituled a preest cardinall of the holie crosse; the other Hugh Lusignan a Cyprian, Crake, bishop cardinall of Vzeness in Italie, came to the towne of Arras in Arthois, whither were sent from the king of England, Henrie Beauford cardinall of Winchester, Henrie archbishop of Yorke, William de la Pole earle of Suffolke, and John Holland earle of Huntington, with diuerse other knights and esquires. And for the French king were there present Charles duke of Bourbon, Lewis erle of Wandosme, Arthur of Britaine constable of France, the archbishop of Reimes, and sir Phillip Harecourt. The duke of Burgognie was there in proper person, accompanied with the duke of Guelders, and the earles of Estampes, Lignie, S. Paule, Claudemont, Peures, and Daniell Sonne to the prince of Orange, with a great gard and a gallant companie.

Upon the date of the first session, the cardinall of S. Crosse declared to the thre parties the innumerable mischaues, that had followed to the whole state of the churche common-wealth by their continuall dissention and daile disoord, exhorting them for the honour of God, & for the loue which they ought to beare towards the aduancement of his faith and true religion, to conforme themselves to reason, and to late aside all rancor, malice and displeasure; so that in concluding a godlie peace, they might receive profit and quietnesse here in this world, and of God an euerslasting reward in heauen. After this admonition, and diuerse daies of communication, euerie partie brought in their demands, which were most contrarie, and farre from anie likelihood of coming to a good conclusion.

The Englishmen would that king Charles should haue nothing but what it pleased the king of England, and that not as dutie, but as a benefitt by him of his mere liberalitie giuen and distributed. The Frenchmen on the other part would that B. Charles should haue the kingdome franklie and freele, and that the king of England should leave the name, armes, and title of the king of France, and to be content with the dukedomes of Aquitaine and Normandie, and to forsake Paris, and all the townes which they possessed in France, betwene the riuers of Some and Loire, being no parcell of the duchie of Normandie. As he heere, the demands of all parts were betwene them so farre out of square, as hope of concord there was none at all.

The cardinals seeing them so farre in sunder, minded not to dispute their titles, but offered them reasonable conditions of truce and peace for a season, which notwithstanding, either of stoutwardnesse, or of disdain on both parts, were openlie refused. And

much that the Englishmen in great displeasure, departed to Calis, and so into England. ¶ One wyter affirmeth, that they being warned of a secret conspiracie moued against them, suddenly departed from Arras, and so returned into their countrie. But what cause so euer hindered their accord and unitie (sith this and that may be surmized) certene it is, that the onelie and principall cause was, for that the God of peace and loue was not among them, without whom no disoord is quenched, no knot of concord fastened, no bond of peace confirmed, no distracted minds reconciled, no true friendship maintained: for had he bene among them, their dissenting and wastward willes had sounded the sweet harmonie of amiable peace, which of all things that God hath bestowed vpon man is the verie best, and moze to be set by than manie triumphs, as the poet excellentlie well saith:

*pax optima rerum  
Quas homini nouisse datum: pax una triumphis  
Innumeris potior, pax custodire salutem  
Et cines aquare potens.*

Sh. Ital. lib. 11.

Now whiles this treatie of peace was in hand, the lord Talbot, the lord Willoughbie, the lord Scales, with the lord Lisle Adam, and five thousand men of warre, besieged the towne of Saint Denis with a strong band. The earle of Dunois hearing hereof, accompanied with the lord Lohac, and the lord Bueil, with a great compante of horsemen halsted thither, towards to raise the siege, and by the waie encountered with sir Thomas Kirtell, and Watthelw \* Cough, riding also toward Saint Denis, betwene whom was a great conflict. But suddenly came to the aid of the Frenchmen the garrison of Pont Auelan, which caused the Englishmen to returne without anie great harme or damage: sauing that Watthelw \* Cough by foundering of his horse was taken, and carried to Pont Auelan.

\* Or rather Goche.

\* Or Goche.

In the meane time was the towne of Saint Denis rendered to the Englishmen, the which raced the walles and fortifications, sauing the walles of the abbey, and of the towne called Wenin. Shortly after the towne of Pontois, where sir John Kuppelle was capteine, rebelled; and by force the Englishmen were expelled, the inhabitants yielding themselves to the French king. This towne was small, but the losse was great, because it was the keie that opened the passage betwixt the cities of Paris and Rone. But now to returne to the communication at Arras, which after the departure of the English commissioners held betwixt the Frenchmen & Burgognians, till at length a peace was concluded, accorded, and sworn betwixt king Charles and duke Phillip of Burgognie, vpon certaine conditions, as in the French histories moze plainlie appeareth.

A peace betwixt Charles of France and the duke of Burgognie.

And after, the duke of Burgognie, to set a velle before the king of Englandes eyes, sent Wholson Doze his cheefe herald to king Henrie with letters, excusing the matter by way of information, that he was constrained to enter in this league with B. Charles, by the daile outcries, complaints, and lamentations of his people; alledging against him, that he was the onelie cause of the long continuance of the wars, to the bitter impoverishing of his owne people, and the whole nation of France. Therefore sith he could not otherwise do, but partlie to content his owne people, and chætelie to satisfie the request of the whole generall counsell, was in manner compelled for his part to growe vnto a peace and amitie with king Charles.

He likewise wished that king Henrie, vpon reasonable and honozable conditions of agreement offered, should in no wise refuse the same: whereby the long continued warre at length might cease and take end, to the pleasure of almighty God, which is the

1434.  
no Reg. 13.

1435

consequence  
of a  
reasoning

be fruits of  
it.

W. P.  
434  
epitome  
of  
the  
history

A solemn  
treatie of peace  
at Arras.

Nichol.

the authoꝝ of peace and unitie : & hereto he promised him his aid and furtherance, with manie gaie wordes, which I passe over. The superscription of this letter was thus. [To the high and mightie prince, Henrie by the grace of God king of England, his welbeloued couline.] Neither naming him king of France, nor his fourreigne lord, according as (euer before that time) he was accustomed to do. This letter was much marvelled at of the counsell, after they had thoghlie considered all the contents thereof, & they could not but be much disquieted, so far forth that diuerse of them offended so much with the intrust of the duke, that they could not temper their passions, but openly called him traitoꝝ.

Spoile vpon  
the Burgog-  
nian people in  
London.

W. P.

Anno Reg. 14.  
The death of  
the duke of  
Bedford re-  
gent of France

A worthy sel-  
ing of a wise  
prince.

W. P.

But when the rumoꝝ of the dukes revolting was published amongst the people, they left wordes, and fell to bestowing of stripes : for being pricked with these euill tidings, they ran in great outrage vpon all the Flemings, Hollanders, and Burgognions, which then inhabited within the citie of London, and the suburbs of the same, and slue and hurt a great number of them before they, by the kings proclamation, could be staied from such iniurious doing : for the king nothing more minded than to saue innocent blood, and to defend them that had not offended. The officer at armes was willed to tell his maister, that it stood not with his honoꝝ to be enemie to the English nation; and that his dutie had bene to keepe his ancient trust and allegiance, rather than to be occasion of new warre. And what a new reconciled enemie was in respect of an old tried friend, he might shortly find. [When the messenger with this answer was dispatched, and vpon consultation found, a matter standing both with good policie in forcing the proud subject to know his obedience, and also with great equitie to twitch a quareller with such pinfars as wherewith afore he had nipt an other, so was it anon brought about, that sundrie of his good townes and cities rebelled against him, whereby (lesse to his liking than to his deseruing) he was verie well made to bite of a chokepeare of his owne grafting.]

This peare the fourteenth date of September died John duke of Bedford, regent of France, a man both politike in peace, and hardie in warre, and yet no more hardie than mercifull when he had the victorie, whose bodie was with all funerall solemnities buried in the cathedrall church of our ladie in Rone, on the north side of the high altar, vnder a sumptuous and costlie monument. Which some when king Letwes the eleauenth, by certeine vndiscreet persons was counsell'd to deface, affirming that it was a great dishonour both to the king and to the realme, to see the enemie of his father and theirs to haue so solempne and rich a memorie : he answered saing, What honour shall it be to vs, or to you, to breake this monument, and to pull out of the ground the dead bones of him, whome in his life neither my father nor your progenitours, with all their power, puissance, and friends were once able to make flee one foot backward; but by his strength, wit, and policie, kept them all out of the principall dominions of the realme of France, and out of this noble and famous duchie of Normandie : Wherefore I saie, first, God haue his soule, and let his bodie now lie in rest, which when he was alive, would haue disquieted the proudest of vs all. And as for the tome, I assure you, it is not so decent nor conuenient, as his honour and acts deserued, although it were much richer, and more beautiful.

The frost was so extream this peare, beginning about the five and twentieth date of Nouember, and continuing till the tenth of February, that the ships with merchandize arriving at the Thames mouth, could not come by the riuer : so their lading there

saine to be discharged, was brought to the citie by land. After the death of that noble prince the duke of Bedford, the bright sunne in France toward Englishmen, began to be cloudie, and daile to darken, the Frenchmen began not onelie to withold their obedience by oth to the king of England, but also toke word in hand & openly rebelled. Notwith all these mishaps could not anie thing abate the valiant courages of the English people : for they hauing no mistrust in God and good fortune, set vp a new gent in France, Richard duke of Yorke, sonne to Richard earle of Cambridge.

The death of  
Yorke duke  
regent of  
France.

Although the duke of Yorke was worthe (both for birth and courage) of this honoꝝ and preferment, yet so disdeined of Edmund duke of Summerset being couline to the king, that by all means possible he sought his hinderance, as one glad of his losse, and sozie of his well doing : by reason whereof, per the duke of Yorke could get his dispatch, Paris and diuerse other of the cheefest places in France were gotten by the French king. The duke of Yorke perceiving his euill will, openly dissembled that which he inwardlie minded, either of them working things to the others displeasure, till through malice & diuision betweene them, at length by mortall warre they were both consumed, with almost all their whole lines and offspring.

The Normans of the countrie of Caur, being heartened by the death of the duke of Bedford, began a new rebellion, slue diuerse Englishmen, robbed manie townes that were vnder the English obedience, and toke the towne of Harfleur by assault, and diuerse other townes. But the lord regent being aduertised, sent forth the lord Scales, sir Thomas Riel, and the lord Wm, which so afflicted those rebels of Caur, that they slue aboue five thousand persons, and burnt all the townes and villages in the countrie, not being walled : so that in that part was neither habitation nor tillage, for all the people fled into Britaine, and all the beasts of the countrie were brought to Caudebecke, where a good sheepe was sold for an English pence, and a Cow for twelue pence. Daile was skirmishing and fighting in euerie part, in so much that the lord Scales at the Rie beside Rone, discomfited the Wre, and fiftene hundred valiant Frenchmen; of the which, aboue three hundred were taken prisoners, beside the gaine of seauen faire coursers.

Amongst other of the prisoners, were sir Richard Reginald de Fontaines, sir Alain Gerond, Alain Monfale, and Cestrie Grame, capitaine of the Scots. But yet this victorie and others the like, staied not the Frenchmen from working treason daile, in so much that diuers townes turned to the part of R. Charles, and some were taken by practise, as Diepe, Bois, Vincennes, and others. So that here partlie was accomplished the prophesie of Henrie the sixt, given out in the ninth peare of his reigne when he laie at siege before Peaur, that Henrie of Windsoꝝ should lose all that Henrie of Monmouth had gotten (for so they are named according to the place of their natiuitie) and this prediction was complet and full by that time the yeares of his regiment were expired.

Abt. Fl.  
S. 1. 1. 1.  
pag. 111.

But here is one chiefe point to be noted, that either the disdeine amongst the chiefe peeres of the realme of England (as yee haue heard) or the negligence of the kings counsell (which did not foresee dangers to come) was the losse of the whole dominion of France, betweene the riuers of Sone and Marne, and in especiall, of the noble citie of Paris. For where before, there were sent ouer thousands for defense of the holds and fortresses, now were sent hundreds, yea and scores, some rascals, and some not able

The treason of  
the French.

Paris peised  
by French  
king.

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The duke of  
York made  
regent of  
France.

1436

able to draw a bowe, or carrie a bill: for the lord Willoughbie, and the bishop of Teruine, which had the gouernance of the great cite of Paris, had in their companie not too thousand Englishmen.

Which weakenesse king Charles well perceiued, and therefore by authoritie appointed the constable, Arthur of Britaine, the earle of Dunois, the lords de la Roch, and Lile Adam, with other valiant capteins and men of warre, as well Burgognions as French, to go before Paris, trusting by fauour of certeine citizens, with whome he had intelligence, hostile to be lord of the cite, without great losse or battell. So these capteins came before the cite of Paris. But perceiuing that all things succeeded not according to their expectation, they returned to Mont Party, and the next daie suddenlie set on the towne of Saint Denis, and constrained the Englishmen that kept it, to flee into the abbeie, and into the tower Cenin. In this conflict two hundred Englishmen were slaine, the residue vpon reasonable composition rendered by the place, and departed to Paris.

Thomas lord Beaumont, who of late was come to Paris with eight hundred men, issued forth with six hundred souldiers, intending to view the doings and number of the French armie; but suddenlie compassed about, within a small space was discomfited and taken, with him fourescore prisoners, beside two hundred slaine in the field, the remnant chased to the verie gates of the cite. The Parisiens, and especiallie the maister of the halles, and some of the vniuersitie, and Michaell Lallier, and manie notable burgesses of the cite (who euer with an English countenance couered a French hart) perceiuing the weakenesse of the Englishmen, and force of the French; signified to the French capteins their toward minds willing them with all diligence to come & receiue so rich a ppre without anie difficultie, readie to be giuen and deliuered into their hands.

The constable delateng no time, came with his power, lodged by the charter house: and the lord Lile Adam, approaching to the walles, shewed to the citizens a charter, sealed with the great scale of king Charles, by the which he had pardoned them their offenses, and granted to them all their old liberties, and ancient priuileges, so that they would hereafter be to him true and obedient: which thing to them declared, they ran about the towne, crying; S. Denis, liue king Charles. The Englishmen perceiuing this, determined to keepe the gate S. Denis, but they were deceived: for the cheines were drawne in euerie street, and women and children cast downe stones and scalding water on the Englishmens heads, and the citizens in armour fought with them and chased them from street to street, and from lane to lane, and slew and hurt diuerse and manie of them.

The bishop of Teruine, chancelor there for king Henrie, the lord Willoughbie, and sir Simon Moruier, toke great paine to appease the people: but when they saw that all auailed not, they withdrew into the basilie of saint Anthoine, which fortresse they had well vittelled, and furnished with men and munitions. Whilst this rumor was in the towne, the earle of Dunois and others scaled the walles, and some passed the river by botcs, and opened the gate of saint James, by the which the constable with his banner displayed, entered, at whose entrie the Parisiens made great ioy. The bishop and the lord Willoughbie, with their small companie, defended their fortresse ten daies, looking for aid: but when they saw that no comfort appeared, they yielded their fortresse, so that they and theirs, with certeine baggage, might peaceably returne to Rone. Thus was the cite of Paris brought into the possession of Charles the

French king, through the vntrue demeanour of the citizens, who contrarie to their othes, and promised allegiance, like false and inconstant people, so reuolted from the English.

After this glorious gaine, the Frenchmen besieged the towne of Craill vpon Dife, wherof sir William Chamberlaine was capteine, the which with five hundred Englishmen issued out of the towne, and after long fight, discomfited his enemies, & slew two hundred, and toke a great number prisoners: the remnant not liking the market, departed to Campaigne, and other townes adioining. During which season, twelue burgesses of the towne of Gisors sold it for monie vnto Boston de Vantrailes. But he had not the castell deliuered, & therefore with all his power, he besieged the same; wherof the lord Talbot being aduertised, sent for the lord Scales, and they both with eightene hundred men rescued the castell, toke the towne, and discomfited their enemies, and slew of them aboue foure hundred persons.

Now according to the old saieing (when the steed is stolen that the stable doze) the duke of York appointed at the last parlement to be regent of France (after that Paris, Saint Denis, Saint Germans in Laie, and diuerse other townes in France were taken and betrayed for lacke of conuenient succours) was sent ouer into Normandie with eight thousand men, and in his companie, the earles of Salisburie, and Suffolke, and the lord Fauconbridge, and diuerse other valiant capteins. When he was landed, the earle of Salisburie besieged the castell of Chambois, which hostile was to him rendered. Then the duke removed to Rone, where he set good orders, and did great iustice to the countrie; therefore the Normans in their chronicles highlie extoll him for that point. Whobey they saie, that he gat by long siege the towne and abbeie of Fecampe, and did none other notable act, during the time of his rule and gouernment.

In this fourteenth yeare, the duke of Burgognie determined by the aduise of his counsell, to attempt the winning of Calis. The prouision was wondrous great which was made for the atchiuing of this enterpryse: wherof sir John Katcliffe, deputye of the towne of Calis, hauing perfect intelligence, aduertised king Henrie, and his counsell, who incontinentlie sent thither the earle of Poitaigne, sonne to the duke of Summerfet, and the lord Camois, with fiftene hundred men, and great foison of vittells, that issued out of Calis, and came before Crauelin, where they were encountered with a great number of Flemings, who were hostile discomfited, foure hundred of them slaine, and six score taken prisoners. Within two daies after, the Englishmen drave by fine force the lords of Warren and Wado to the barriers of Ard, and discomfited their whole companie, to the number of fiftene hundred, slew seauen valiant capteins, and toke manie gentlemen prisoners.

The duke of Burgognie, remaining still in his former purpose, asserabled together, of Flemings, Picards, Hollanders, and Venetours, a great armie, to the number of fortie thousand, so well armed, so well vittelled, so well furnished with ordnance, and garnished in all things, that they thought and blazed amongst themselves, that the Calissians would leaue their towne desolate, and flee for their safegard, hearing onelie of the dukes approach: but they reckoned without their host; and so paid a dearer shot than they looked for. Now when this mightie armie was past the water of Crauelin, the duke intending to begin his seats, assaulted the little poore castell of Die, which hauing in it but fiftie souldiers, wherof twelue sold their liues deerie; the remnant (compelled by necessitie) yielded themselves to the dukes mercie.

The duke set  
into France  
too late.

The duke of  
Burgognie pre-  
pared an ar-  
mie against  
Calis.

The duke of  
Burgognie  
with fortie  
thousand me.

Abr. Fl.  
See before  
pag. 581.

Paris yielded  
to the French  
king.



mercie. Which to please the Gantois (being of nombre most puissant in all the armie) liberrallie gaue to them, both the castell and prisoners, who (rude & cruell people) not onelic rased the castell, but also hanged nine and twentie of the captiues, and had so done with the residue, if the duke, offended at their crueltie, had not willed a truce.

After this feat done, the Picards besieged the castell of Sparke, & gaue thre assaults to it. The Englishmen within, being in number two hundred and sir, vnder the gouernement of their capteine sir John Ceding, ballantlie defended the place; untill at length, despairing of succours, they yelbed themselves (their liues & limbs saued.) The castell of Sparke being thus deliuered, was rased to the ground. When the duke, accompanied with the duke of Clences, the earle of Estampes, the lord of Dantoing, Croie, Criquite, Humiers, and manie other barons and knights, with his great armie, came before Calis, & placed his siege about the same, most to his advantage: he gaue thre assaults, and gained nothing by them, but constrained to keepe them further off. At the first assault, the hire which was come to see the duke of Burgognie, was sore wounded and hurt. A cooling card it was also vnto them, still to see ships arriued in the haven out of England, openlie before their faces, laden with vittels, munition and men.

The duke on a daie riding about to view the situation of the towne, to the intent to take his most advantage (either by assault or otherwise) was quickelie espied, and with the shot of a canon, a trumpetter, which rode next before him, and thre horses in his companie were slaine out of hand. The lord of Croie, and a conuenient number with him, was appointed to besiege the castell of Guisnes, where he got little profit, and did lesse harme. Moreover, for the better aduancing of his enterprise, the duke minded to stop by the haven; so that no succours should enter there. Whereupon, he caused foure great hulkes to be fraught with great square stones, cemented and joined together with lead, to the intent they should lie still like a mount, and not seuer in sunder.

These ships, with the residue of the dukes naue, were conueied into the mouth of Calis haven, and at a full sea, by craft and policie, were sonke downe to the ground. But whether God would not that the haven should be destroyed, either the conueiers of the hulkes knew not the verie chanell; these foure great ships, at the low water, late openlie vpon the sands, without hurting the rode or chanell. Which when the souldiers perceived, they issued out of the towne, brake the ships, and caried both the stones and timber into the towne. An other deuise the duke had, which was the building of a strong bassile vpon a little mountaine, which he furnished with foure hundred men, and much artillerie, that did impeach the Englishmen from issuing forth of the towne, to their great displeasure.

Whilist these things were adoming, there came to the duke an herald called Benbroke, belonging to the duke of Glocester, who declared to the duke of Burgognie, that the protector of England his master (if God would send him wind & weather) would giue him battell, either there, or in anie other place within his owne countrie, where he would appoint, and that with speed, if God vouchsafed him wind and weather. The duke answered the herald; Sir, saie to your maister, that his challenge is both honorable and reasonable: howbeit, he shall not need to take the paines to seeke me in mine owne countrie, for (God willing) he shall find me here, till I haue my will of the towne, readie to abide him and all the power he can bring. After the herald had receiued this answer, he was highlie cheered, and had a cup and an hundred

guildens to him giuen in reward, and so he returned to Calis.

After whose departure, the duke called a counsell in the chiefe paulion of the Gantois, about this message of the English herald, where it was determined with great courage, that they would abide the battell, if the duke of Glocester came to offer it. Whilist this great matter was in consultation, the Calisians, not well content with the bassile which the duke had newlie builded, issued out of the towne in great number, part on horsebacke and part on foot. The footmen ran to assault the bassile, and the horsemen went betwene the armie & the assailants, to stop the aid and succours that might come. Upon the sounding of the alarme, the duke himselfe in person was comming on foot, to releue his men: but being kept backe a space by the English horsemen, in that belate of time, the bassile was wonne by fine force, and eight score persons of those that kept it slaine, beside the residue which were taken prisoners, and led to Calis, with all the ordinance and artillerie, to the high displeasure of the duke and his prudent counsell. The next daie after, there sprang a rumour in the armie (no man could tell how) that the duke of Glocester with a great puissance was already imbarked, and would arriue at the next tide. The same night the duke fled awate, and sent in all hast to the lord of Croie, to raise his siege before Guisnes, which tidings were to him verie iolous, for he neither got nor saued. So these two capteins departed, leaving behind them, both ordinance, vittels, & great riches.

The French writers (to saue the honoz of the duke of Burgognie) saie, that there was a certeine discord and commotion amongst the Flemings and Dutch nation, affirming, that the great lords and the Picards (whome the Frenchmen greatlie extoll) would betraye and sell the Flemings and their friends, and that for the same cause in a great furie they cried; Home, home: and would not tarrie for anie request that the duke could make, and so by their misgouernance, the duke was inforced to raise his siege, and to depart. The Flemish authors affirme the contrarie, saing, that they were readie to abide the coming of the duke of Glocester: but the duke of Burgognie fearing to be intrapped betwene the English armie without, and the garrison within the towne of Calis, fled awate in the night, giuing to them no warning thereof before, so that for lacke of time, and conuenient space to lade and carrie their stuffe, and being commanded vpon the sudden to dislodge with all speed, they left behind them their vittels, tents, and other things, to their great losse and detriment.

Howseuer the matter was, the truth is, that he fled the six and twentieth daie of Iulie, in the night. And the next daie in the morning, the duke of Glocester landed in Calis haven; & straight went into the campe, where his enemies the night before were lodged, and there he found manie faire peeces of ordinance, and speciallie one called Wigeon: so named, after the chiefe towne of Burgognie; beside paulions, towne, beere, meale, and innumerable vittels. The duke of Glocester, seeing his enemies reculed, hauing in his companie five and twentie thousand men, entered into slanders, burning houses, killing such as made resistance, destroying the countrie on euerie part, setting fire in the townes of Popertind, Baillenn, and others. Also, they wasted the suburbs of diuerse closed townes, and after passed by Aelucastell, Aimefure, and Malon chapel: and then entering into Artois, they came to Arques and Blaydesques, setting fire in euerie part where they came. Thus they passed by saint Omers, and finally by Arde returned to Guisnes: and so to Calis at the six weeks end, with great booties of cattell and riches.

Calis besieged by the duke of Burgognie.

The dukes enterprise to bar the haven.

The duke of Burgognie

The duke of Burgognie

The king of Scots fled from his siege of Rockingham.

15.

Truce taken betwene the king of England and the duke of Burgognie.

Hall.

The duke of Burgognie

The duke of Burgognie

1477

Catharine mother to King Henrie married to Duke of Bourbon.

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The duke's  
bastile scene.

The duke of  
Burgonie  
breaketh by  
the siege be-  
fore Calis,  
and fleeth, the  
26 of Iulie.

A gun called  
Digeon.

The Duke of  
Glocester  
spoileth  
Flanders.

Insurgent.

The king of Scots fled from his siege at Rockingham.

Anno Reg. 15.

Truce taken  
betwene the  
king of Eng-  
land and the  
duchesse of  
Burgonie.  
Hall.

1437

Katharine  
mother to  
King Henrie  
married Owen  
Teuliger.

In all this their iournie, they had but small sto-  
 kes of bread, which caused much faintnesse and diuerse di-  
 scases in the armie, whereof a greater number died  
 than did of the enemies sword: and yet the Flemings  
 write, that they of Bruges distressed to the number  
 of two thousand Englishmen in this iournie. How-  
 beit, the french writers affirme, that the Engli-  
 shmen lost more of their companie in the marches a-  
 bout Ard, than they did in all other places where  
 they had bene before, hauing passed through the par-  
 ties of Flanders, without encounter, or any damage  
 done to them by the enemies. After that, the duke of  
 Glocester returned into England, where he was ad-  
 uertised, that James king of Scots had besieged the  
 castell of Rochesburgh with thirtie thousand men:  
 but the capitaine thereof, sir Rafe Greie defended it  
 so manfullie, for the space of twentie daies, that king  
 James being then aduertised, that the earle of Por-  
 tumberland was committing to fight with him, fled  
 with no lesse losse than his Honor, and inough of both.

Shortly after that the duke of Burgognie had bene before Calis, at the desire of princes, a truce for a time was moued to be had betwene the king of England & the said duke. For which cause were sent to Grauelin for the king of England, Henrie Beaufort: cardinall of Winchester, John lord Spotswoode duke of Northfolke, Humfrey earle of Stafford, and diuerse other well learned & honorable personages. And for the duke of Burgognie, there appeared the duchesse his wife, the bishop of Arras, the lord of Croie, and diuerse other. At this treatie, a truce was taken for a small time, and for a lesse obserued, which was concludde betwene the king of England, and the duchesse of Burgognie (interlacing the duke and his name.)

Some thinke, that the king of England would neuer enter in league with him, because he had broken his promise, oth, and writing sealed to him, and to his father. Other imagined this to be done of a cattell, to call a mist before the French kings eyes, to the intent he should beleue that this feat was wrought by the duchesse, without assent or knowledge of the duke or his councill; and so he was not bound to accomplishe anie act or thing done in his wiues treatie. Thus may you see, that princes sometime with such vaine glosses and scoznerfull expositions will hide their doings, and clothe their purposes; to the intent they would not either be espied, or else that they may plucke their heads out of the collar at their pleasure. But (as the common opinion goeth) he which is a promise-breaker escapeth not alwaies with impunity. For it is well seene by daillie and vsuall euents both in princes and priuat persons, that for violating their faith, and breaking of promise, manie discomforts arise, and inconueniences not a few do follow. To the due keeping whereof the heathen bare such a religious conference, that a prophane man in respect of others, preferreth it before sacrifice, the sentence is of great excellencie out of a pagans mouth:

*Non boue maſtato coeleſtia numina gaudent,  
ſed qua praſtanda eſt & ſine teſte fide.*

About this season, queene Katharine mother to the king of England departed out of this life, and was buried by hir husband in the abbey of Westminster. This woman, after the death of king Henrie the fift hir husband, being young and lustie, following more hir owne wanton appetite than frendlie counsell, and regarding more private affection than princes like honour, toke to husband private a galant gentleman and a right beautifull person, indued with manye goodlie gifts both of bodie & mind, called Owen Teuther, a man descended of the noble lineage and ancient line of Cadwallader last king of the Britains. By this Owen he brought forth three goodlie

sonnes, Edmund, Jasper, and another that was a monke in Westminster, and liued a small time: also a daughter which in hir youth departed out of this transitorie life.

King Henrie, after the death of his mother, because, they were his brethren of one wombe, created Edmund earle of Richmund, and Jasper earle of Penbrooke: whiche Edmund of Margaret daughter and sole heire to John duke of Summerfet begat Henrie, who after was king of this realme, called Henrie the seuenth, of whome ye shall heare more in place conuenient. This Ewen, after the death of the quene his wife, was apprehended and committed to ward, because that (contrarie to the Statute made in the first yeare of this king) he presumptuously had married the quene, without the kings especiall assent, out of which prison he escaped, and let out other with him, but was againe apprehended, and after escaped againe. ¶ Polychronicon saith that he was a squire of low birth and like degre, the same author also reporteth that he was commanded to fletigate by the duke of Glocester then lord protector of the realme: out of which prison he brake by the helpe of a prest that was his chapline. Feuerthelesse he was apprehended afterwards by the lord Beaumont, & brought againe to fletigate, whence (when he had remained there a while) he was deliuered and set at libertie.]

The duchesse of Bedford also, sister to Lewes erle of S. Paule, more for affection than increase of honour, without counsell of hir friends, married a lustie yong knight, called Sir Richard-Module, to the great displeasure of hir uncle the bishop of Teruine, and the earle hir brother. This Sir Richard was made baron of Alizers, and after earle, and had by this ladie manie noble sonnes, and faire daughters, of the which one was the ladie Elizabeth, after queene of England, by reason she was married vnto Edward the fourth. ¶ Whilste this marriage was a celebrating, Jane late queene of England, and before duchesse of Britaine, daughter to the king of Spaurre, and wiffe to king Henrie the fourth, died at the manor of Hauering, and was buried by hir husband at Canturbrie. ¶ About the same time, deceased also the countesse of Marthweke, and Henrie archbishop of York.

In this yeare also, the duke of Summerset, accompanied with the lords of Fauconbridge, Talbot, sir Francis Surien, the Arrogannois, Mattheo \* Cough, Thomas Paulet, Thomas Harrington, Walter Limbryke, John Gedding, William Watton esquires, and Thomas Hilton balliffe of Rone, with a great companie of the English partie, besieged the towne of Harfue (latelie before gotten by the Frenchmen) both by water and land: the capteine within the towne was one sir John d'Esouteuille, hauing his brother Robert with him, and a sir hundred good fighting men. The assailants cast trenches, and so fortified themselves in their campe and lodgings, that when the earles of Ew and Dunois, the valiant ballard of Bourbon, the lord Gaucourt, and other famous capteins, with a foure thousand men, sent to the rescue of them within, came before the towne, they could not succour their friends, nor annioe their enemies by anye means they could deuise; so for feare to lose honour, they returned backe againe, with much trauell and little profit.

The capitaine within the towne perceiuing they could not be aided, did shortly after render the towne to the duke of Summerfet; who after committed it to the keeping of Thomas Paulet, William Limbroke, Christopher Barber, and George Saint George, which manie yeares (till the diuision began in England) manfullie and valiantlie defended both the towne and the hauen. But afterward, when this duke of Summerfet was regent and gouernour of

Abr. Fl.

Queen's Elizabeth,

\* Or rather  
Boche.

Harfue besieged and won by the Englishmen.

The duke of  
Summerlee  
infortunaing

In all this their tourne, they had but small store of bread, which caused much faintnesse and diuerse diseases in the armie, whereof a greater number died than did of the enemies sword: and yet the Flemings write, that they of Burges distressed to the number of two thousand Englishmen in this tourne. Holbeitt, the French writers affirme, that the Englishmen lost more of their companie in the marches about Ard, than they did in all other places where they had bene before, having passed through the parties of flanders, without encounter, or any damage done to them by the enemies. After that, the duke of Glocester returned into England, where he was advertised, that James king of Scots had besieged the castell of Rockesburgh with thirtie thousand men: but the capitaine thereof, sir Rafe Croie defended it so manfully, for the space of twentie daies, that king James being then advertised, that the earle of Northumberland was coming to fight with him, fled with no lesse losse than dishonour, and inough of both.

Shortly after that the duke of Burgogonie had bene before Calis, at the desire of princes, a truce for a time was moued to be had betwene the king of England & the said duke. For which cause were sent to Crauelin for the king of England, Henrie Beauford cardinall of Winchester, John lord Spotsbaze duke of Northfolke, Humfrie earle of Stafford, and diuerse other well learned & honorable personages. And for the duke of Burgogonie, there appeared the duchesse his wife, the bishop of Arras, the lord of Croie, and diuerse other. At this treatie, a truce was taken for a small time, and for a lesse obserued, which was concluded betwene the king of England, and the duchesse of Burgogonie (interlacing the duke and his name.)

Some thinke, that the king of England would neuer enter in league with him, because he had broken his promise, oth, and writing sealed to him, and to his father. Other imagined this to be done of a cattell, to cast a mist before the French kings eyes, to the intent he should beleue that this feat was wrought by the duchesse, without assent or knowledge of the duke or his counsell; and so he was not bound to accomplish anie act or thing done in his times treatie. Thus may you see, that princes sometime with such vaine glosses and scornfull expositions will hide their doings, and cloke their purposes; to the intent they would not either be espied, or else that they may plucke their heads out of the collar at their pleasure. But (as the common opinion goeth) he which is a promise-breaker escapeth not alwaies with impunity. For it is well seene by daillie and vsuall enents both in princes and priuat persons, that for violating their faith, and breaking of promise, manie discommodities arise, and inconueniences not a few do follow. To the due keeping thereof the heathen bare such a religious conscience, that a prophane man in respect of others, preferreth it before sacrifice, the sentence is of great excellencie out of a pagans mouth:

*Non bene malitiam celestia numina gaudent,  
Sed que prastanda est sine ueste fide.*

About this season, queene Katharine mother to the king of England departed out of this life, and was buried by hir husband in the abbey of Westminster. This woman, after the death of king Henrie the sixt hir husband, being young and lustie, following more hir owne wanton appetite than frendlie counsell, and regarding more priuate affection than princelike honour, toke to husband priuillie a galant gentleman and a right beautifull person, indued with manie goodlie gifts both of bodie & mind, called Owen Tudor, a man descended of the noble lineage and ancient line of Cadwallader last king of the Britains. By this Owen she brought forth thre goodlie

sonnes, Edmund, Jasper, and another that was a monke in Westminster, and liued a small time: also a daughter which in hir youth departed out of this transitorie life.

King Henrie, after the death of his mother, because, they were his brethren of one wombe, created Edmund earle of Richmond, and Jasper earle of Penbroke: which Edmund of Margaret daughter and sole heire to John duke of Summerfet begat Henrie, who after was king of this realme, called Henrie the seventh, of whome ye shall heare more in place conuenient. This Owen, after the death of the queene his wife, was apprehended and committed to ward, because that (contrarie to the statute made in the first yeare of this king) he presumptuously had married the queene, without the kings especiall assent, out of which prison he escaped, and let out other with him, but was againe apprehended, and after escaped againe. ¶ Polychronicon saith that he was a squire of low birth and like degree, the same author also reporteth that he was commanded to flee by the duke of Glocester then lord protector of the realme: out of which prison he brake by the helpe of a priest that was his chapline. Nevertheless he was apprehended afterwards by the lord Beaumont, & brought againe to flee, whence (when he had remained there a while) he was deliuered and set at libertie.]

The duchesse of Bedford also, sister to Lewes erle of Saluile, more for affection than increase of honour, without counsell of hir friends, married a lustie young knight, called sir Richard Woodville, to the great displeasure of hir uncle the bishop of Exeter, and the earle hir brother. This sir Richard was made baron of Rivers, and after earle, and had by this lady manie noble sonnes, and faire daughters, of the which one was the lady Elizabeth, after queene of England, by reason she was married unto Edward the fourth. ¶ Whilest this marriage was a celebrating, Jane late queene of England, and before duchesse of Britaine, daughter to the king of Nauarre, and wife to king Henrie the fourth, died at the manor of Hawering, and was buried by hir husband at Cantuarie. ¶ About the same time, deceased also the countesse of Marwarke, and Henrie archbishop of York.

In this yeare also, the duke of Summerfet, accompanied with the lords of Fauconbridge, Talbot, sir Francis Surten, the Arrognois, Pathebro Cough, Thomas Paulet, Thomas Harington, Walter Limbrike, John Gedding, William Watton esquiers, and Thomas Hilton balliffe of Kione, with a great companie of the English partie, besieged the towne of Harflue (latelie before gotten by the Frenchmen) both by water and land: the capitaine within the towne was one sir John d'Estouteuille, hauing his brother Robert with him, and a hundred good fighting men. The assailants cast trenches, and so fortified themselves in their campe and lodgings, that when the earles of Glouc and Dunois, the valiant baron of Bourbon, the lord Catwcourt, and other famous capitaine, with a four thousand men, sent to the rescue of them within, came before the towne, they could not succour their friends, nor annioie their enemies by anie means they could deuise; so for feare to lose honour, they returned backe againe, with much trauell and little profit.

The capitaine within the towne perceiving they could not be aided, did shortly after render the towne to the duke of Summerfet; who after committed it to the keeping of Thomas Paulet, William Limbrike, Christopher Barber, and George saint George, which manie yeares (till the diuision began in England) manfully and valiantlie defended both the towne and the haven. But afterward, when this duke of Summerfet was regent and gouernour of

England.  
Important.

The duke  
of Glocester  
was  
in  
the  
castle  
of  
Rockesburgh.

The king of  
Scots fled  
from his siege  
at Rockesburgh.

Anno Reg. 15.

The duke of  
Burgogonie  
proceedeth  
to  
the  
siege  
of  
Calis,  
and  
slew  
the  
5  
of  
Julie.

A truce taken  
betwene the  
king of Eng-  
land and the  
duchess of  
Burgogonie.  
Hall.

Abr. Fl.

Queene Elizabeth.

\* Or rather  
Goche.

Harflue besieged and wonne by the Englishmen.

I gun called  
Digeon.

The duke of  
Glocester  
waileth  
in  
London.

Katharine  
mother to  
king Henrie  
was  
buried  
in  
Westminster.

The duke of  
Summerfet  
was  
regent  
and  
gouernour  
of  
France.

James king  
of Scots  
murdered.  
Abr. Fl. ex  
Polychr.

po:mandie, he not onlie lost this towne of Hardue,  
but also the citie of Rone, and the whole duchie of  
po:mandie, whereas now (being but a depatie) he  
got it to his high praise and glorie. In this peare was  
James king of Scots murdered by certeine trait-  
tors of his owne subiects: even in his bedchamber by  
night, which king (saith Polychr.) had bene prisoner  
in England fiftene peares, the murderers of whom  
being afterwards taken, were terrible executed. ]

The lord Talbot besieged Tankersle, and after  
four moneths had it simple to him rendered. This  
towne was no great gaine to the Englishmen, for  
in the meane season, the French king in his owne  
person besieged the strong towne of Pontreue  
fault Vonne; whereof Thomas Gerard being cap-  
taine, more for desire of reward, than for feare of eni-  
mies, sold the towne to the French king, and had of  
him great gifts and interteinement, as afterwards  
was openlie known. This towne had bene rescu-  
ed of the French king fought withall, if one chance  
had not happened. For the duke of Bozke about that  
time was discharged of his office, and the earle of  
Warwike preferred to the same, so that the duke of  
Bozke, lieng as then at Rone, would haue gladlie  
rescued the towne, if his authoritie had not surreas-  
sed; and the earle of Warwike could not come in  
time, for the wind was contrarie to him.

The earle of  
Warwike  
made regent  
of France.

This present peare was a parlement holden at  
Westminster, in the which manie god and profitable  
acts for the preservation of conoord at home, and de-  
fence against the enemies abroad, were ordeined and  
deuised. Arthur of Britaine constable of France,  
and John duke of Alanson, were sent by the French  
king into po:mandie, with a great armie, to besiege  
the towne of Auranches, standing vpon the knop of  
an hill: where after they had laien a certeine space  
without gaine, the lord Talbot with a valiant com-  
panie of men came thither, and offered the enemies  
battel. Which when they at all hands refused, the lord  
Talbot perceling their faint harts, raised his field,  
and in the open sight of them all, entered into the  
towne, and the next daie issued out; and finding the  
Frenchmen riding abroad to destroie the plaine  
countrie, he compassed them about, and slue manie  
of them, and took diuers prisoners. Although the  
Frenchmen got neither honoz nor profit by this iour-  
nie, yet they enterprised a greater matter, as the  
winning of Rone; in so much that Douton de San-  
treils, and the Vire, with manie other notable cap-  
tains, hauing promise of certeine burgeses of that  
citie to haue entrie made them, secretlie in the night  
came for ward to a towne called Kise or Kiz, not past  
four leagues from Rone, and there lodged.

The lord Talbot, the lord Scales, and sir Thomas  
Biriell hearing of their approach, set out of Rone at  
midnight, and with great paine came to Kise so court-  
lie in the morning, that the French suddenlie surpri-  
sed and set vpon, like men all amazed ran awaie and  
fled. In the chase were taken the lord of Fontains,  
sir Aleine Geron, sir Lewes de Walle, and threescore  
knights, and esquires, beside others; and there were  
slaine two hundred and more. The Vire escaped  
verie narrowlie, by swiftnesse of his horse, though  
not unwounded. The Englishmen returned to the  
towne of Kise, and found there great number of  
horses and other baggages, which they soloudlie brought  
with them to Rone.

Anno Reg. 16.  
The earle of  
Warwike re-  
gent came in-  
to France.

On the first daie of Nouember this present peare,  
the earle of Warwike, as regent of France, passed  
the sea, after he had bene seuen times shipped and un-  
shipped, and landed at Bomslue with a thousand fresh  
souldiers, and came to Rone, and then the duke of  
Bozke returned into England. Betwene the change  
of these two captains, the duke of Burgognie (which

foze enuied the glorie of the Englishmen) besieged  
the towne of Crotoy, with ten thousand men and  
more, hauing with him great plentie of guns and  
goodlie ordinance. The earle of Warwike aduer-  
sed hereof, sent the lord Fauconbridge, sir Thomas  
Biriell, sir John Spontgoneric, Thomas Lambike,  
Thomas Chandois, David Hall, and diuerse other  
knights and esquires, and an host of five thousand  
men, which passed the river of Some, beside the towne  
of saint Valerie, landing in the water by to the chin,  
so glad were they to rescue their felowes.

When the duke of Burgognie was informed of  
the approaching of the lord Talbot, he with all his  
power (sailing foure hundred, which were left in a ba-  
stille by him, were newlie buyded) fled to Abule, the  
bastille was none gained by the Englishmen, and  
those within either slaine or taken. After this, the lord  
Talbot sent to the duke of Burgognie, signifying  
that except he would come forth, and bide by a bat-  
tell, he would bitterlie wast his countrie of Picardie.  
According whereunto (the duke of Burgognie him-  
king) he burnt townes, spoiled and slue manie people  
in Picardie. But for all those his doings, the duke of  
Burgognie appeared not, but got him from Abule to  
Amiens, so that the lord Talbot abode twentie daies  
full in Picardie and Arthois, destroing all as he  
him, and after returned vntouched. In the meane sea-  
son, sir Thomas Biriell had gotten all the dukes ca-  
riages and ordinance, and left as much bittell in the  
towne of Crotoy, as would serue sir hundred men a  
whole peare, and conueied the residue to the earle of  
Warwike, who highlie praised them for their hardie  
doings.

After this, Henrie earle of Po:taigne, sonne to  
Edmund duke of Summerfet, arrived at Cherburgh  
with foure hundred archers, and thye hundred speares,  
and passed through po:mandie, till he came into the  
countie of Paine, where he besieged a castell called  
saint Antian, in the which were thye hundred Scots,  
besides Frenchmen. This castell he took by assault,  
slue the Scots, and hanged the Frenchmen, because  
they were once swayne English. After this he got al-  
so another castell, two miles from saint Julians, cal-  
led Alegerche, which was shortlie after recovered; and  
the lord of Camelwis, which came to the rescue of the  
same, in the meane waie was intrapped and taken.  
Thus flowed the victorie, some time on the one partie,  
and sometime on the other. For about the same time  
the townes of P:aur in Wyre, and saint Susan were  
sold and deliuered to the French part, by the vntruth  
of the burgeses and inhabitants of the same townes,  
about the latter end of this fiftenth peare.

This peare (by reason of great tempests) raging  
winds, and raime, there rose such scarlitie, that wheat  
was sold at thye shillings foure pence the bushell,  
wine at twelue pence the gallon, baifalt at fourtene  
pence the bushell, and malt at thirtene shillings  
foure pence the quarter, and all other graines at ex-  
cessiue prices above the old rate. Wherevpon  
steuen Wolone (saith Polychronicon) at the same  
season maioz of London, tendering the state of the  
citie in this want of breadcorne, sent into P:aul cer-  
teine ships, which returned laden with plentie of rie:  
wherewith he did much good to the people in that hard  
time, speciallie to them of the citie, where the want of  
corne was not so extream as in some other places  
of the land, where the poze distressed people that were  
hungerbitten, made them hzed of ferne roots, and by  
sed other hard shifts, till God provided remedie for  
their penurie by good successe of husbandrie.]

In the moneth of June, the earle of Huntington  
(as Steward of Guien) with two thousand archers,  
and foure hundred speares was sent into Calcoigne,  
as a supplie to the countrie and comons of the same:

Crotoy was  
gro by the  
duke of Bur-  
gogne.

A seat of a pri-  
or like captein  
a wife count-  
cellos.

Two hundred  
persuaders.

1479

Anno Reg. 1

Ponthoife ri-  
couered by  
the English.

Anno Reg. 15

Anno Reg. 15  
Death of  
bittell.  
1479

Abr. Fl. ex  
Polychr.

Enguerrant.

Spred man  
of fenne  
roots.

An. Reg. 17, 18, 19.

for the king of England and his counsell were informed, that the earle of Dunois laie in the frontiers of Holouffe secretlie, by rewards and faire promises practising to procure diuerse townes in Guien to be come French. Wherefore this earle (like a politike warrioꝝ) altered not onelie the capitaines in euerie towne and citie, but also remoued the magistrates, and changed the officers from towne to towne, and came to come; so that by this meanes, the earle of Dunois at that time lost both trauell and cost.

In the same moneth also, sir Richard Woodville, sir William Chamberleine, sir William Deto, and sir William Storie, with a thousand men, were sent to suffice the townes in Normandie, which at that time had therof great need: for the English capitaines had small confidence in the Normans, and not to much in some of their own nation. For that harlot byberie, with his fellow courtousnesse, ran so fast abroad with French crownes, that hard was it to remaine vncorrupted. In this yeare, the Dolphin of France alied with John duke of Alanson, and John duke of Burgogne, rebelled against his father king Charles: but in the end, by wise persuations, and wittie handling of the matter, the knot of that seditious faction was dissolued, and the king with his sonne, and the other confederates openlie and apparantlie pacified. The Englishmen taking aduantage of this domestickall diuision in France, raised an armie, and recovered againe diuerse townes, which had bene surprised from them before, and prepared also to haue recovered the citie of Paris, till they heard of the agreement betwixt the father and the sonne, and then they left off that enterprise.

In Nouember of this yeare, there was such a great frost, and after that so deepe a snow, that all the ground was couered therewith, and all the ditches frozen. Which wether put the Englishmen in hope to recover againe the towne of Ponthoisse, by the French king gotten before, by corrupting with monie diuerse burgeses of the towne. Whereupon the Englishmen clothed all in white, with John lord Clifford their capitaine, came in the night to the ditches, passed them without danger by reason of the frost, scaled the walles, slue the watch, and toke the towne, with manie profitable prisoners. After the regaining of this towne, the lord Richard Beauchampe earle of Warwick died in the castell of Rone, from whence conueied into England, he was with sollemne ceremonies buried at his college of Warwick, in a verie faire and sumptuous sepulchre.

About the beginning of Lent, the duke of Sumnerfet, and the lord Talbot, with other capitaines and men of warre to the number of two thousand, which they had assembled in the marches of Normandie towards Rone, marching forward towards Picardie, passed ouer the riuer of Some; and through the towne of Montereuell, came before the fortreffe of Folleuille, which the duke besieged, whilst the lord Talbot entered further into the countrie. After that the duke had mounted his great artillerie, and began to batter the hold, the capitaine within chanced to be slaine with a shot of the same artillerie, & shortly after, the batterie being still continued, the rest of the men of warre that serued vnder him yelded the place, in which the duke left a competent garrison of souldiers, which afterwards soze indamaged the countrie.

This done, the duke followed the lord Talbot, who was already entered a good waie within the countrie of Santhois, and now joining their powers together, they came to a fortreffe called Lihons in Santhois, which was also rendered vnto them, after they had burnt the church, which the countrie people kept against them, and would not yeld it, till they

were fired out, burnt, and slaine; to the number of three hundred. After the fortreffe was deliuered into their hands by composition, the duke with his powder laie there about ten daies, sending diuerse troops of his men of warre abroad into the countrie, which spoiled the same, toke the fortreffe of Herbonnieres, and the lord thereof within it, who for his ransome, and to haue his subiects and house saued from spoile and fire, compounded with his takers for a thousand saluz of gold, which he paid to them. Finally, after the duke of Sumnerfet, and the lord Talbot with their power, had laine in Lihons about ten daies, they departed from thence, and returned into Normandie, without anie impeachment.

After the death of the earle of Marlowe, the duke of Bozke was againe made regent of France, which accompanied with the earle of Orenford, the lord Bourchier called earle of Ewe, sir James of Mond, the lord Clinton, sir Richard Woodville, & diuerse other noble men, sailed into Normandie. Before whose arriual, the French king soze græued with the taking of the towne of Ponthoisse, assembled a great armie, and besieged the said towne himselfe in person, inuironing it with battiles, trenches, and ditches, beating the walles and bulwarks with shot of great ordinance, and giuing thereunto diuerse great and fierce assaults. But John lord Clifford, like a valiant capitaine, defended the towne so manfully, that the Frenchmen rather lost than wonne.

The duke of Bozke at his landing receiued true aduertisement of this siege, whereupon he sent for the lord Talbot, and a great number of soldiers, and so came nere to the towne of Ponthoisse, and there incamped himselfe; who therewith sent word to the French king, that thither he was come to giue him battell, if he would come out of his strength and battiles. But the French king by aduise of his counsell, determined not to venture his person with men of so base degre, but meant to keepe his ground, bidding the lord regent to enter at his perill, and in the meane season did what he could to stop the passage of the riuer of Dife, so that no vittells should be brought to the English armie by that waie, in hope so to cause them to recule backe.

The duke of Bozke, perceiuing that the French king minded not to fight, purposed to passe ouer the riuer of Dife, and so to fight with him in his lodging. Whereupon he remoued his campe, and appointed the lord Talbot and other, to make a countenance, as they would passe the riuer by force at the port of Beaumont: and appointed an other companie in boates of timber and leather, and byldges made of cords and ropes (whereof he had great plentie caried with him in chariots) to passe ouer beneath the abbie. Whilst the lord Talbot made a crie, as though he would assault the gate, certeine Englishmen passed the water in boates, and by a byldge of cords ouer, so that a great number of them were got to the other side, yea the Frenchmen were aduised what had happened. When they saw the chance, they ran like mad men, to haue stopped the passage, but it was too late: for the most part of the Englishmen were got ouer, in so much that they chased their enemies backe, and slue sir Guiliam de Chastell, nephew to the lord Aneguiue du Chastell, and diuerse others.

The Frenchmen seeing their euill hap irrecoverable, returned to the French king, and told him what had chanced: whereupon he doubting to be aduantaged to his disadvantage, thought not good longer to tarrie, but with all speed remouing his ordinance into the battile of saint Martin, which he had newlie made, dislodged in the night from Gaubuisson, and went to Poisse, leaving the lord de Cotignie admerall of France, with three thousand men to keepe the

1 4 4 1  
The duke of Bozke againe made regent of France.

Ponthoisse besieged by the French king, but by his valiant defence.

A poltrie for a byldge.

Enguerant de Monfrellet.

Dom. 14. 9.

ed Crottoy bid  
nd gro by the  
nd duke of Bou  
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Ponthoisse re-  
covered by  
the English.

Anno Reg. 17.  
Wearth of  
bittels.

1 4 3 9

Abr. Fl. ex  
Polychr.

Wearth made  
of fire  
rows.



Edw. Hall.

bastille. If he had taried still at Hanboulton, the lord Talbot which had passed the riuer of Dife in two small leather botes, had either taken or slaine him the same night. The Englishmen the next daie in god order of battell came befoze the towne of Donthoife, thinking there to haue found the French king, but he was gone: and in his lodging they found great riches, and much stufte which he could not haue space for to carrie awaie for feare of the sudden invasion.

Then the duke with his power entred into the towne, and sent for new vittels, and repaired the towers and bulwarks about the towne, & diuerse times assaulted the bastille of the Frenchmen, of the which he made no great accompt, because they were not of power either to assault or stop the vittels or succors from the towne. After this, the duke intending once againe to offer the French king battell, left behind him at Donthoife for capteine there, sir Geruais Clifton, sir Nicholas Burdet, Henrie Chandos, and a thousand soldiers, and therewith remouing with his whole armie, came befoze Poissie, where he set himselfe and his men in god order of battell readie to fight. There issued out some of the French gentlemen to skirmish with the Englishmen, but to their losse: for diuerse of them were slaine, and foure valiant horsemen taken prisoners. The duke perceiuing the faint hearts of the Frenchmen, and that they durst not incounter in field with the English power, dislodged from Poissie, and came to Gaunt, and some after to Rone.

Anno Reg. 20.

Donthoife  
gotten by the  
French.Enguerant.  
Sir Nicholas  
Burdet  
slaine.

When the regent and the lord Talbot were returned againe into Normandie, the French king considering how much it should rebound to his dishonour to let rest the towne of Donthoife in his enemies hands, sith he had bene at such charges and trauele about the winning thereof, he establisht assembled all his puissance. And returning suddenlie vnto Donthoife, he first by assault got the church, and after the whole towne, took the capteine, and diuerse other Englishmen, and due to the number of foure hundred, which sold their liues dearelie: for one French writer affirmeth, that the French king lost there three thousand men; and the whole garrison of the Englishmen was but onelie a thousand. Among other that were slaine here of the defendants, was sir Nicholas Burdet knight, chiefe butler of Normandie. After this hot tempest, the weather began somewhat to war more calme: for king Henrie and king Charles agreed to send ambassadors to comen of some good conclusion of peace: so that king Henrie sent the cardinall of Winchester, with diuerse other noble personages of his counsell to Calis, with whom was also sent Charles duke of Oyleance yet prisoner in England, to the intent that he might be both author of the peace, and also procurer of his owne deliuerance.

The French king sent the archbishop of Reimes, and the earle of Dunois; and the duke of Burgogonie sent the lord de Creuecueur, and diuerse other. All these met at Calis, where the duke of Oyleance courtisly received the earle of Dunois (his bastard brother) thanking him greatly for his paines taken in gouerning his lands & countrie, during the time of his captiuitie and absence. Diuerse communications were had, as well for the deliuerance of the duke as for a small peace; but nothing was concluded, saving that an other meeting was appointed, so that in the meane season the demands of either partie might be declared to their soueraigne lords and maisters: and hereupon the commissioners brake vp their assembling, and returned into their countries. The Englishmen (as the French writers record) required not onelie to possesse peaceablie the two duchies of Aquit-

taine and Normandie, discharged of all resort, supererogitie, & soueraintie against the realme of France, the kings and gouernours of the same; but also to be restored to all the townes, cities, and places, which they within thirtie yeeres next before gone and past, had conquered in the realme of France. Which request the Frenchmen thought verie unreasonable, and so both parties, minding rather to gaine or saue than to lose, departed for that time, as yet haue heard.

After this meeting thus prozaged, Philip duke of Burgogonie, partly moued in conscience to make amends to Charles duke of Oyleance (as yet prisoner in England) for the death of duke Lewis his father, whome duke John, father to this duke Philip, cruellie murdered in the citie of Paris; and partly intending the aduancement of his neece, the ladie Marie, daughter to Adolfe duke of Cleue (by the which alliance, he trusted, that all old rancor should cease) continued waies to haue the said duke of Oyleance set at libertie, vpon promise by him made to take the said ladie Marie vnto wife. This duke had bene prisoner in England euer since the battell was fought at Agincourt, vpon the daie of Crispine and Crispinian, in the yeare 1415, and was set now at libertie in the moneth of Nouember, in the yeare 1440, paying for his ransome foure hundred thousand crownes, though other saie but three hundred thousand.

The cause whie he was detained so long in captiuitie, was to pleasure thereby the duke of Burgogonie: for so long as the duke of Burgogonie continued faithfull to the king of England, it was not thought necessarie to suffer the duke of Oyleance to be ransomed, least vpon his deliuerance he would not cease to seeke meanes to be reuenged vpon the duke of Burgogonie, for the old grudge and displeasure betwixt their two families, and therefore such ransome was demanded for him as he was neuer able to pay. But after the duke of Burgogonie had broken his promise, and was turned to the French part, the counsell of the king of England deuided how to deliuer the duke of Oyleance, that thereby they might displeasure the duke of Burgogonie. Which thing the duke of Burgogonie perceiuing, doubted what might follow if he were deliuered without his knowledge, and therefore to his great cost practised his deliuerance, paid his ransome, and ioined with him amitie and alliance by marriage of his neece.

This duke being now deliuered, and speaking better English than French, after his arriual in France, repaired to the duke of Burgogonie, and according to his promise and conuention, married the ladie Marie of Cleue, in the towne of saint Omers, on whome he begat a sonne, which after was French king, and called Lewis the twelfth. [Fettered for Lewis the twelfth. W. R.] That ranke inward, as they may perchance be pallied at by sleight of surgerie; so sildome come they to sound cure, but often do burst out againe to greater paine and perill of patient than euer afore: and so besell it betwixt these two noble houses of Oyleance and Burgogonie, who for all this marriage and plausible peace (that continued a twentie yeeres still out yet after at square vnattainable) their children and cousins, to the great vniquieting of much part of christendome, speciallie in the times of king Francis the first, and his sonne Henrie the second, heires of the house of Oyleance. For John earle of Angoulesme, uncle to this duke Charles, begat Charles, father to the said king Francis: which earle John had bene as pledge in England for the debt of Lewis duke of Oyleance, from the last yeare of king Henrie the fourth, till that now his nephew being deliuered, made thist for monie, and ransomed him also, and at

Earle of saint  
Omers  
English.This should  
be an Engu-  
lance notice  
two yeeres  
after this pre-  
sent year 1440  
but, An. 1440.The duke of  
Oyleance  
deliuered.Lewis the  
twelfth.  
W. R.This should  
be an Engu-  
lance notice  
two yeeres  
after this pre-  
sent year 1440  
but, An. 1440.

at length restored him to his countrie.

In the beginning of this twentieth yeare, Richard duke of Poike, regent of France, and gouvernour of Normandie, determined to invade the territories of his enemies both by landie armies, and in severall places, and thereupon without delaye of time he sent the lord Willoughbie with a great crue of soldiers to destroye the countrie of Amiens, and John lord Talbot was appointed to besiege the towne of Diepe; and the regent himselfe accompanied with Edmund duke of Summerfet, set forward into the duchie of Anjou. The lord Willoughbie, according to his commission, entred into the countrie of his enemies in such wise upon the sudden, that a great number of people were taken y<sup>e</sup> they could withdraw into any place of safegard.

The Frenchmen in the garrisons adjoining, assisted with the clamour and crye of the poore people, issued out in good order, and manfully fought with the Englishmen. But in the end, the Frenchmen seeing their fellows in the forefront slaine downe, and kild without mercie, turned their backs, and fled: the Englishmen followed, and slue manie in the chase; and such as escaped the sword, were robbed by the earle of saint Paule, who was comming to aid the Englishmen. In this conflict were slaine aboute six hundred men of armes, and a great number taken. The dukes of Poike and Summerfet likewise entered into Anjou and Spaine, and there destroyed townes, and spoiled the people, and with great prizes and prisoners repaired againe into Normandie, whither also the lord Willoughbie withorew, after his valiant enterpryse achieved (as before y<sup>e</sup> have heard) with rich spoiles and good prisoners.

The duke of Summerfet upon further valiance, entered into the marches of Britaine, and toke by fierce assault a towne named la Gerche, appertaining to the duke of Alanson, spoiling and burning the same. This done, he went to Donzate, where he sojourned two moneths, sending forth daillie his men of war to destroye the countries of Anjou, Craonnois, and Chatragonnois. The French king sent the marshall Blach with foure thousand men to resist the invasions of the duke of Summerfet, which marshall intended to have set on the duke in his lodgings in the dead time of the night: but that (as by a wise and hardie captaine) well foresaw, he marched forward, and met the Frenchmen halfe the waie, and after long fight, discomfited them, slue an hundred of the marshalls men, and toke thre score and two prisoners, wherof the chiefe were the lord Daufigne, sir Letwes de Buell, all the other (almost) were knights and esquires.

After this encounter, the duke toke the towne of Beaumont le vicount, and manned all the fortresses on the frontiers of his enemies, and with rich booties and prisoners returned againe to the duke of Poike. In this meane time the lord Talbot, besieging the towne of Diepe, intrenched it with deepe trenches; building also upon the mount Paulet a strong and noisome bastille. But at length perceiving the towne to be strongly defended, and that he lacked such furniture of men, vittels, and ordnance, as was necessarie for the winning of it, he delivered the custodie of the bastille, with the governance of the siege to his bassard squire, a valiant young gentleman, and departed to Rone for aid, monie, and munition. The French king advertised hereof, sent his squire the Dolphin of Aierne with the earle of Dunois, and sixtine thousand men to raise the siege from Diepe.

Three daies they assailed the bastille, in the which six hundred Englishmen were inclosed, and at length because powder and weapon failed them within, the Frenchmen wan it, and toke the bassard Talbot prisoner, with sir William Bettoto, and sir John Keyleie, which shortly after were redeemed. The other English soldiers, seeing the bastille wone by the Frenchmen, stood all a daie in good order of battell, and in the night following, politickly saved themselves and returned to Rone, without losse or damage. In the assaulting of the bastille, the Frenchmen saie, they slue two hundred Englishmen; and denie not but that they lost five hundred of their owne men, beside those that were hurt. Whilste these things were a doing, Philip duke of Burgognie made sharpe warre against the earle of saint Paule, in taking from him his townes and castels, that made him to renounce his allegiance sworn and promised to the king of England, and returned to the French part.

The English captains in Guen besieged the strong towne of Tartas, belonging to the lord Dalbryeth their old and ancient enemy. The towne perceiving that it was not able to resist the force of the Englishmen any long time, toke appointment, that the towne should remaine neuter. For assurance thereof, they delivered Cadet the sonne of the lord de la Bzeth in pledge, upon this condition; that if the said lord de la Bzeth would not assent to the agreement, then he should signifie his refusal to the English captains within thre moneths next ensuing, and he to have his pledge, and they to do their best. The French king, at the request of the lords of Guen, caused the lord de la Bzeth to signifie his disagreement unto the earle of Huntington, as then lieutenant to the king of England in the duchie of Aquitaine. And therewith to gratifie the lords of Guen, he assembled an armie of thre score thousand men, & came to Holoulle, and so to Tartas, to whom the chiefeins of the towne, seeing no succours comming from the king of England, rendered the towne: and Cadet de la Bzeth, which was left there as a pledge, was also delivered.

The French king, after the yielding of Tartas, removed to saint Severine, which towne he toke by force, slue thre hundred persons, and toke sir Thomas Kampion prisoner. After this, he came to the citie of Arques, toke a bulwourke by force, and had the towne yielded to him by composition. The captaine, which was the lord of Pontferant, departed with all the English crue to Burdeaur, where he found the earle of Longuile, the Capdau de Beuse, and sir Thomas Kampion, which was a little before delivered. After this, the fortresses of the Kioll and Ghermandie were also yielded to the French king: who notwithstanding at length was constrained for lacke of vittels (which were cut off by the Englishmen, that laie abroad in diverse fortresses for the purpose) to breake up his armie, & to retire into France. And then after his departure, the Englishmen recovered againe the citie of Arques, & the other townes by the French king gained, and toke prisoner his lieutenant called Reginald Guillian the Burgognion, and manie other gentlemen, and all the meane soldiers were either slaine or hanged.

While the French king was in Guen, the lord Talbot toke the towne of Couchet, and after marched toward Gallardon, which was besieged by the bassard of Dileance, otherwaie called the earle of Dunois: which earle hearing of the lord Talbot's approach, raised his siege, and saved himselfe. The Frenchmen a little before this season, had taken the towne of Cureau by treason of a sisher. Sir Francis the Arragonois hearing of that chance, apparelled six strong fellows like men of the countrie, with sacks and baskets, as carriers of corne and vittels, and sent them to the castell of Cornill, in the which diverse Englishmen were kept as prisoners, and he

The earle of saint Paule renounceth to the French.

1441  
Tartas besieged.

The change in warre.

The lord Talbot.

The earle of Dunois. In excellent fine in warre.

Earle of saint Paule renounceth to the French.

The should was English two moneths after this year 1949.

The duke of Dileance destroyed.

ewes the wells. W. P.

Three thousand men with Nicholas Giler.

with an ambush of Englishmen laie in a ballie nigh to the fortreffe.

The six counterfet husbandmen entered the castell unsuspected, and straight came to the chamber of the captive, & laing hands on him, gaue knowledge to them that laie in ambush to come to their aid. The which suddenlie made forth, and entered the castell, slue and toke all the frenchmen, and set the Englishmen at libertie: which thing done, they set fire in the castell, and departed to Rome with their botie and prisoners. This exploit they had not achieved per-adventure by force (as happilie they mistrusted) and therefore by subtiltie and deceit sought to accomplish it, which meanes to vse in warre is tollerable, so the same warre be lawfull; though both fraud & bloudshed otherwise be forbidden euen by the instinct of nature to be put in practise and vse; and that doth the poet insinuat in a proper sententious verse, saing:

*Fraus albit, vacuus cadis habere manus.*

*Quid. l. de ar.*

A new breach betweene the duke of Gloucester, and the bishop of Winchester.

But now to speake somewhat of the dowings in England in the meane time. Whilest the men of war were thus occupied in martiall feates, and daile skirmishes, within the realms of France: ye shall vnderstand, that after the cardinall of Winchester, and the duke of Gloucester, were (as it seemed) reconciled either to other, yet the cardinall, and the archbishop of Poike ceased not to do manie things without the consent of the king or of the duke, being (during the minority of the king) gouernor and protector of the realme, whereas the duke (as good cause he had) greatlie offended, thereupon in writing declared to the king, wherein the cardinall and the archbishop had offended both his maiestie, and the lawes of the realme. This complaint of the duke of Gloucester was contained in foure and twentie articles, which chieslie rested, in that the cardinall had from time to time, through his ambitious desire to surmount all others in high degrees of honor and dignitie, sought to enrich himselfe, to the great and notorious hinderance of the king, as in defrauding him not onelie of his treasure, but also in doing and practising things greatlie preiudiciall to his affaires in France, and namelie by setting at libertie the king of Scots, vpon so easie conditions, as the kings maiestie greatlie lost thereby, as in particularities thus followeth.

#### A complaint made to king Henrie the sixt, by the duke of Gloucester, vpon the cardinall of Winchester.

I  
Ex Ed. Hall.  
143, 144, 145,  
146.

**T**hese be in part, the points and articles, which I Humfre duke of Gloucester, for my truth & acquittal, said late, I would giue in writing (my right redoubted lord) vnto your highnesse, aduertising your excellencie, of such things in part, as haue bene done in your tender age, in derogation of your noble estate, and hurt of both your realmes, and yet be done and bled daile.

2 First, the cardinall then being bishop of Winchester, toke vpon him the state of cardinall, which was naied and denaied him, by the king of most noble memorie, my lord your father (whome God assoile) saing that he had as laxe set his crowne beside him, as se him weare a cardinals hat, he being a cardinall. For he knew full well, the pride and ambition that was in his person, then being but a bishop, should haue so greatlie extolled him into more intollerable pride, when that he were a cardinall: and also he thought it against his freedom, of the chiefe church of this realme, which, that he worshipped, as dylye as euer did prince, that blessed be his soule. And

howbeit, that my said lord your father (whome God assoile) would haue agreed him to haue had certeine clearks of this land cardinals, and to haue no bishoprikes in England; yet his intent was neuer to do so great derogation to the church of Canturburie, to make them that were his suffragans, to sit above their ordinarie and metropolitan. But the cause was that in generall, and in all matters which might concerne the weale of him, and of his realme, he should haue protectors of his nation, as other kings Christen had, in the court of Rome, and not to abide in this land, nor to be in any part of his counsels, as bene all the spirituall and temporall, at parlements and other great counsels, when you list to call them. And therefore, though it please you to do him that worship, to set him in your priue counsell after your pleasure: yet in your parlement, where euerie lord both spirituall and temporall, hath his place, he ought to occupie but his place as a bishop.

3 Item, the said bishop, now being cardinall, was assoiled of his bishoprike of Winchester, whereupon he sued vnto our holie father, to haue a bull declaratorie, notwithstanding he was assumpt to the state of cardinall, that the see was not void, where indeed it stood void by a certeine time, yer the said bull were granted; and so he was exempt from his ordinarie, by the taking on him the state of cardinall, and the church bishoprike of Winchester, so standing void, he toke againe of the pope (you not learned thereof ne knowing whereby he was fallen into the case of prouision) so that all his good was lawfullie & clerele forfeited to you my right doubted lord, with more; as the statute declareth plainelie for your aduantage.

4 Item, it is not vnknown to you (doubted lord) how thorough your lands it is noised, that the said cardinall and the archbishop of Poike had and haue the gouernance of you, and all your land, the which none of your true liege men ought to vsurpe nor take vpon them. And haue also estranged me your sole vnckle, my cosine of Poike, my cosine of Huntington, and manie other lords of your kin, to haue any knowledge of any great matter, that might touch your high estate, or either of your realmes. And of lords spirituall, of right, the archbishop of Canturburie should be your chiefe counsellor, the which is also estranged and set aside. And so be manie other right sad lords, and well aduised, as well spirituall as temporall, to the great hurt of you my right doubted lord, and of your realmes, like as the experience and workes shewen clerele and euidentlie, more harme it is.

5 Item, in the tender age of you, my right doubted lord, for the necessitie of an armie, the said cardinall lent you foure thousand pounds vpon certeine iewels, prised at two and twentie thousand markes, with a letter of sale, that and they were not quitted at a certeine date, you should lese them. The said cardinall seeing your monie readie to haue quitted your iewels, caused your treasurer of England, at that date being, to pade the same monie, in part of an other armie, in defrauding you my right doubted lord of your said iewels, keeping them yet alwaie to his owne vse, to your right great losse, and his singular profit and auaile.

6 Item, the said cardinall, then being bishop of Winchester, and chancellour of England, deliuered the king of Scots, vpon certeine appointments (as maie be the seed) presumptuouslie, and of his owne authoritie, contrarie to the act of parlement. I haue heard notable men of law say, that they neuer heard the like thing done among them: which was so great a defamacion to your highnesse, and also to wed his name to the said king, whom that my lord of notable

notable memoire, your father, whome God assoile, would neuer haue so deliuered. And there as he should haue paid for his costs forty thousand pounds, the said cardinall, chancellour of England, caused you to pardon him thereof ten thousand marks, whereof the greater summe he paid you, right a litle, what, I report me to your highnesse.

7 Item, where the said cardinall lent you, my redoubted lord, great and notable summes, he hath had and his assignes, the rule and profit of the port of Hampton, where the customers bene his seruants, where (by likelihood and as it is to be supposed) standing the chiefe merchant of the wools of your land, that you be greatlie defrauded, and vnder that rule, what wools and other merchandizes haue bene shipped, and maie be from time to time, hard is to esteeme, to the great hurt and preiudice of you my right redoubted lord, and of all your people.

8 Item, howbeit that the said cardinall hath diuerse times lent you great summes of monie, since the time of your reigne, yet his loane hath bene so deferred and delaied, that for the most part, the conuenient season of the imploing of the good lent was passed. So that litle fruit or none came thereof, as by experience both your realmes haue sufficientlie in knowledge.

9 Item, where there was ietwels and plate pressed at cleuen thousand pounds in weight, of the said cardinall, forfeited to you my right redoubted lord, he gat him a restorment thereof for a loane of a litle parcell of the same: and so defrauded you wholie of them, to your great hurt, and his auaille, the which god might greatlie haue eased your highnesse, in sparing as much of the poore commons.

10 Item, the cardinall being feoff of my said lord your father (whome God assoile) against his intent, gaue Elizabeth Beauchampe, three hundred markes liuelihod, where that his will was, that and she were wedded within a yeare, then to haue it, or else not, where in deed it was two or three yeares after, to your great hurt, and diminishing of your inheritance.

11 Item, notwithstanding that the said cardinall hath no maner of authoritie nor interest in the crowne, nor none maie haue by anie possibilitie, yet he presumeth and taketh vpon him in partie, your estate roiall, in calling before him, into great abusion of all your land, and derogation of your highnesse, which hath not bene seene nor vsed in no daies heretofore, in greater estate than he is, without your expresse ordinance and commandement.

12 Item, the said cardinall, nothing considering the necessitie of you my right redoubted lord, hath sued a pardon of dismes, that he should paie for the church of Winchester, for terme of his life, giuing thereby occasion to all other lords spirituall, to draw their good will for anie necessitie, to grant anie disme: and so to late all the charge vpon the temporalltie, and the poore people.

13 Item, by the gouernance and labour of the said cardinall, and archbishop of Yorke, there hath bene lost and dispended much notable and great good, by diuerse ambassadoys sent out of this realme. First to Arras, for a feigned colourable peace, whereas by likelihood it was thought and supposed, that it should neuer turne to the effectuall auaille of you my right redoubted lord, nor to your said realmes: but vnder colour thereof, was made the peace of your aduersarie, and the duke of Burgognie. For else your partie aduersie, & the said duke, might not well haue found meanes nor waies to haue communed together, nor to haue concluded with other their confederations and conspirations made and wrought there, then, at that time, against your highnesse, whereby

you might haue (right doubted lord) the greater partie of your obedience, as well in your realme of France, as in your duchie of Normandie, and much other thing gone greatlie, as though the said colourable treatie, & otherwaie, since the death of my brother of Bedford (whome God assoile.)

14 Item, now of late was sent an other ambassadour to Calis, by the labour and counsell of the said cardinall, and archbishop of Yorke, the cause why of the beginning, is to me your sole uncle, and other lords of your kin and counsell unknowen, to your great charge, and against the publike good of your realme: as it openlie appeareth. The which god if it be implored for the defense of your lands, the merchandizes of the same might haue had other course, and your said lands not to haue stand in so great mischance as they do.

15 Item, after that, to your great charge, and hurt of both your realmes, the said cardinall & archbishop of Yorke went to your said towne of Calis, and diuerse lords of your kin, and of your counsell in their fellowship, and there, as there was naturall warre betwene the duke of Aleance, and the duke of Burgognie, for murther of their fathers, a capitall enimitie like to haue induced for ever: the said cardinall and archbishop of Yorke licenced and suffered the said duke of Aleance, to intreat and common apart with the counsell of your said aduersaries, as well as with the duchies of Burgognie: by which meane the peace and alliance was made betwene the two dukes, to the greatest fortiffing of your said capitall aduersaries that could be thought, and consequentlie (my dere redoubted lord) to your greatest charge, and hurt to both your realmes. Vnder colour of which treatie, your said aduersaries in meane time wan your citie of Apeaur, and the countrie thereabout, and manie diuerse roades made into your duchie of Normandie, to the great nuisance and destruction of your people, as it sheweth openlie.

16 Item, the said archbishop of Yorke, sent with other into this your realme from the said cardinall, after communication had with your aduersie partie, at your said towne of Calis, made at his coming into your notable presence at Windsor, all the suasions and colour, all motions in the most apparant wise that he could, to induce your highnesse to your agrement, to the desires of your capitall aduersaries, as I saw there in your noble presence of his writing, at which time (as I vnderstood) it was his singular opinion, that is to saie: that you should leave your right, your title, and your honour of your crowne, and nomination of you king of France, during certeine yeares, & that you should utterlie absteine you and be content onelle in writing, with *Rex Anglia, &c.* to the great note of infamie that ever fell to you or anie of your noble progenitours, since the taking of them first, the said title and right of your realme and crowne of France. To which matter in your presence there, after that it had liked your said highnesse, to aske mine aduise therevpon, with other of your blood and counsell: I answered and said, that I would neuer agre me thereto to die therfore, and of the same disposition I am yet, and will be while I live in conseruation of your honour, and of your oth made vnto your said crowne, in time of your coronation there.

17 Item, the said cardinall and archbishop of Yorke, haue so laboured vnto your highnesse, that you should intend to a new daie of convention, in March or Aprill next comming, where it is noised to be more against your worship than with it. And where it was euident to all the world, that the rupture and breaking of the said peace, should haue fallen heretofore, of your aduersie partie; because of

the great vntruths. Note by that meanes it is like peradventure to be laid vnto the verie great slander of you my redoubted lord, like to come to none other purpose nor effect, than other conuersions haue done afore time: and so by subtilties and counsell of your said enemies, your land (they in hope and trust of the said treatie) not mightilie nor puissantlie purchased for) shall be like vnder the colour of the same treatie to be burnt vp and destroyed, lost, and bitterlie turned from your obasance.

18 Item it is said, that the deliuerance of the said duke of Gloucestre, is bitterlie appointed by the mediation, counsell, and stirring of the said cardinall and archbishop of Yorke; and for that cause diuerse persons beane come from your aduersaries, into this your realme, and the said duke also brought to your citie of London, where as my lord your father (whom God assoile) perising so greatlie the inconueniencies, and harme that might fall, onlie by his deliuerance, concluded, ordeined, and determined in his last will, bitterlie in his wisdome, his conquest in his realme of France. And yet then it is to be done, by as great deliberation, solemnitie and suertie, as may be deuised or thought. And seeing now the disposition of your realme of France, the puissance and might of your enemies, and what aid they haue gotten against you there, aswell vnder the colour of the said treatie, as otherwise; what may or ought to be thought or said, for that laboring the said duke (all things considered) by such particular persons, the lords of your blood not called therevnto, I reposit me vnto your noble grace and excellencie, and vnto the said wise true men of this your realme.

19 Item, where that euerie true counsellor, speciallie vnto ante king or prince, ought of truth and of dutie, to counsell, promote, increase, prefer, and aduance the weale and prosperitie of his lord: the said cardinall, being of your counsell (my right doubted lord) hath late purchased of your highnesse, certeine great lands and liuelode: as the castell and lordship of Chirke in Wales, and other lands in this your realme; vnto which I was called suddenly, and so in eschewing the breaking and losse of your armies then againe, seeing none other remedie, gaue therevnto mine assent, thinking that who that euer laboured moued or stirred the matter first vnto your lordship, counselled you neither for your worship nor profit.

20 More, the said cardinall hath you bound a part, to make him a sure estate of all the said lands, by Easter next coming, as could be deuised by ante learned counsell; or else that suertie not made, the said cardinall to haue and reioy to him, and his heirs for euermore, the lands of the duchie of Lancaster, in Dorsethe, to the value of seven or eight hundred marks by yeare. Which thing seemeth right strange and vnseene, and vnhard waies of ante liege man, to seke vpon his soueraigne lord, both in his inheritance and in his iewels and goods. For it is thought, but if right and extream necessitie caused it, there should, nor ought no such things to be done: from which necessitie God (for his mercie) euer preserve your noble person. Wherefore my redoubted lord, seeing that ye should be so counselled, or stirred to leaue your crowne and inheritance in England; and also by fraud and subtil meanes, as is afore rehearsed, so to lose your iewels: in my truth and in mine acquit all (as me seemeth) I may not nor ought not counsell so great an hurt to you and to all your land.

21 Item, it is not vnknown to you my right doubted lord how oftentimes I haue offered my seruice, to and for the defense of your realme of France, and duchie of Normandie, where I haue bene put thereto by the labour of the said cardinall, in prefer-

ring other after his singular affection: which hath caused a great part of the said duchie of Normandie, aswell as of your realme of France to be lost; as it is well known. And what good (my right doubted lord) was lost on that account as thus last sent this ther, with the epistle of Poyntignac, your counsell of France, hath well & clerele declared to your highnesse here before.

22 Item, my right doubted lord, it is not vnknown, that it had not bene possible to the said cardinall, to haue come to his great riches, but by such meanes, for of his church it might not rise, and inheritance he had none. Wherefore my right doubted lord, sith there is great god behouefull at this time, for the weale and safeguard of your realmes, the poertie, necessitie, & indigence of your liege people; in highnesse vnderstand, like it vnto your noble grace, to consider the said lurre of the said cardinall, and the great receipts that you be receiued in by the labour of him & of the archbishop, aswell in this your realme as in your realme of France and duchie of Normandie, where neither office, liuelode, nor capteine may be had, without to great god given vnto him, whereby a great part of all the losse that is lost, they haue bene the causers of; for who that would giue most, his was the price, not considering the merits, seruice, nor sufficiency of persons. Furthermore, it is greatlie to be considered, how, when the said cardinall had forfeited all his goods, because of prouision, as the statute therevpon more plainelie declareth; by hauing the rule of you my right doubted lord, purchased himselfe in great defraudation of your highnesse, a charter of pardon, the which god and it had be well gouerned, might manie yeares haue suffeined your warres, without ante tallage of your poze people.

23 Item, my redoubted lord, whereas I wrote much thing for the weale of you and of your realmes, peradventure some will saie and vnderstand, that I would or haue written by waie of accoment of all your counsell, which God knoweth, I do not: for your highnesse may well see, that I name them that be causers of the said inordinate rule. Wherefore, considering that the said cardinall and archbishop of Yorke beane they, that pretend the gouernance of you, and of your realmes and lordships: please it vnto your highnesse, of your right toffenesse to estrange them of your counsell, to that intent, that men may be at their freedom, to say what they thinke of truth.

24 For truth, I dare speake of my truth, the poze dare not do so. And if the cardinall and the archbishop of Yorke, may afterward declare themselves, of that is, and shalbe said of them; you my right doubted lord may then restore them againe to your counsell, at your noble pleasure.

When the king had heard the accusations thus laid by the duke of Gloucester against the cardinall, he committed the examination thereof to his counsell, whereof the more part were spirituall persons; so that what for feare, and what for fauour, the matter was winked at, and nothing said to it: onelie faire countenance was made to the duke, as though no malice had bene conceived against him. But venem will breake out, & inward grudge will some appeare, which was this yeare to all men apparant: for diuers secret attempts were aduanced forward this season against this noble man Humfries duke of Gloucester a far off, which in conclusion came so nere, that they bereft him both of life and land; as shall hereafter more plainelie appeere.

For first this yeare, dame Cleane Cobham, wife to the said duke, was accused of treason; for that she by sorcerie and inchantment intended to destroye the king, to the intent to aduance his husband vnto the crowne.





The earle of  
Arminack  
daughter affi-  
ed unto king  
Henrie.

The earle with  
his ladie, his  
sonne and two  
daughters  
taken.

Abr. Fl. ex  
Fabian. 441.

A law against  
buying and  
selling on the  
sabbath.

Abr. Fl. ex  
Fabian. 441.  
& Polychr.

Pauls stee-  
ple burnt.

Anno Reg. 22.

The diet at  
Tours for a  
peace to be  
had betwene  
England and  
France.

buttillie kept, and in longfullie withhelden them.

This offer seemed so profitable and also hono-  
rable to king Henrie and the realme, that the ambassa-  
dours were well heard, honourable received, and  
with rewards sent home into their countie. After  
whome were sent for the conclusion of the marriage  
into Gtten, sir Edward Hull, sir Robert Ros, and  
John Cralton deane of S. Severines, the which (as  
all the chronographers agree) both concluded the ma-  
riage, and by protest affied the young ladie. The French  
king not a little offended herewith, sent his eldest  
sonne Lewis the Dolphin of Venne into Rouergue  
with a puissant armie, which toke the earle and his  
youngest sonne, with both his daughters, and by force  
obtained the countie of Arminack, Louvergne,  
Rouergue, and Spoulesonots, beside the cities So-  
uerac & Cadoc, chasing the bastard of Arminack  
out of his countie, and so by reason hereof, the con-  
cluded marriage was deferred, and that so long that  
it neuer toke effect; as hereafter it may appeare.

In this yeare was an act made by authoritie of  
the common counsell of London, that upon the son-  
daye no manner of thing within the franchises and li-  
berties of the said citie should be bought or sold; nei-  
ther vittells nor other thing. It was also enacted by  
the same common counsell with full consent, and ra-  
tified by the authoritie of the law-makers, that no  
artificer or handicrafts man should bring his wares,  
commodities, or woxke, unto any person or persons  
to be woxne or occupied on that daye: because it was  
tuged a foule profanation thereof. And peoples  
minds given to countousnesse, make no exception of  
times or places in a case of advantage and gaine. In  
consideration whereof, and for the suppressing of this  
abuse, this law was ordeined and made: the force  
whereof did principallie extend to tailors and sho-  
makers (who as on that daye bring home their gar-  
ments and shoes to the parties for whome they are  
made) and likewise to all other occupations and  
trades. But this ordinance (saith mine author) was  
too good for so bad an age, and therefore died within a  
short time after the magistrate had given it life.

On Candlemasse daye this yeare by lightning in a  
tempest that fell with claps of thunder at afternone,  
Pauls steeple was set on fier in the midst of the  
square or shaft in the berle timber woxke; which was  
quenched by the painfulnesse of diuerse persons, and  
specialle by the diligent labour of a priest of Boto  
in Cheape. Howbeit the same was thought impossi-  
ble to be quenched, but that the grace of God was  
chefe worker in the same. This steeple hath diuerse  
times bene ouerthrowne and defaced, partlie by  
winds, and partlie by lightning, as may be obserued  
in the reading of this volume: yea when the same  
hath bene repaired by the choicest workemen, and  
of the substantiallest stiffe, and all meanes (that stand  
with the deepe deuise of man) used to make it so sure  
that it might continue, as a monument of perpetui-  
tie for posteritie to wonder at and admire. But to re-  
turne to the historie.

Whilest England was vniquieted (as you haue  
heard) and France by spoile, slaughter, and burning  
fore defaced (a mischefe in all places much lamen-  
ted) therefore to agree the two puissant kings, all the  
princes of christendome travelled so effectually by  
their oratours and ambassadors, that a diet was  
appointed to be kept at the citie of Tours in Tou-  
raine; where for the king of England appeared Wil-  
liam de la Pole earle of Suffolke, doctor Adam Spo-  
lins keeper of the kings priuie seale, also sir Robert  
Ros, and diuers other. And for the French king were  
appointed Charles duke of Orleans, Lewis de  
Bourbon earle of Wandosme, great maister of the  
French kings household, Piers de Bresse steward

of Poulton, and Bertram Beaman lord of Bessie  
signie.

There were also sent other ambassadors from  
the emper, from Spaine, from Denmarke, & from  
Hungarie to be mediators betwixt the two prin-  
ces. The assemble was great, but the cost was much  
greater, inasmuch that euery part for the honour of  
their prince, who praise of their countie, set forth  
themselves, as well in face as apparell, to the bitter  
most. Spaine's meetings were had, and many things  
moued for a small peace; but in conclusion, by reason  
of many doubts which rose on both parties, no full  
concord could be agreed upon; but in hope to come to  
a peace, a certayne truce, as well by sea as by land,  
was concluded by the commissioners for eightene  
moneths, which afterward againe was prolonged to  
the yeare of our Lord 1449.

In treating of this truce, the earle of Suffolke  
adventuring somewhat upon his commission, with-  
out the assent of his associates, imagined, that the next  
waie to come to a perfect peace, was to contriue a  
marriage betwene the French kings kinselooman,  
the ladie Margaret daughter to Keiner duke of An-  
iou, and his soveraigne lord king Henrie. This Kei-  
ner duke of Anion named himselfe king of Sicill,  
Naples, and Ierusalem, hauing onlie the name and  
title of those realmes; without any penie, profit, or  
foot of possession. This marriage was made strange  
to the earle at the first, and one thing seemed to be a  
great hinderance to it; which was, because the king  
of England occupied a great part of the duchie of  
Anion, and the whole countie of Spaine, appertaining  
(as was alledged) to king Keiner.

The earle of Suffolke (I cannot saie) either cor-  
rupted with bribes, or too much affectioned to this un-  
profitable marriage, condescended, that the duchie of  
Anion and the countie of Spaine should be delivered  
to the king the brides father, demanding for his mari-  
age neither penie nor farthing: as who would saie,  
that this new affinitie passed all riches, and excelled  
both gold and pretious stones. And to the intent that  
of this truce might issue a small concord, a daie of  
enterewe was appointed betwene the two kings  
in a place convenient betwene Chartres and Rome.  
When these things were concluded, the earle of Sul-  
folke with his companie returned into England,  
where he forgot not to declare what an honourable  
truce he had taken, out of the which there was a  
great hope that a small peace might growe the sooner  
for that honorable marriage, which he had concluded,  
omitting nothing that might extoll and set forth  
the personage of the ladie, or the nobilitie of her  
kinred.

But although this marriage pleased the king and  
diuerse of his counsell, yet Humfrie duke of Glou-  
ster protector of the realme was much against it, al-  
ledging that it should be both contrarie to the lawes  
of God, and dishonorable to the prince, if he should  
breaks that promise and contract of marriage, made  
by ambassadors sufficientlie thereto intrusted,  
with the daughter of the earle of Arminack, upon  
conditions both to him and his realme, as much pro-  
fitable as honorable. But the dukes words could not  
be heard, for the earles doings were onelie liked and  
allowed. So that for performance of the conclusions,  
the French king sent the earle of Wandosme, great  
maister of his house, and the archbishop of Reims  
first peer of France, and diuerse other into Eng-  
land, where they were honorable received; and after  
that the instruments were once sealed and deliue-  
red on both parts, the said ambassadors returned  
againe into their countie with great gifts and re-  
wards.

When these things were done, the king both for  
honour

Anno Reg. 23.  
1445

Margaret  
daughter to  
Keiner duke of  
Sicill & Je-  
rusalem mari-  
ed to Henrie  
the sixt.  
Abr. Fl. ex  
Polychron.

The protest  
made by the  
second count  
of the kings  
marriage.

An ominous  
marriage.

Creations of  
dukes.

honour of his realme, and to assure to himselfe mo  
friends, created John Holland earle of Huntington  
duke of Excester as his father was: Humfre earle  
of Stafford was made duke of Buckingham: and  
Henrie earle of Marwike was cleated to the title  
of duke of Marwike, to whome the king also gaue  
the castell of Wyntowe, with the Ile of Jerneiseie, and  
Carneseie. Also the earle of Suffolke was made  
marquesse of Suffolke, which marquesse with his  
wife and manie honorable personages of men and  
women richlie adorne both with apparell & iewels,  
hauing with them manie coslie chariots and goz-  
geous hoisters, sailed into France for the conuei-  
ance of the nominated queene into the realme of  
England. For king Keiner hir father, for all his  
long stile had to shoot a purre to send his daughter  
honorable to the king hir spouse.

This noble companie came to the citie of Tours  
in Touraine, where they were honorable receiued  
both of the French king and of the king of Sicill.  
The marquesse of Suffolke as procurator to king  
Henrie, espoused the said ladie in the church of saint  
Spartins. At the which marriage were present the fa-  
ther and mother of the bzide; the French king him-  
selfe, which was uncle to the husband; and the French  
queene also, which was aunt to the wife. There were  
also the dukes of Milance, of Calabze, of Alanson,  
and of Britaine, leauen earls, twelue barons, twen-  
tie bishops, beside knights and gentlemen. When the  
feast, triumph, bankets and iusts were ended, the la-  
die was deliuered to the marquesse, who in great e-  
state conueied hir through Normandie vnto Diepe,  
and so transported hir into England, where she lan-  
ded at Poxtemouth in the moneth of Aprill. This la-  
die excelled all other, as well in beautie and fauour,  
as in wit and policie, and was of stomach and cou-  
rage more like to a man than a woman.

Margaret  
daughter to  
Henrie 8. of  
Sicill & Je-  
rusalem mar-  
ried to Henrie  
the sixt.  
An. R. ex  
Polychron.

Shortlie after hir arriual, she was conueied to  
the towne of Southwike in Hamshire, where she  
with all nuptiall ceremonies was coupled in matri-  
monie to king Henrie the sixt of that name. ¶ On  
the eighteenth of Maie she came to London, all the  
lords of England in most sumptuous sort meeting  
and receiuing hir vpon the waie, and speciallie the  
duke of Glocester with such honour as stood with the  
dignitie of his person. Now when she came to  
Blackheath, the maiors, aldermen, and men of occu-  
pations, in blew gownes imbroidered with some de-  
uise, expresting their art and trades whereby to be  
knowne, did all shew themselves, with congratula-  
tion of hir comming; from whence they attended  
hir to London, where with goodlie pageants and sun-  
drie gallant historicall shewes in diuers places erec-  
ted, she was verie magnificallie welcomed. The ma-  
ner and order of which pompe in sundrie places exhi-  
bited to the high honour of the king, queene, & states,  
is verie ampie set forth by Fabian, pag. 423. 424,  
425, 426, 427. Upon the thirtieth of Maie next fol-  
lowing, she was crowned queene of this realme of  
England at Westminster, with all the solemnitie  
thereto appertaining.]

Thomas  
marriage.

This marriage seemed to manie both infortunate  
and vnprofitable to the realme of England, and that  
for manie causes. First, the king had not one penie  
with hir; and for the fetching of hir, the marquesse of  
Suffolke demanded a whole fifteenth in open parle-  
ment. And also there was deliuered for hir the duchie  
of Anion, the citie of Mans, and the whole countie of  
Paine, which countries were the verie states and  
backstays to the duchie of Normandie. And fur-  
thermore, the earle of Arminacke toke such displea-  
sure with the king of England for this marriage, that  
he became vtter enimie to the crowne of England,  
and was the cheefe cause that the Englishmen were

expelled out of the whole duchie of Aquitaine.

But most of all it should seme, that God was  
displeased with this marriage: for after the confir-  
mation thereof, the kings friends fell from him, both  
in England and in France, the lords of his realme  
fell at diuision, and the commons rebelled in such  
sort, that finally after manie fields foughten, and  
manie thousands of men slaine, the king at length  
was deposed, and his sonne killed, and this queene  
sent home againe, with as much miserie and sorow  
as she was receiued with pompe and triumph: such  
is the instabilitie of worldly felicitie, and so wauc-  
ring is false flattering fortune. Which mutation and  
change of the better for the worse could not but net-  
tle and sting hir with pensiuenesse, yea and anie other  
person whatsoeuer, that hauing bene in good estate,  
falleth into the contrarie: thereto the saying of the  
poet giueth credit, in these fewe words following;

*Quem res plus nimio delectauere secunda,  
Mutata quatunt.*

Onid. 2. de art.

This yeare, after the decesse of Henrie Chicheleie  
archbishop of Canturburie, succeeded John Stafford  
in that see, being translated from Bath and Wells.  
He was the threescore and one archbishop, as Poly-  
dor noteth. During the time of the truce, Richard  
duke of Yorke and diuerse other capitens repaired  
into England, both to visit their wiues, children, and  
friends, and also to consult what should be done, if  
the truce ended. For the which cause a parlement  
was called, in the which it was especiallie concluded,  
that by good foresight Normandie might be so furni-  
shed for defense before the end of the truce, that the  
French king should take no aduantage through  
want of timelie prouision: for it was knowne, that  
if a peace were not concluded, the French king did  
prepare to imploie his whole puissance to make open  
warre. Here vpon monie was granted, an armie le-  
uiued, and the duke of Summerfet appointed to be re-  
gent of Normandie, and the duke of Yorke thereof  
discharged.

Anno Reg. 24.

I 4 4 6

The duke of  
Summerfet  
made regent  
of Normandie,  
and the duke  
of Yorke dis-  
charged.

I haue scene in a register booke belonging some  
time to the abbey of saint Albons, that the duke of  
Yorke was established regent of France, after  
the decesse of the duke of Bedford, to continue in  
that office for the tearme of five yeares; which being  
expired, he returned home, and was iustfullie receiued  
of the king with thanks for his good seruice, as he  
had full well deserved in time of that his gouerne-  
ment: and further, that now when a new regent  
was to be chosen and sent ouer, to abide vpon safe-  
gard of the countries beyond the seas as yet subiect  
to the English dominion, the said duke of Yorke  
was estones (as a man most meet to supplie that  
roune) appointed to go ouer againe, as regent of  
France with all his former allowances.

The duke of  
Yorke appoin-  
ted to charge  
againe.

But the duke of Summerfet still maligning the  
duke of Yorkes aduancement, as he had sought to  
hinder his dispatch at the first when he was sent ouer  
to be regent, as before we haue heard: he likewise  
now wrought so, that the king reuoked his grant  
made to the duke of Yorke for enioieng of that office  
the terme of other five yerres, and with helpe of Wil-  
liam marquesse of Suffolke obtained that grant for  
himselfe. Which malicious beling the duke of Yorke  
might so euill beare, that in the end the heate of dis-  
pleasure burst out into such a flame, as consumed at  
length not onelie both those two noble personages,  
but also manie thousands of others, though in diuers  
times and seasons, as in places hereafter (as occasion  
serueth) it shall more euidentlie appeare. But now to  
returne to the parlement.

The appoint-  
ment disappoint-  
ed, and point-  
ed to the mar-  
quesse of  
Suffolke.

The marques of Suffolke, supposing all men had  
as well liked his doings (during the time of his le-  
gation in France) as himselfe, the second daie of

The marques  
of Suffolks  
request.

June

use to  
the.

444.

referred  
to the  
motion  
king's  
is.

June in the first session of this parlement, in the higher house openlie, eloquentlie, and boldlie declared his paine, trauell, and diligence sustained in his said legation, as well for the taking and concluding an abstinence of warre, as in the making of the marriage; remembriing them also that the said truce expired the first of Aprill next, except a small peace, or a further truce were concluded in the meane season: and therefore he advised them to provide and foresee things necessarie for the warre (as though no concord should succeed) least happlie the Frenchmen perceiving them unprouided, would take their advantage, and agree neither to peace nor amitie; saying vnto them further, that sith he had admonished the king and them according to his dutie, if anie thing happened otherwise than well, he was thereof innocent and guiltlesse, and had acquitted himselfe like a true and loving subiect, and a faithfull counsellour, praieng the lords to haue it in remembrance.

Likewise on the morow after, he descended into the common house, accompanied with certeine lords, and there declared the same matter to the knights, citizens, and burgesse, praieng the commons for his discharge, that as well all his doings and proceedings in the kings affaires beyond the sea, as also his aduertisement and counsell opened to the lords and commons now together assembled, might be by the king and them inacted and inrolled in the records of the parlement. Whereupon the next daie after, the speaker William Burghleie, and the companie of the lower house, repaired vnto the kings presence, sitting amongst the lords of the upper house, & there humbly required that the request of the marquess might be granted. And so likewise the lords made the like petition kneeling on their knees, in somuch that the king condescended to their desires: and so the labours, demeanours, diligences, and declarations of the said marquess, together with the desires not onelie of the lords, but also of the commons, as well for the honour of him and his posteritie, as for his acquittal and discharge, were inacted and inrolled in the records of the parlement.

The marquess of Suffolk, cheif in favour and authority with the king and queene.

By the queenes meanes shortly after also was the said marquess advanced so in authority, that he ruled the king at his pleasure, and to his high preferment obtained the wardships both of the bodie and lands of the countesse of Warwike, and of the ladie Margaret sole heire to John duke of Summerset, which ladie was afterward mother to king Henrie the seventh: and besides that, caused the king to create John de Foix, sonne vnto Gaston de Foix, earle of Longuile, and the Capdau de Beuse earle of Kendall, which John had married his niece, and by his procurement the king elected to the order of the garter the said Gaston, and John his sonne, giuing to the sonne towards the maintenance of his degree, lands and castels, amounting to the summe of one thousand pounds, which lands, name, and stile the issue and line of the said earle of Kendall at this daie haue and enioy.

These things being thus in doing, the French king, seeing that the towne of Mans was not deliuered according to the appointment taken by force of the marriage, raised an armie for to recover the same. Whereof the king of England being aduertised (least the breach of the truce should come by him) caused the towne to be deliuered without anie force.

A commotion in Norwich.

This yeare was a great commotion in Norwich against the prior of the place. At length the citizens opened the gates to the duke of Suffolke, who came thither to appeale the matter, though at the first they would not suffer him to enter. The cheefe offenders were (according to their demerits) greuously punished and executed, and the malor was discharged of

his office, and sir John Clifton was made gouernour there, vntill the king had restored the citizens to their ancient liberties. This commotion was begun for certeine new exactions which the prior claimed and took of the citizens, contrarie to their ancient freedom. But herein a wrong taken for getting of right was worthilie corrected.

In the foure and twentieth yeare of this kings reigne, the prior of Allmaine appeached the earle of Diamond of treason. For triall whereof the place of combat was assigned in Smithfield, & the barriers for the same there readie pitcht. Howbeit, in the meane time a doctor of diuinitie, named master Gilbert Worthington, parson of saint Andrews in Holborne, and other honest men, made such sute with diligent labour and paines-taking to the kings counsell, that when the daie of combat approached, the quarrell was taken into the kings hands, and there ended. In the same yeare also, a certeine armourer was appeached of treason by a seruant of his owne. For proofe whereof a daie was giuen them to fight in Smithfield, in somuch that in consist the said armourer was overcome and slaine; but yet by misgouerning of himselfe. For on the morow, when he should come to the field fresh and fasting, his neighbours came to him, and gaue him wine and strong drinke in such excessiue sort, that he was therewith disempered, and reeled as he went, and so was slaine without guilt. As for the false seruant, he liued not long unpunished, for being conuict of felonie in court of assise, he was iudged to be hanged, and so was at Tiburne.

Whilste the warres betwene the two nations of England & France ceased (by occasion of the truce) the minds of men were not so quiet, but that such as were bent to malicious reuenge, sought to compass their preperised purpose, not against foren foes and enemies of their countrie, but against their owne countrie men, and those that had deserued verie well of the common-wealth: and this speciallie for ouermuch mildnesse in the king, who by his authority might haue ruled both parts, and ordered all differences betwixt them, but that in deed he was thought to loost for gouernor of a kingdome. The queene contrarywise, a ladie of great wit, and no lesse courage, desirous of honour, and furnished with the gifts of reason, policie, and wisdom; but yet sometime according to hir kind) when she had bene fullie bent on a matter, suddenlie like a weather cocke, mutable and turning.

This ladie disdaining that hir husband should be ruled rather than rule, could not abide that the duke of Gloucester should do all things concerning the order of weightie affaires, least it might be said, that she had neither wit nor stomack, which would permit and suffer hir husband being of most perfect age, like a yong pupill to be gouerned by the direction of an other man. Although this toy entered first into hir braine thorough hir owne imagination, yet was she pricked forward to the matter both by such of hir husbands counsell, as of long time had borne malice to the duke for his plainnesse vsed in declaring their vntrusth (as partlie ye haue heard) and also by counsell from king Reiner hir father, aduising that she and the king should take vpon them the rule of the realme, and not to be kept vnder, as wards and mastered orphans.

What needeth manie words: The queene persuaded by these meanes, first of all excluded the duke of Gloucester from all rule and gouernance, not prohibiting such as she knew to be his mostall foes to inuent and imagine causes and greifs against him and his, in somuch that by hir procurement, diuerse noble men conspired against him. Of the which diuerse workes

The liberties of the citizens seized into the kings hands. Inuention to reforme sayings.

Abolition of the barriers. Polychron. Combats in cases of appeals touching treason.

Dumkenesse the cause of rash and marish.

The duke of Gloucester was a man of a great heart.

Edw. Hall

The description of the queene.

Pardon of spynch.

Dukes of Gloucester and Somerset.

W. P.

The queene talked thus with the gentlemen and nobles of the court.

The libertie  
of Henrich  
seized into the  
kings hands.  
In which  
meanes  
to reforme  
swornings.

Abr. H. ex  
Fabian. 343.  
Polychron.  
Combats in  
cases of ap-  
peales tou-  
ching treason.

Dunkene-  
nesse the over-  
throw of right  
and manhood.

Anno Reg. 25.

The descrip-  
tion of the  
queene.

London at  
the death.

Death of  
the duke of  
Gloucester.

The queene  
taken upon  
the 30th  
of November.  
and dischar-  
ged the duke  
of Gloucester.

The saint  
quell pulled  
to the duke of  
Gloucester.

1447  
A parliament  
at Glou-  
cestre.

The duke of  
Gloucester  
died.

Edw. Hall.

London at  
the death.

Death of  
the duke of  
Gloucester.

ters affirme the marquesse of Suffolke, and the duke of Buckingham to be the cheefe, not vnprocured by the cardinall of Winchester, and the archbishop of York. Diuerse articles were laid against him in open counsell, and in especiall one; That he had caused men abidged to die, to be put to other execution, than the law of the land assigned. Where the duke verie well learned in the law ciuill, detecting male factors, and punishing offenses in severitie of iustice, gat him hatred of such as feared condigne reward for their wicked doings. And although the duke sufficientlie answered to all things against him objected: yet because his death was determined, his wisdom and innocencie nothing auailed.

But to avoid danger of tumult that might be raised, if a prince so well beloued of the people should be openly executed; his enemies determined to worke their feats in his destruction, yet he should haue anie warning. For effecting thereof, a parliament was summoned to be kept at Berrie, whither resorted all the peers of the realme, and amongst them the duke of Gloucester; which on the second daie of the session was by the lord Beaumont, then high constable of England, accompanied with the duke of Buckingham, and others, arrested, apprehended, and put in ward, and all his seruants sequestred from him, and thirtie two of the cheefe of his retinue were sent to diuerse prisons, to the great admiration of the people. The duke the night after he was thus committed to prison, being the foure and twentieth of Februarie, was found dead in his bed, and his bodie shewed to the lords and commons, as though he had died of a palsey, or of an impossme.

But all indifferent persons (as saith Hall) might well vnderstand that he died of some violent death. Some iudged him to be strangled, some affirme that an hot spit was put in at his fundament, other write that he was smothered betwene two featherbeds, and some haue affirmed that he died of verie grace, for that he might not come openlie to his answer. His dead corpe was conueied to saint Albons, and there buried. After his death, none of his seruants suffered: although sue of them, to wit, sir Roger Chamberline knight, Middleton, Herbert, Arlesse equiers, and Richard Bedham gentleman, were arrested, condemned, and drawn to Aboine, where they were hanged, let downe quicke, and striped to haue bene bowelled and quartered; but the marques of Suffolke coming at that instant brought their pardons, shewed the same openlie, and so their liues were saued.

Some thinke that the name and title of Gloucester hath bene vnluckie to diuerse, which for their honours haue bene erected by creation of princes to that title and dignitie, as Hugh Spenser, Thomas of Woodstocke, sonne to king Edward the third, and this duke Humfreie: which three persons by miserable death finished their daies; and after them king Richard the third also duke of Gloucester in ciuill warre layme. So that this name duke of Gloucester is taken for an unhappie title, as the proverbe speaketh of Spensers hofse, whose rider was euer vnholled, & whose possessor was euer brought to miserie. But suerlie, by the pittifull death of this noble duke and politike gouernour, the publicke wealth of the realme came to great decaye, as by sequelle here may more at large appeare.

[Of times it hapneth that a man in quenching of smoke, burneth his fingers in the fire:] so the queene in casting how to keepe hit husband in honor, and hir selfe in authoritie, in making auaice of this noble man, brought that to passe, which he had most cause to haue feared, which was the depositing of hir husband, & the decaye of the house of Lancaster, which of

likelihood had not chanced if this duke had liued: for then durst not the duke of York haue attempted to set forth his title to the crowne, as he afterwards did, to the great trouble of the realme, and destruction of king Henrie, and of manie other noble men beside. This is the opinion of men, but Gods iudgements are vnsearchable, against whose decre and ordinance preuaileth no humane counsell.

But to conclude of this noble duke: he was an vpright and politike gouernour, bending all his induers to the aduancement of the common-wealth, verie loving to the poore commons, and so beloued of them againe; learned, wise, full of courtesie, void of pride and ambition (a vertue rare in personages of such high estate) but where it is most commendable. But sith the praise of this noble man deserueth a large discourse, and meet for such as haue cunning how to handle the same (sith the ornaments of his mind were both rare & admirable, the feats of chualrie by him commended and atchieued, balliant and fortunate, his grauitie in counsell, and soundnesse of policie profound and singular, all which with a traine of other excellent properties linked together, requires a man of manifold gifts to aduance them according to their dignitie) I refer the readers vnto maister Foxes booke of Acts and Monuments. Onelie this I ad, that in respect of his noble indowments, and his demerit full of decencie, which he daile bled, it seemeth he might well haue giuen this prettie poesie,

*Virtute duce non sanguine nitor.*

In this six and twentieth yeare of the reigne of this king, but in the first of the rule of the queene, I find nothing done worthy of reherfall within the realme of England; but that the marquesse of Suffolke, by great fauour of the king, & more desire of the queene, was created to the title and dignitie of duke of Suffolke, which he a short time intoted. For Richard duke of York being greatly allied by his wife to the cheefe peers and potentates of the realme, beside his owne progenie, perceiuing the king to be no ruler, but the whole burthen of the realme to rest in direction of the queene, & the duke of Suffolke, began secretlie to allure his friends of the nobilitie; and princelie declared vnto them his title and right to the crowne, and likewise did he to certeine wise gouernours of diuerse cities and towne. Which attempt was so politikelie handled, and so secretlie kept, that prouision to his purpose was ready, before his purpose was openlie published; and his friends opened themselves, yet the contrarie part could them espye: for in conclusion all hostlie in mischief burst out as ye may hereafter heare.

During these doings, Henrie Beauford bishop of Winchester, and called the rich cardinall, departed out of this world, & buried at Westmister. He was son to John Duke of Lancaster, descended of an honorable linage, but bozne in hast, more noble in blood than notable in learning, haucie in stomack, and high of countenance, rich aboue measure, but not verie liberall, disdainfull to his kin, and deadly to his louers, preferring monie before friendship, manie things beginning and few performing, sating in malice and mischief; his insatiable couetousnesse and hope of long life made him both to forget God, his prince, and himselfe. Of the getting of his goods both by power legantine, and spiritual lberie, I will not speake; but the keeping of them, which he chiefelie gathered for ambitious purpose, was both great losse to his naturall prince and native countrie: for his hidden riches might haue well holpen the king, and his secret treasure might haue relieved the communitie, when monie was scant and charges great.

[Of this catholike clerke such were the deeds, . W. R. that

Anno Reg. 26.

Marquesse of  
Suffolke  
made duke.

The duke of  
York temper-  
ing about his  
title to the  
crowne.

The death of  
the bishop of  
Winchester &  
his description.

1448



Lib. 23. that with king and ech estate else (saith Polydor) the lighter was the losse, because as for his hat he was a pcelate poud enough, so for a bishop was there a better some set in his roome. One William Batin, son and heire to Richard his father, and eldest brother to John that decessed deane of Chichester, and to Richard that liued and died at Basso in Derbishyre. This William was a person by parentage bozne a gentleman, for vertue and learning first consecrate bishop of Winchester, then anon after for wisdome and integritie chosen lord chancelloz of England: wherein his pudence made eminent, in warlike weilding the weight of that office at those daies, which were so dangerous for all estates to liue in.

This vertuous disposition was right apparant, and it were but by this the godlie erection of that worthe woake, Aggadolene college in Wydow, a plot right aptlie chosen out for studie at first, with strength and workemanship (one after builded according, in proportion beautifull outward, and for vse berie commodious within), foisted into a faire mansion for the president, seuerall and meet for a man to that office of worship and grauitie, and also into other roames for the fellows, officers, and yonger students. Not without a vertuous remembzance of the berie seru- derlings, who might appeare to be toward and ready- able; whereof part to be trained vp in the diuine sci- ence of musike inslie reported in a disquisition, that

*Gaudia si superum res sit mortalibus ulla,*

*Integra quæ referat; musica sola refert:*

the vse of it commendable seruing by sweet harmonie to praise God in church, and for delectable recreation to a gentlemanlie mind any where else: and part of these young ones to be taught the grammar in a faire schole well appointed therefore, out of which as out of a nurserie of it shone, for supplement certeine to keepe full the number, these budlings at need from time to time to be dulle bestied and dwtien.

Poſto ſomewhat in caſſing vpon this deuout man  
 deuſe and compaſſe; to conſider the companie of  
 ſtudents there, that in ſeueral ſciences and ſundry  
 profeſſions are not a few; then their aſſigned ſtudie  
 and exerciſes in them, their ſteps in riſing & reward  
 for diligence, from the loweſt logician to the higheſt  
 degrees of doctrine in ſchools, their officers in houſe,  
 their orders for gouernance in maners, in ſafeſeard  
 of health and helpe in ſickneſſe: and that chiefeſt is,  
 the reuenues certtine for pouillon & maintenance  
 of all, it may be a queſtion not eaſie to anſwer: whe-  
 ther at firſt in this founders meditation vpon ſuch a  
 too; he were a mind more magnifike, or a more am-  
 plitude of abſtite after in ſo abſolute a ſorme to per-  
 forme it, or eſſe a proſounder ſolledome for perpetu-  
 itie into ſo perfect an order in all points to haue fir it.

It was a fashion at those daies, long ago afore, & since, from a learned spirituall man to take awaite the fathers surname (were it neuer so woorthipfull or ancient) and giue him for: it the name of the towne he was borne in: and so was Richard Pottingham a learned siter minoꝛite in king Edward the seconds daies called of Pottingham where he was borne; John Clinie a learned monke in those daies also, named of an Iland where in he was borne nie Gloucester; of Barton in Lincolnshire one William Barton in Richard the seconds reigne; for that time famous doctoꝛ and chancelloꝛ of Orford; Walter Disle, of Disle in Suffolke a learned Carmelite siter, confessor to the duke and duchesse of Lancaster in king Henrie the fourths reigne; Richard Hampole of a towne in Yorkeshire, a sclus doctoꝛ, and after a ver-  
tuous heremit in king Henrie the firs daies.

And after this sort manie hundreds more that had their names so altered; as euen in like maner vnto this reuerend prelat in the prime of his towardnesse

was changed his fathers surname Paten to Walin-  
fleet of the towne where hee was bozne in Lin-  
colneſhire : a matter right proueable aſwell by the  
records of the houſe there exiant, as by a faire deed re-  
maining among other his proper evidences, in the  
hands of the worſhipfull maſter Thomas Fanſhawe  
eſquier, the quenes maieſties remembꝛancer in  
the chequer at Weſtminiſter. And as the names  
of Germin, German, Germi, are but for: one name  
though diuerſlie twiſſed, and all to remember Ger-  
manie, the countrie their anceſſors came from; and  
alſo as Iute, Iud, and Chute, are all but for the  
race of Iutes, one of the thre firſt German nations  
that came in with Hoꝛuſus and Hengiſt; and Caltrap,  
Caltrap and Calthroꝝ was all but for Calothroꝝ (that  
ſignifieth a cold towne) how euer it be otherwiſe twi-  
ed: euen fo Paten, Patin, Patten, oꝝ Patent, is but  
a mention of the old Saron name, that trulie at firſt  
was Patan; of Pate, the ſole of the foot, and thereof  
Patan to ſignifie flat ſoled, as among the Latines  
they were called Plautus oꝝ Plancus: ſo Cicero of a  
cliche oꝝ tare; ꝑaſones, Labones and Labieni,  
well noſed and lipt; ꝑ manie moze after that ſett in  
manie tonges elſe fo deriued.

That right manie students skilfull in the profoundest sciences and learned tonges, manie venerable clerks, who in most weightie causes with singular wisdomme, successe and faith, haue setured their prince and countrie this college hath brought forth: hereto that manie toward wits it still to haue, hath had the good hap (which happilie yet too it dooth retaine) may here with modestie a litle be touched, neither to comparison that were contentious folie, nor yet to seke glozie that cannot be but vaine, but onlie in storie to mind, how vnto purposes vertuouslie deuised and wilselie pursued, Gods goodnesse alwaies giueth dayning and thrist according.

In this seven and twentieth yeare of king Hen-  
 ries reigne, as witnesse the English chronicles, a  
 knight of France called sir Lewes de Beuill chal-  
 lenged an equiter of England, named Kae Chal-  
 lons, to triall of certeine feats of warre. Hereupon  
 (as was thought convenient) a date was appointed  
 them to make proue thereof: the place also was assig-  
 ned of their meeting, to wit, at a towne in France  
 called Spaunt or Spauce, where the French king at  
 the same time was personallie present. But fortune  
 (saith mine author) was to Challons for favourable,  
 and leaniest to much to his side, that he ran the French  
 knight through with the point of his fatalle speare:

The Englishesquier, seeing the infortunate event of this trial, to fall to the shame of the challenger, was so far from relieving at his overthrow, that he was touched with christian compassion, & moored for his enemie, for whom also he kept an obsequie as if he had bene his owne naturall brother, and descended of the same parents. For which mercifull motions of mind inwardlie working, and outwardlie appearing, he was of the king gratelie commended. But doubtfull it is, whether the other, if he had lived, and got the upper hand, would haue had the like reverend care of the Englishmans dead bodie, as to haue vouchsafed it a solemne interment.]

As the assailed in France now were neither well  
looked to, nor the governours there well advised, an  
English capitaine called sir Francis Suriennez, sur-  
named the Aragonois, of the countrie where he was  
borne, a man for his wit and activitie admitted into  
the order of the garter, took by scaling suddenlie in  
the night of the euen of our ladie daie in Lent, a  
towne on the frontiers of Normandie, belonging to  
the duke of Brittain called Fougiers, spoiling the  
same, and killing the inhabitants. The duke of

n. 1447.

william, tran-  
sacted bishop of  
Winchester,  
lord chamber-  
layn, founder  
of Wyndesore  
college in  
1213.

An. Dom. 448  
Malmesbury.

Abt. Fl. ex  
Fabian. 447.

A combat by  
on trial of  
manhood be-  
twene a  
French and  
an English  
man.

The compar-  
ison of the  
Englishman  
to his enemy.

Anno Reg. 15.

Sir Francis  
Bourchier.

Fougiers.

An. Reg. 27.

tainie, being hereof aduertised, sent word by the bi-  
shop of Meines to the French king, beseeching him  
of his aid and counsell in the matter.

The French king forthwith sent his caruer John  
Hauart, and John Cosinct one of the masters of his  
requests to the king of England: and to the duke of  
Sommerfet he dispatched Peter de Fontaines the  
master of his horse. To which messengers answer  
was made aswell by the king as the duke, that the  
fact was done without their knowledge. And for the  
truce to be kept, and not onelie restitution, but also  
amends to be made to the duke of Britaine, a daie of  
diet was appointed to be kept at Louiers, where the  
commissioners on both parts being assembled, the  
frenchmen demanded amends, with no small re-  
compense. The Englishmen answered, that without  
offense, nothing by iustice ought to be satisfied; affir-  
ming the doing of sir Francis Sureinnes to be one-  
lie his act, without consent either of the king of Eng-  
land, or of the duke of Sommerfet his lieutenant  
and regent.

Pont de Larch  
taken by the  
frenchmen by  
a subtil  
dought.

But whiles with long delate they talked of this  
matter at Louiers, certeine Frenchmen by aduer-  
tisement of a wagoner of Louiers, vnderstanding  
that the towne of Pont de Larch was but slenderlie  
manned; the wagoner laded his wagon and passed  
for ward, hauing in his companie two strong barlets  
clad like carpentars, with great ares on their shoul-  
ders. And hereto ie seigneur de Bessle with a chosen  
companie of men of armes, lodged himselfe in am-  
bushment nere to the gate of S. Andrezew, and cap-  
taine Floquet, accompanied with sir James de Cle-  
remont, and another great companie priuilie lurked  
vnder a wood toward Louiers. When all things  
were appointed for the purpose, earlie in a morning  
about the beginning of October, the wagoner came  
to the gate, and called the porter by name, praiesing  
him to open the gate, that he might passe to Rone,  
and returne againe the same night.

The porter (which well knew the voice of his custo-  
mer) took little heed to the other two companions,  
and so opened the one gate, and sent another fellow  
of his to open the foremost gate. When the chariot  
was on the draw-bridge betwene both the gates, the  
chariot-master gaue the porter monie, and for the  
nonce let one peece fall on the ground: and while the  
porter stooped to take it vp, the wagoner with his  
dagger stroke him in at his throat, so that he cried  
for no helpe, and the two great lubbers slue the other  
porters, and with their ares cut the aretre of the  
wagon, so that the draw-bridge could not be shortly  
drawen vp. This done they made a signe to captainie  
Floquet, which with all speed entered the towne, slue  
and took all the Englishmen: and amongst other, the  
lord Fauconbridge capitaine of the said towne was  
taken prisoner. The losse of this place was of no  
small importance, being the verie heie and passage  
ouer the riuier of Seine, from France into Nor-  
mandie, being distant from Rone onelie foure lea-  
gues.

When request was made to haue it restored a-  
gaine to the Englishmen, answer was made, that if  
they restored, to the duke of Britaine, the towne  
of Fougiers with condigne amends for the dama-  
ges done there, the towne of Pont de Larch should  
then be againe deliuered, or else not. And shortly af-  
ter, in hope of like successe the French king assem-  
bled an armie, and diuiding the same in thre parts,  
got by surrender (after sundrie assaults, and losse of  
diuerse of his men) the townes of Louiers, & Ger-  
bozie, whereof William Harper was capitaine. Also  
the towne, castell, and great tower of Verneuill in  
Perch were rendered into the French kings hands,  
after twentie daies of respite granted, to see if rescues

would haue come. The French writers affirme the  
towne to be taken by assault.

Thus was the warre renewed before the terme of  
truce fullie expired, & the English captaine brought  
to their wiits end, what with appealing daile romoies  
within the townes; and what with studie how to re-  
couer castels lost and taken: for while they studied  
how to keepe and defend one place, foure or fise other  
turned to the French part. The chiefe cause of which  
renolting was, for that it was blowen abroad tho-  
rough France, how the realme of England, after the  
death of the duke of Glocester by the seuerall facti-  
ons of princes was diuided in two parts; and that  
William de la Pole latelie created duke of Suff-  
olke, and diuerse other, which were the occasion of the  
said duke of Glocesters death, vered and oppressed the  
poore people, so that mens minds were not intente  
to outward affaires: but all their studie giuen to  
keepe off wrongs offered at home.

The king little regarding the matter, & the queene  
led by euill counsell, rather furthered such mischiefes  
as daile began to grow by ciuill discords, than sought  
to reforme them: so that the Normans and Gas-  
coignes vnderstanding in what state things stood  
here, turned to the French part, as hereafter it may  
appeare. About the same time also, began a new re-  
bellion in Ireland, but Richard duke of Yorke being  
sent thither to appease the same, so alluaged the furie  
of the wild and sauage people there, that he wan him  
such fauour amongst them, as could neuer be separa-  
ted from him and his linage, which in the sequelle of  
this historie may more plainelie appeare.

The Frenchmen, hauing perfect vnderstanding  
of the vncertainesse of the realme of England, dis-  
played their banners, and set forth their armies, and  
in short space got (by yeelding) Constance, Cisors, ca-  
stell Galliard, Pontean de Here, saint Lo, Je-  
stampe, Petucastell, Tonque, Pauleon, Argenton,  
Liffieur, and diuerse other townes and places within  
the countrie of Normandie. Likewise in Guien  
was the towne of Paulillon rendered to the earle  
of Fois. These townes were not yeilded voluntari-  
lie by the English souldiers: but they were com-  
pelled thereto by the inhabitants of the townes, which  
hauing intelligence of the feeble estate of the realme  
of England, rose against the captaine, opened the  
gates to the enemies, or constrained them to render  
upon composition. By which inforcement was the  
rich citie of Rone deliuered: for suerlie the duke of  
Sommerfet and the earle of Shrewsburie had well  
kept that citie, if they had bene no more vered with  
the citizens, than they were with their enemies.

For after that the French king had giuen sum-  
mons to the citie, the inhabitants straightwaies  
did not onelie deulie which waie they might betraie  
the citie, but also put on armor, and rebelled openlie  
against their captaine: who perceiuing the vntruth of  
them, and their owne danger, retired into the castell  
or palace, where (for a certeine space) with arrowes  
& handguns they sore molested the vntreue citizens.  
But at length, vnderstanding the great puissance of  
the French king at hand, and despairing of all aid  
and succour, they yeilded upon condition; that with  
all their goods and armour they should safelie depart  
to Caen, and that certeine townes should be deliue-  
red by a day. And till the same townes were rendered,  
the earle of Shrewsburie and the lord Butler, sonne  
to the earle of Ormond, were left behind as pledges,  
which were sent to the castell of Cursur, because they  
sore feared the malice of the citizens of Rone.

The Frenchmen, following the successe in hand,  
came to Harfue, and fiercelie assaulted the walles:  
but by the high prowesse and vndanted valiance of  
the capitaine, sir Thomas Curson, they were to their  
D. D. J. great

The warres  
renewed before  
the end of the  
truce.

A rebellion in  
Ireland.

The English  
lose all in  
France.

Rone yeilded  
to the French  
men.

Harfue be-  
sieged.  
Sir Thomas  
Curson.

Warlike paid-  
bed to the  
French.

Anno Reg. 28.

1450

Sir Thomas  
Kiriell with a  
new band in-  
to France.

The English  
men over-  
throwne at  
Fornigine.

\*Dz rather  
Goche.

Caen besieged  
and yielded  
to the French.

great losse manfullie by him repelled, and beaten. The frenchmen learning wit by this great perill, lest their scaling, and deuised daillie how to batter the walles, & make the breaches reasonable for them to enter. This siege long continued to the great losse of both parties. When sir Thomas Curslon saw no likelihood of gaine, but great apperance of present losse, he fell at composition with the enemies, and so departed with all his goods. After which towne rendered, the fortreffe of Hundine was vpon like composition yielded. And beside these townes surrendered in Normandie, the duke of Britaine recovered a gaine Fougiers, saint James de Beuron, and diuerse other.

In the meane season the king of England sent into Normandie (with a new supplie of a thousand five hundred men) a right valiant capitaine called sir Thomas Kiriell, who joining himselfe with other English captains recovered the townes of Lisieux and Falongnes, and having with him power sufficient (as he took it) to keepe the fields, he departed the twelue of Aprill from Falongnes, meaning to passe towards Baieur, and after to Caen. But the eighteenth daile of the same moneth, he was incountered at a place called Fornigine betwixt Carenten and Baieur, by the earle of Cleremont, & other frenchmen with Scots. At the first onset, the Englishmen received their enemies with such manhood, that the frenchmen were driuen backe, and the Englishmen took from them two culuerings.

But yet in the end, by the coming of the constable of France, Arthur de Britaine earle of Richmond, who brought with him two hundred or twelue score men of armes, and an eight hundred archers or demilances, the Englishmen were discomfited, put to flight, and slaine, to the number of three thousand, seauen hundred, three score and thirtene, as Enguerrant noteth, beside prisoners, of whome there were diuerse personages of accompt, as the said sir Thomas Kiriell himselfe, sir Henrie Bozberie, sir Thomas Dreyt, sir Thomas Kirkie, Christopher Auberton, Arpell, Helice, Alengour, Jennerquin, Macquier, Gobart, Calenille, and sundrie other. Sir Robert Wier, and sir Wathew Gough that valiant Welshman, and manie other escaped so well as they might, some to Baieur, some to Caen, and other to other places as best they could.

After this overthrow obtained, the french king assembled an armie roiall, and coming before Caen, besieged it on all sides: and after making his approaches, fiercelie assailed the walles. But the duke of Summerfet, and the other captains within the towne, manfullie withstood their enemies, shewing both force and great policie in defending and beating backe the assailants. The french king, perceiving he could not preuaile that waie, sent for all his great ordinance to Paris, which being brought, he daillie shot at the wals, and did some hurt: but to the castell which stood on a rocke, and in it a dungeon unable to be beaten downe, he did no harme at all.

Though the duke of Summerfet was the kings lieutenant, yet sir David Hall, as capitaine of this towne for his maister the duke of Poike owner thereof, took vpon him the chiefe charge. Sir Robert Wier was capitaine of the castell, and sir Henrie Radford capitaine of the dungeon. Daillie the shot was great, but more terrible than hurtfull: sauing on a daie a stone shot into the towne, fell betwene the chiefe of Summerfet, and his children, which being amazed with this chance, besought his husband kneeling on his knees, to haue mercie and compassion of his small infants, and that they might be deliuered out of the towne in safegard. Which intretie made with teares and submission, what care could but listen to,

what heart but yerne at; unlesse both care and heart were made of flint or marble, or betwen out of a hard rocke, and so void of all passions, of all remorse, of all affections belonging to humanitie.

The duke pitifull, moued with the sorow of his wife, and loue of his children, rendered the towne against the mind of sir David Hall, whose counsell and faithfull diligence (in acquitting himselfe to answer the trust committed to him by his maister) if others had followed; the french had sustained more trauell and losse, yet they should haue so easilie attained their purpose. The conditions of the surrender were, that the duke of Summerfet and his might depart in safegard with all their goods and substance. Sir David Hall with diuerse of his trustie friends departed to Chierburgh, and from thence sailed into Ireland to the duke of Poike, making relation to him of all these doings, which thing kindled so great a rancoz in the dukes heart and stomach, that he neuer left persecuting the duke of Summerfet, untill he had brought him to his fatall end & confusion. Such is the nature of rancoz and malice, of wrath and anger, which furthereth the hands even of weaklings, on them to weake their teene, with whom they are offended & pricked to reuengment, as the poet saith:

*Quislibet infirmas adiuvat ira manus.*

After the obtaining of Caen, the earle of Clermont besieged the citie of Lisieux, whereof was capitaine Wathew Gough with three hundred Englishmen, who in the end deliuered that towne, vpon condition, that he and his people might depart to Chierburgh. Then was Falais besieged, whereof were captains for the earle of Shrewsburie (that was the owner) Andrew Trollop, and Thomas Cotton esquires, who being in despaire of all succors, agreed to deliuer it vpon two conditions. The one was, that the earle their maister, which remained in pledge for the performance of certeine appointments, concluded at the deliuerie of Rone (as ye haue hard) should be set at libertie. The other, that if they were not rescued within twelue daies, that then they and theirs should depart with armoz, and all their goods movable, whither it pleased them.

At the daie appointed, the towne was rendered, and so likewise was the towne of Dampfront vpon the semblable agreement. Now rested onelie English the towne of Chierburgh, whereof was capitaine one Thomas Conulle, which suerlie as long as bitels and munition serued, defended the towne right manfullie: but without hope of repaire, consumed, and he els destitute of all comfort and aid, vpon a reasonable composition, yielded the towne, and went to Calis, where the duke of Summerfet and manie other Englishmen then sojourned. Thus was Normandie lost clarelie out of the Englishmens hands, which after it had continued in their possession the space of thirtie yeares by the conquest of Henrie the sixt.

In this duchie were an hundred strong townes and fortresses, able to be kept and holden, beside them which were destroyed by the warres; and in the same is one archbishopricke, and six bishoprics. Some saie that the Englishmen were not of puissance either to man the townes, as they should haue bene; or to inhabit the countrie, which was the cause they could not keepe it. Other saie, that the duke of Summerfet for his owne peculiar lucre, kept not halfe the number of soldiers for which he was appointed and allowed, but put the wages in his purse. But the chiefe and onelie cause vndoubtedlie, was the diuision within the realme, euerie great man desiring rather to be reuenged on his foe at home, than on the common enemy abroad, as by that which followeth you may plainelie perceiue.

[For whilest the french thus triumphed in Normandie,

The troubles  
caused here  
betweene the  
two dukes.

The commons  
exclaim a-  
gainst the duke  
of Suffolke.

The parliament  
admonished  
London to  
receiue, and  
from thence to  
wellminster.

Edw. Hall.

The duke  
off.

The causes  
of the war.

The manner  
mischiefes of  
malice and  
diuision in a  
realme.

Anno Reg. 28.  
W. R.

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Anno Reg. 28.  
W. P.

The commons  
releas  
a  
gamb  
the duke  
of Suffolke.

The parliament  
adourned fr  
London to  
Blackfriars,  
and  
from thence to  
Westminster.

Edw. Hall.

mandie, three cruell enmities among manie (as by ci-  
uill warre and sedition insuing appeared) soze bigged  
the bitter ruine of this reame at home. One was pre-  
sumption in gouernance, by some that were most vn-  
met to rule, as the queene with hir priuie counsel-  
lo:rs and minions; then the deable malice and pride,  
with insatiable couetise in the states both spirituall  
and tempozall: and lastlie the generall grudge of the  
people, for the vniuersall smart that through misgo-  
uernment euerie where they suffered; who thus for-  
ueried with the pisse of burthens too heauie for them  
anie longer to beare.]

Where with perceiving how (through want of pro-  
udent wisdom in the gouernour) all things went  
to wacke, as well within the realme as without;  
they began to make exclamation against the duke of  
Suffolke, charging him to be the onelie cause of the  
deliuerie of Anion, and Paine, the cheefe procuroz  
of the duke of Glocesters death, the verie occasion  
of the losse of Poymandie, the swallower vp of the  
kings treasure, the remouer of god and vertuous  
councillours from about the pzinze, and the aduan-  
cer of vicious persons, and of such as by their doings  
shewed the miselues apparant aduersaries to the com-  
mon wealth.

The queene hereat doubting not onelie the dukes  
destruction, but also hir owne confusion, caused the  
parlement before begun at the Blackfriars, to be ad-  
iourned to Leicester, thinking there, by force and ri-  
go: of law, to suppress and subdue all the malice and  
euill will conceiued against the duke & hir. At which  
place few of the nobilitie would appeare: wherefore  
it was againe adiourned to Westminster, where  
was a full appearance. In the which session the com-  
mons of the nether house put vp to the king and the  
lords manie articles of treason, mispzinon, and euill  
demeanor, against the duke of Suffolke: the effect  
whereof with his answers here insue.

#### Articles proponed by the commons against the duke of Suffolke.



First they alleged that he had trai-  
tozouslie excited, prouoked, and  
counsellid John earle of Dunois  
bastard of France, Bertram lord  
Presigne, William Cossinet, en-  
mies to the king, and friends  
ambassadors to Charles, calling himselfe French  
king, to enter into this realme; and to leaue warre  
against the king and his people, to the intent to de-  
stroye the king and his friends, and to make John  
his sonne king of this realme, marteng him to Mar-  
garet, sole heire to John duke of Summerfet, pre-  
tending and declaring hir to be next heire inherita-  
ble to the crowne, for lacke of issue, of the kings bo-  
die lawfullie begotten.

Item, the said duke, being of the kings priuie  
and nere counsell, allured by great rewards and  
faire promises, made by the said earle of Dunois,  
caused the king to deliuer and set at libertie, Charles  
duke of Orleans, enemie to the king, and the kings  
noble father: which deliuerance was prohibited by ex-  
presse words, in the last will of the kings most victo-  
rious father.

Item, that before the departing of the said duke  
of Orleans, the aforesaid duke of Suffolke trai-  
tozouslie fast cleauing to Charles called the French  
king, counsellid, prouoked, and intised the said duke  
of Orleans, to moue the same king to make warre  
against England, both in France and Poymandie.  
According to which procurement & counsell, the said  
French king hath recovered the whole realme of

France, and all the duchie of Poymandie, and taken  
prisoners the earle of Arkelburie, the lord Fau-  
conbridge, and manie other valiant captiues. These  
three articles aforesaid he denied, either for fact or  
thought.]

Further it was alleged, that he being am-  
bassador for the king of England, to Charles cal-  
ling himselfe the French king, promised to Kether  
king of Sicill, and to Charles d'Angiers his bro-  
ther, enmies to the king, the release of Anion, with  
the deliuerance of the countie of Paine, and the citie  
of Pount o: Pans, without the knowledge of the  
other ambassadors with him accompanied. Which  
promise, after his returne, he caused to be performed,  
to the kings disinheritaunce and losse irrecoverable,  
and to the strength of his enmities, and establishment  
of the duchie of Poymandie. To this article he an-  
swered, that his commission was to conclude, and do  
all things according to his discretion, for the obtai-  
ning of a peace: & because without deliuerie of those  
countrie, he perceived that the truce could not be  
obtained, he agreed to the release and deliuerance of  
them.]

Also they had great cause to iudge by the se-  
quele, that the said duke being in France in the  
kings seruice, and one of the priuie of his counsell  
there, traitozouslie declared and opened to the cap-  
teins and conductors of warre, appertaining to the  
kings enmies, the kings counsell, puruiance of  
his armies, furniture of his towne, & all other ordi-  
nances, whereby the kings enmies (instructed afoze-  
hand by his traitozous information) haue gotten  
townes and fortresses, and the king by that meanes  
deprived of his inheritance.

Item, the said duke declared to the earle of  
Dunois, to the lord Presigne, and William Coss-  
net ambassadors for the French king lieng in Lon-  
don, the priuies of the kings counsell, both for the  
prouision of further warre, and also for the defense  
of the duchie of Poymandie: by the disclosing where-  
of, the Frenchmen knowing the king secrets, defea-  
ted the kings appointments, and they obtained their  
purpose.

Item, that the said duke, at such time as the  
king sent ambassadors to the French king, for the  
intreating of peace, traitozouslie before their com-  
ming to the French court, certified king Charles of  
their commission, authoritie, and instructions: by rea-  
son thereof, neither peace nor amitie succeeded, and  
the kings inheritance lost, and by his enmities pos-  
sessed.

Item, the same duke said openlie in the Star-  
chamber before the lords of the counsell, that he had  
as high a place in the counsell-house of the French  
king, as he had there: and was as well trusted there  
as here, and could reioyne from the French king the  
priuies of his counsell, if he would.

Item, when armies haue bene prepared, and  
souldiers readie to passe ouer the sea, to deale  
with the kings enmies: the said duke, corrupted by  
rewards of the French king, hath restrained & staied  
the said armies to passe anie further.

Item, the said duke being ambassador for  
the king, compisled not in the league (as the kings  
alies) neither the king of Aragon, neither the duke  
of Britaine: but suffered them to be compisled on  
the contrarie part. By reason whereof, the old amitie  
of the k. of Aragon is estranged from this realme,  
and the duke of Britaine became enemie to the  
same: Ciles his brother, the kings sure friend, cast in  
strong prison, and there like to end his daies.]

All these objections he bitterlie denied; or faintlie  
auoided: but none fullie excused. Diuerse other  
crimes

crimes were laid to his charge, as enriching himselfe with the kings goods and lands, gathering together and making a monopolie of offices, fees, wards, and farmes, by reason whereof, the kings estate was greatly diminished and decayed, and he and his kin highly exalted & enriched: with manie other points, which because they be not notable nor of great force or strength, I omit and ouerpasse.

The duke of  
Suffolke com-  
mitted to the  
Tower.

Blackheard  
capitaine of  
the rebels.

The quene, which intierly loued the duke, doubting some commotion and trouble to arise, if he were let go unpunished, caused him for a colour to be committed to the Tower: where he remained not past a moneth, but was againe deliuered and restored to the kings fauour, as much as euer he was before. This doing so much displeased the people, that if politike prouision had not bene, great mischefe had immediately ensued. For the commons in sundrie places of the realme assembled together in great companies, and chose to them a capteine, whome they called Blackheard: but yet they had attempted anie enterprise, their leaders were apprehended; & so the matter pacified without anie hurt committed.

After this outrage thus alluaged, the parlement was adiourned to Leicester, whither came the king and quene in great estate, and with them the duke of Suffolke as chiefe counsellour. The commons of the lower house, not forgetting their old grudge, besought the king, that such persons as assented to the release of Anson, and deliuerance of Haine, might be duly punished. And to be proue to that fact, they accused as principall, the duke of Suffolke, with John bishop of Saltsburie, and sir James Fines, lord Saie, and diuerse others. When the king perceived that there was no remedie to appease the peoples furie by anie colourable waies, shortlie to pacifie so long an hatred, he first sequestred the lord Saie being treasurer of England, and other the dukes adherents from their offices and homes, and after banished the duke of Suffolke, as the abhorred rone and common noiance of the whole realme, for tearme of five yeares, meaning by this exile to appease the malice of the people for the time, and after (when the matter should be forgotten) to reuoke him home againe.

The fore-  
told death of  
the duke of  
Suffolke.

But Gods iustice would not that so ingratiuous a person should so escape: for when he shipped in Suffolke, intending to transport himselfe ouer into France, he was encountered with a ship of warre, appertaining to the duke of Excester, constable of the Tower of London, called the Nicholas of the Tower. The capteine of that barke with small fight entered into the dukes ship, and perceiving his person present, brought him to Dover road, and there on the one side of a cocke bote caused his head to be stricken off, and left his bodie with the head lying there on the sands. Wherby corps being there found by a chapleine of his, was conuied to Wingham colledge in Suffolke, and there buried. This end had William de la Pole duke of Suffolke, as men iudge by Gods prouidence; for that he had procured the death of that good duke of Gloucester, as before is partly touched.

Jacke Cade  
rebellion in  
Kent.

Some after an other disquiet befell here. Those that favoured the duke of Suffolke, and wished the crowne upon his head, for that (as they iudged) he had more right thereto than he that waied it, procured a commotion in Kent on this manner. A certeine young man of a goodlie stature and right pregnant of wit, was intitled to take upon him the name of John Mortimer cousin to the duke of Suffolke (although his name was John Cade, or (of some) John Gend-all) [an Irishman as Polychronicon saith] and not for a small policie, thinking by that surname, that those which favoured the house of the earle of March would

be assiant to him. And so in deed it came to passe (as in such cases there is no breeder of a hoile but he shall find adherents enow), no lesse forward to further his pernicious enterprise by their solehardines, than himselfe was in the plot of his deuise (though in fine (as it is the unluckie lot of such tumults) their attempts were withstood, and their offense duly rewarded, as in proceffe of the storie shall more at large appeare; according to the wisemens sentence;

*Sape in magistrum celerā redeunt sua.*

This capteine assembling a great companie of tall personages, assured them, that the enterprise which he toke in hand, was both honourable to God and the king, and profitable to the whole realme. For if either by force or policie they might get the king and quene into their hands, he would cause them to be honourable vied, and take such order for the punishing and reforming of the misdeameanours of their bad counsellours, that neither sickness should hereafter be demanded, nor once anie impositions or taxes be spoken of. The which people moued at these persuasions & other faire promises of reformation, in good order of battell (though not in great number) came with their capteine vnto the plaine of Blackheath, betwene Eltham and Crayke, and there kept the field more than a month, pillaging the countie about; to whome the citie of London at that time was verie fauourable. And the said capteine (as I find recorded saith Iohn Stow) sent for such citizens of London as it pleased him to command to repaire vnto him, vnder letters of safe conduct, as followeth.

The safegard and signe manuell of the  
capteine of Kent, sent to Thomas Cocke draper  
of London, by the capteine of the great  
assemble in Kent.

**B**y this our writing insealed, we grant & will permit trulie, that Thomas Cocke of London draper, shall come in good libertie and in safegard to our presence, without anie hurt of his person; and so auoid from vs againe at his pleasure, with all other persons assigned at his denomination with him comming in likewise.

The commandement by the capteine  
of Kent, sent vnto Thomas Cocke  
aboue said.

**I**n your instruction, first ye shall charge all Lumbards and strangers, being merchants, Genoais, Venetians, Florentines, and others, this daie to draw them together, and to ordeine for vs the capteine, twelue harnessed complet of the best fashion, foure & twentieth brigandins, twelue battell axes, twelue glaues, six hoes with sadle and bridle complete harnessed, and a thousand markes of readie monie. And if this our demand be not obserued & done, we shall haue the heads of as manie as we can get of them.

And to the intent the cause of this glorious capteins comming thither, might be shadowed vnder a cloke of good meaning (though his intent nothing so) he sent vnto the king an humble supplication, affirming that his comming was not against his grace,

Abt. Fl. ex  
1. 5. 654, 655,  
656, 657, &c.

Abt. Fl. ex  
1. 5. 653.



but against such of his counsellours, as were louers of themselves, and oppressors of the poore common-  
 ric; flatterers of the king, and enemies to his hono-  
 r; suckers of his purse, and robbers of his subjects;  
 partall to their friends, and extreme to their en-  
 emies: thorough bribes corrupted, and for indifferen-  
 cie doing nothing. ¶ Here, because a full report of  
 this insurrection maie passe to the knowledge of the  
 readers; it is necessarie to set downe the articles of  
 the commons complaints touching the premisses,  
 thereof a copie was sent to the parlement then hol-  
 den at Westmynster, with their bill of requests con-  
 cerning abuses to be reformed.

Fl. ex  
 1. 4. 555.  
 117. 617. 618.

The complaint of the commons of  
 Kent, and causes of their assemblie  
 on the Blackheath.

**I**pprimis, it is openlie noised that Kent  
 should be destroyed with a rotall power,  
 & made a wild forrest, for the death of the  
 duke of Suffolke, of which the commons  
 be wient thereof were neuer gilty.

2 Item, the king is stirred to lye onelie on his  
 commons, and other men to haue the reuenues of  
 the crowne, the which hath caused pouertie in his ex-  
 cellencie, and great painments of the people, now  
 late to the king granted in his parlement.

3 Item, that the lords of his rotall bloud bene  
 put first in his daillie presence, and other meane per-  
 sons of lower nature exalted and made chiefe of his  
 priuie counsell, the which stoppeth matters of wrongs  
 done in the realme from his excellent audience, and  
 maie not be redressed as law will; but if bybes and  
 gifts be messengers to the hands of the said coun-  
 cell.

4 Item, the people of this realme be not paid of  
 debts owing for stufte and puruiance taken to the  
 vse of the kings household, in vndowing of the said peo-  
 ple, and the poore commons of the realme.

5 Item, the kings mentall seruants of household,  
 and other persons, asken daillie goods and lands, of  
 impeached or indicted of treason, the which the king  
 granteth anon, yer they so indangered be consulted.  
 The which causeth the receiuers thereof to inforce la-  
 bours and meanes applied to the death of such people,  
 so impeached or indicted, by subtil meanes, for coue-  
 nise of the said grants: and the people so impeached or  
 indicted, though it be vnttrue, maie not be committed  
 to the law for their deliuerance, but held still in pri-  
 son, to their vttermost vndowing & destruction, for coue-  
 nise of goods.

6 Item, though diuerse of the poore people and  
 commons of the realme, haue neuer so great right,  
 truth, and perfect title to their land: yet by vnttrue  
 claime of infeoffement made vnto diuerse states,  
 gentles, and the kings mentall seruants in mainte-  
 nances against the right, the true owners dare not  
 hold, claime, nor pursue their right.

7 Item, it is noised by common voices, that the  
 kings lands in France bene aliened and put alwaie  
 from the crowne, and his lords and people there de-  
 stroied with vnttrue meanes of treason; of which it is  
 desired, inquiries thorough all the realme to be made  
 how and by whome; & if such traitors maie be found  
 gilty, them to haue execution of law without ante  
 pardon, in example of others.

8 Item, collectors of the fifteenth penie in  
 Kent be greatlie vexed and hurt, in paieng great  
 summes of monie in the exchequer, to sue out a writ  
 called *Quorum nomina*, for the allowance of the barons  
 of the ports, which now is desired, that hereafter in  
 the lieu of the collectors, the barons aforesaid maie

sue it out for their ease at their owne costs.

9 Item, the thiriffes and vnderthiriffes let to  
 farme their offices and bailiwikes, taking great  
 suertie therefore, the which causeth extorsions done by  
 them and by their bailiffes to the people.

10 Item, simple and poore people that vse not  
 hunting, be greatlie oppressed by indictments feined  
 & done by the said thiriffes, vnderthiriffes, bailiffes,  
 and other of their assent, to cause their increase for  
 paieng of their said farme.

11 Item, they retorne in names of inquests in  
 writting into diuerse courts of the king not summa-  
 ned nor warned, where through the people daillie lese  
 great summes of monie, well nigh to the vttermost  
 of their vndowing: and make leuie of amercedments  
 called the greene toar, more in summes of monie  
 than can be found due of record in the kings books.

12 Item, the ministers of the court of Wener in  
 Kent ber and arrest diuerse people thorough all the  
 shire out of Castle ward, passing their bounds and li-  
 bertie used of old time, by diuerse subtil and vnttrue  
 meanes and actions falselie feined, taking great fees  
 at their lust in great hurt of the people on all the  
 shire of Kent.

13 Item, the people of the said shire of Kent,  
 maie not haue their free election in the choosing of  
 knights of the shire: but letters bene sent from di-  
 uerse estates to the great rulers of all the countrie,  
 the which imbrace their tenants and other people by  
 force to chose other persons than the commons will is.

14 Item, whereas knights of the shire should  
 chose the kings collectors indifferently without any  
 bybe taking, they haue sent now late to diuerse per-  
 sons, nottifying them to be collectors: whereupon gifts  
 and bybes be taken, & to the collectors office is bought  
 and sold extortionously at the knights lust.

15 Item, the people be sore vexed in costs and  
 labour, called to the sessions of peace in the said  
 shire, appearing from the furthest and vttermost part  
 of the west vnto the east; the which causeth to some  
 men, sue dates iournie: whereupon they desire the  
 said appearance to be diuided into two parts; the  
 which one part, to appeare in one place; an other part,  
 in an other place; in releuing of the graunances and  
 intolerable labours & verations of the said people.

The requests by the capteine of the  
 great assemblie in Kent.

**I**pprimis, desireth the capteine of the  
 commons, the welfare of our soueraigne  
 our lord the king, and all his true lords spiri-  
 tuall and temporall, desiring of our said  
 soueraigne lord, and of all the true lords of his coun-  
 cell, he to take in all his demaines, that he maie  
 reigne like a king rotall, according as he is borne  
 our true and christian king annointed: and who so  
 will saie the contrarie, we all will liue and die in the  
 quarell as his true liege men.

Item, desireth the said capteine, that he will auoid  
 all the false progente and assintie of the duke of Suff-  
 folke, the which bene openlie knowne, and they to be  
 punished after the custome and law of this land, and  
 to take about his noble person the true lords of his  
 rotall bloud of this his realme, that is to saie, the high  
 and mightie prince the duke of Poerke, late exiled  
 from our said soueraigne lords presence (by the mo-  
 tion and stirring of the traitorous and false disposed  
 the duke of Suffolke and his assintie) and the mightie  
 princes & dukes of Excester, Buckingham, and  
 Dorffolke, and all the earles and barons of this land:  
 and then shall he be the richest king christian.

Item, desireth the said capteine and commons  
 punishment vnto the false traitors, the which contri-  
 bued

ued and imagined the death of the high, mightfull and excellent pynce the duke of Gloucester, the which is to much to reherce; the which duke was proclaimed as traitor. Upon the which quarrell, we purpose all to live and die vpon that that it is false.

Item, the duke of Creffer, our holie father the cardinall, the noble pynce the duke of Warwicke, and also the realme of France, the duchie of Normandie, Gascoigne, and Guien, Anjou, and Spaine, were deliuered and lost by the meanes of the said traitors; and our true lords, knights, and esquires, and manie a good peoman lost and sold per they went, the which is grea t pite to heare, of the great and grauous losse to our soueraigne lord and his realme.

Item, desireth the said capteine and commons, that all extorsions plded daillie among the common people, might be laid doone, that is to saie, the greene war, the which is falselie plded, to the perpetuall destruction of the kings true commons of Kent. Also the kings Bench, the which is to greesefull to the kyte of Kent, without prouision of our soueraigne lord and his true counsell. And also in taking of wheat and other graines, beefe, mutton, & all other vittels, the which is impossible to the said commons, without the byesse prouision of our said soueraigne lord and his true counsell, they maie no longer beare it. And also vnto the statute of labourers, and the great extorsioners, the which is to saie the false traitors, Sleg, Cromer, Ale, and Robert Ck.

These billes when the counsell had well perused, they did not onelie disallow and condemne them and the authors, as proud and presumptuous; but also persuaded the king rather to suppress those rebels by force, than by faire promises. Whereupon the king remoued from Westminster vnto Cheneuich, from whence he would haue sent certeine lords with a ppyer to haue distressed the Kentishmen, but the men said to their lords they would not fight against them that laboured to amend the common-weale: wherefore the lords were driuen to leaue their purpose. And because the Kentishmen cried out against the lord Saie the kings chamberline, he was by the king committed to the Tower of London. Then went the king againe to London, & within two daies after went against the Kentishmen with sixtene thousand men well prepared for the war: but the said Kentishmen fled the night before his comming into the wood countrie nere vnto Senocke. Whereupon the king returned againe to London.

The quene (that bare rule) being of his retraits aduertised, sent sir Humfreie Stafford knight, and William his brother, with manie other gentlemen, to follow the Kentishmen, thinking that they had fled: but they were deceived, for at the first skirmish both the Staffords were slaine, & all their companie discomfited. The kings armie by this time comen to Blackheath, hearing of this discomfite, began to murmur amongst themselves: some wishing the duke of York to come to aid the capteine his coufine: some vndisfultie coueting the ouerthrow of the king and his counsell: other openlie crying out on the quene and hir complices.

This rumour published abroad, caused the king and certeine of his counsell (for the appealing thereof) to commit the lord Saie treasuroz of England to the Tower of London; and if other (against whome like displeasure was borne) had bene present, they had bene likewise committed. Jacke Cade vpon vicorie against the Staffords, apparelled himselfe in sir Humfries biggambine set full of guilt nailes, and so in some glorie returned againe toward London; diuers idle and vagarant persons out of Suffre, Surrie and other places, still increasing his number.

Thus this glorious capteine, garded with a multitude of rusticall people, came againe to the plaine of Blackheath, & there stronglie incamped himselfe: to whome were sent from the king, the archbishop of Canturburie, and Humfreie duke of Buckingham, to common with him of his graces and requests.

These lords found him sober in talke, wise in reasoning, arrogant in hart, and stiffe in opinion; as who that by no means would grant to dissolue his armie, except the king in person would come to him, and assent to the things he would require. The is, vpon the presumptuous answers & requests of this villanous rebell, beginning atinuch to doubt his owne meniall seruants, as his vnknotwen subiects (which spared not to speake, that the capteins cause was profitable for the common-weale) departed in all hast to the castell of Killingworth in Warwicksheire, leauing onlie behind him the lord Scales to keepe the Tower of London. The Kentish capteine being aduertised of the kings absence, came first into Southwarke, and there lodged at the white hart, prohibiting to all his retinue, murder, rape, and robbrie; by which colour of well meaning, he the more allured to him the harts of the common people.

After that, he entred into London, cut the ropes of the drawe bridge, & strooke his sword on London stone; saieing, How is Mortimer lord of this citie. And after a glossing declaration made to the maior touching the cause of his thither comming, he departed againe into Southwarke, and vpon the thirde daie of Julie he caused sir James Fines, lord Saie, and treasuroz of England, to be brought to the Guildhall, and there to be arraigned: who being before the kings iustices put to answer, desired to be tried by his peres, for the longer delaie of his life. The capteine perceiving his dilatorie pley, by force toke him from the officers, and brought him to the standerd in Cheape, and there (before his confession ended) caused his head to be stricken off, and pitched it vpon an high pole, which was openlie borne before him thorough the streets.

And not content herewith, he went to Spile end, and there apprehended sir James Cromer then the raffe of Kent, and sonne in law to the said lord Saie, causing him likewise (without confession or excuse heard) to be beheaded, and his head to be fixed on a pole: and with these two heads this bloude wretch entred into the citie againe, and as it were in a spite caused them in euerie street to kisse together, to the great detestation of all the beholders. After this succeeded open rapine, and manifest robbrie in diuerse houses within the citie, and speciallie in the house of Philip Palpas alderman of London, and diuerse other; ouer and beside ransoming and fining of diuers notable merchants, for the suertie of their liues and goods; as Robert Horne alderman, which paid five hundred marks. He also put to execution in Southwarke diuerse persons, some for breaking his obedience, and other being of his old acquaintance, lest they should betraie his base linage, disparaging him for his vlsurped furnayne of Mortimer.

The maior and other the magistrates of London, perceiving themselves neither to be sure of gods, nor of life well warranted, determined to repell and keepe out of their citie such a mischieuous castife and his wicked companie. And to be the better able so to do, they made the lord Scales, and that renowned capteine Matthew Gough priute both of their intent and enterprise, beseeching them of their helpe and furthrance therein. The lord Scales promised them his aid, with shooting off the artillerie in the Tower; and Matthew Gough was by him appointed to assist the maior and Londoners in all that he might, and so he and other capteins, appointed for defence

king Henrie went against the Kentishmen with a great power.

The Staffords slaine at Senocke by Jacke Cade.

Or rather for the shirmitie betweene the citizens and the rebels vpon London bridge.

Matthew Gough famous for his acts abroad now slaine on London bridge.

The lord Saie beheaded at the drawe in Cheape.

A state by assent.

Proclamation of pardon dispersed the rebels.

Abt. Fl. ex I. S. p. 661, 662. in Quart.

Or rather Gough.

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Matthew  
Cade  
The (himself)  
between the  
cousins and  
the rebels up-  
on London  
bridge.

Matthew  
Cade: fa-  
mours for his  
wars abroad  
now flaine on  
Londons bridge.

The lord  
Sale be-  
deed at the flae  
dard in Chesap

While by  
allant.

Proclamation  
by which the re-  
bels.

An. Hen. I. S.  
p. 1450.  
Reg.

Matthew  
Cade.

scuse of the cittle, toke vpon them in the night to kepe the bridge, and would not suffer the Kentishmen once to approach. The rebels, who neuer foundlie slept for feare of sudden assaults, hearing that the bridge was thus kept, ran with great hast to open that passage, where betwene both parties was a fierce and cruell fight.

Matthew Cough, perceiving the rebels to stand to their tackling more manfullie than he thought they would haue done, aduised his companie not to aduance anie further toward Southwarke, till the daie appeared; that they might see where the place of leoparde rested, and so to prouide for the same: but this little auailed. For the rebels with their multitude draue backe the citizens from the strops at the bridge foot to the draw bridge, & began to set fire in diuerse houses. Great ruth it was to behold the miserable state, wherein some desiring to eschew the fire died vpon their enemies weapon; women with children in their armes leapt for feare into the riuer, other in a deadlie care how to saue themselves, betwene fire water, and sword, were in their houses choked and smothered. Yet the capitaine not sparing, fought on the bridge all the night valiantlie: but in conclusion, the rebels gat the draw bridge, and drowned manie, and slue John Sutton alderman, and Robert Weiland, a hardie citizen, with manie other, beside Matthew Cough, a man of great wit and much experience in feats of chualrie, the which in continuall warres had spent his time in seruice of the king and his father.

This force conflict indured in doubtfull wise on the bridge, till nine of the clocke in the morning: for sometime, the Londoners were beaten backe to saint spagins corner: and suddenlie againe, the rebels were repelled to the strops in Southwarke, so that both parts being faint and wearie, agreed to leaue off from fighting till the next daie; vpon condition, that neither Londoners should passe into Southwarke, nor Kentishmen into London. Vpon this abstinen-  
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nence, this rakehell captaine for making him more friends, brake vp the gales of the kings Bench and spawlsie, and so were manie mates set at libertie berie met for his matters in hand. The archbishop of Canturburie being chancelor of England, and as then for his surterie lieng within the Tower, called to him the bishop of Winchester, who for some safegard laie then at Haliwell. These two prelates, seeing the furie of the Kentish people, by their late repulse, to be somewhat asswaged, passed by the riuer of Thames from the Tower into Southwarke, bringing with them vnder the kings great scale, a generall pardon vnto all the offendours, and caused the same to be openlie published. The poore people were so glad of this pardon, and so readie to receiue it, that without bidding farewell to their captaine, they withdrew themselves the same night euerie man towards his home.

But Jacke Cade despairing of succours, and fearing the reward of his lewd dealings, put all his pil-  
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lage and goods that he had robbed, into a barge, and sent it to Rochester by water, and himselfe went by land, and would haue entred into the castle of Quinborough with a few men that were left about him; but he was there let of his purpose: wherefore he disguised in strange attire, priuilie fled into the wood country beside Lewes in Sussex, hoping so to scape. The capitaine & his people being thus departed, not long after proclamations were made in diuerse places of Kent, Sussex, and Southerie, that whosoever could take the foresaid capitaine alie or dead, should haue a thousand markes for his trauell. A copie of which proclamation, touching the apprehension of the said Cade and his complices, hereafter followeth.

A copie of the said writ and proclama-  
tion by the king, for the taking of the said  
Cade and his fellowship.



Henricus Dei gratia rex Anglie & Fran-  
cie, & dominus Hibernie, vniuersis & sin-  
gulis custodibus, &c. For so much as  
one John Cade borne in Ireland,  
which calleth himselfe John Portimer

& in some writing calleth himselfe capitaine of Kent,  
the which John Cade the last yeare tofore his dwell-  
ing in Sussex with a knight, called sir Thomas  
Dagre, slue there a woman with child, and for that  
cause toke the greeth of the church, and after for that  
cause forswore the kings land: the which John Cade  
also after this, was swozne to the French part, and  
dwelled with them; which hath now of late time (to  
the intent to enrich himselfe by robbing and despoil-  
ing of the kings liegemen, as it is now openlie  
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knowne, to bring himselfe to great and high estate)  
fallie and vntruelie deceiued manie of the kings  
people, and vnder colour of holie and god intents  
made them to assemble with him against the kings  
regalitie & his lawes, & nought setting by the kings  
grace and pardons, granted nor onlie to him but to  
all the kings subiects, the which by his decret haue as-  
sembled with him, the which he with great reuerence  
receiued on mondaie last passed, and so did all that  
were assembled with him. Notwithstanding all this,  
he labourerth now of new to assemble the kings peo-  
ple againe, and to that intent beareth them on hand,  
that the kings letters of pardon granted to him and  
them, be not auailable, nor of none effect, without  
authoritie of parlement: whereas the contrarie is  
true, as it is openlie knowne by that, that the king  
granteth from time to time his charters of pardon to  
such as him list, of all manner of crimes and offen-  
ses both generall and speciall.

The king therefore willet and commandeth, that  
none of his subiects giue faith nor credence to the  
said false informations of the said false traitor, nor  
accompanie with him in anie wise, nor comfort nor  
susteine him nor his with vittels, nor with anie other  
things: but will, whosoever of the kings subiects  
may take him, shall take him; and that who so ever sa-  
keth him, and bringeth him quicke or dead to the  
king or to his counsell, shall haue a thousand markes  
for his labour trulie paid him, without faile or delate  
by the prouision of the kings counsell. And who so e-  
uer taketh anie of those that from this daie forth ac-  
companie with him, shall haue five markes for his re-  
ward, trulie to be paid in maner and forme aboue  
said. And ouer this, commanding all constables, mi-  
nisters, and officers of the said shire, that none of  
them (on paine of death) take vpon them to execute a-  
nie commandement by word or writing sent or made  
vnto them by the said Cade, calling himselfe Porti-  
mer and capitaine, be it to reare any people, or to any  
other intent: but to arrest and make so be arrested such,  
as take vpon them to bring anie such commande-  
ment by writing or by word. Et hoc nullatenus omitatis.  
Teste me ipso apud Westm. 10 die Iulij, anno regni 28.]

After which proclamation thus published, a gentle-  
man of Kent named Alexander Owen awaited so  
his time, that he toke the said Cade in a garden in  
Sussex: so that there he was slaine at Hothfield, and  
brought to London in a cart, where he was quar-  
tered; his head set on London bridge, and his quarters  
sent to diuers places to be set vp in the shire of Kent.  
After this, the king himselfe came into Kent, and  
there sat in iudgement vpon the offendours: and if he  
had not mingled his iustice with mercie; more than  
five hundred by rigor of law had bene iustlie put to  
execution,

Captaine of  
Kent taken &  
beheaded.

Abt. Fl. ex  
I. St. 663,  
664.

execution. Yet he punishing onelie the stubborn heads, & disordered ringleaders, pardoned the ignorant and simple persons, to the great reioicing of all his subiects. ¶ But saith another, the king sent his commissioners into Kent, and caused inquirie to be made of this riot in Canturburie, where for the same eight men were iudged and executed, and in other townes of Kent and Suffer was done the like execution.

The bishop of  
Salisbury  
murdered.

A fray in Ld-  
don against  
the maior.

This yeare the commons also in diuerse parts of England, as in Suffer, Salisbury, Wiltshire, and other places, did much harme to manie persons, among the which, on the nine and twentieth of June, William Alcock bishop of Salisbury (after he had said masse at Edington) was by his owne tenants daieue from the altar, in his albe with his stole about his necke to the top of an hill, and there by them shamefullie murdered, and after spoiled to the naked skin: they renting his bloudie shirt, toke euerie man a peece, and made boast of their wickednesse. The daie before, his chariot was robbed, to the value of ten thousand markes. Soldiours made a fraye against the maior of London the same daie he toke his charge at Westminster, at night comming from saint Thomas of Acres, after he had bene at Pauls.]

The French king vnderstanding all the ciuill discord and rebellious sturs in England, made thereof his foundation, hoping to get into his hands and possession the duchie of Aquitaine: and thereupon sent the earles of Ponthieu and Perigot to laie siege to the towne of Bergerat, situate vpon the river of Douedon, of which towne was capteine John Gedding, who vpon reasonable conditions rendered the towne. But yet the lord Camois, sir George Seimor, and sir John Arundell, with diuers other valiant capteins, hauing gouernance of the countrie, manned townes, gathered people, and recomforted the fainting hartes of the Gascoignes in all that they could, and withall sent letters ouer into England, certifieng to the kings maiestie, that with-  
out speedie aid, and readie succours, the whole countrie was like to be conquered and woone out of the Englishmens possession.

Manie letters were sent, and manie faire answers were brought; but relæse neither appeared, nor one man of warre was thither shipped: by reason whereof, the Frenchmen pursuing the victorie, got the fortresses of Janfacke, and S. Foie, with diuerse other peeces of importance thereabouts. Also, about the same time, the lord Doznall, third sonne to the lord de la Biech, with a great number of men, as well on horsebacke as on foot, departed from Basas, to conquer and deströie the Isle of Medoc. Whereupon the maior of Burdeaur issuing out, and incountring with his enemies, was vanquished, losing sir hundred Englishmen and Gascoignes: albeit the Frenchmen gained not this victorie with clære hands, for there were slaine of them to the number of eight hundred persons.

After this, the barbard of Dylance, with his brother John earle of Angolessme, which had bene long prisoner in England, and manie other valiant capteins, besieged the castell of Montgion, which to them was rendered. Afterwards, they besieged the towne of Blaie, standing on the river of Garonne, the which in conclusion by verie force was conquered and woone. The barbard of Kendall, capteine of the castell, seeing the towne lost, vpon certeine reasonable conditions deliuered his fortress to the barbard of Dylance, the French kings lieutenant. After this, the townes of Burgh and Liborne after fine weekes siege, were likewise yielded to the Frenchmen. Then was the citie of Acques besieged by the

erle of Foies, and the vicount de Labotrec his brother, and other noble men. So likewise was the strong towne of Kion by the earle of Arminacke, extreme enemy to the realme of England, for breach of the marriage concluded betwene king Henrie and his daughter. The earle of Ponthieu laid siege to Chatillon in Perigot, and the earle of Dunois environned with great puissance the towne of Fronsacke.

The Englishmen perceluing in what state they stood within the towne, couenanted with the said earle, that if the towne were not succoured, and the Frenchmen fought with before the feast of the natiuitie of saint John Baptist next ensuing; that then the towne of Fronsacke should be yielded to them, which was the strongest fortress in all that countrie, and the herie keie of Guien. Whereof were pledges deliuered, and writings made & sealed. Which agreement once bloune through the countrie, the citie of Burdeaur, and all other townes (except Balon) made the like agreement. So did all the noble men and gentlemen which were subiects and vassals to the crowne of England. Euerie daie was looking for aid, but none came.

And whie: Euen because the diuelish diuision that reigned in England, so incombred the heads of the noble men there, that the honor of the realme was clærelie forgotten, so that (to conclude) the daie appointed came, but succour looked for came not. By reason whereof, all the townes of Aquitaine (except Balon) deliuered their heires, and became vassals to the French nation; yet the citizens of Burdeaur, in hope of rescue, requested a longer daie of battell, which was granted. But at the daie appointed, when no relæse came, they rendered themselves and the citie to their aduersaries, their liues and goods saued, with licence and safe conduct to all persons which would depart and saile into England. Then finally was the citie of Balon besieged, and with mines and batterie constrained to yield it selfe into the Frenchmens hands.

Beside the agreements taken and made with the townes, diuerse noble men made severall compositions, as Gailon de Foies, & Capdau de Buel, whome king Henrie the sixt made earle of Longeuille, and knight of the garter; whose ancestors were euer true to England. Which agreed, that he and his sonne John de Foies, whome king Henrie the first made earle of Kendale, and also knight of the garter, should enjoy all their lands in Aquitaine, given to them by the kings of England, or by the dukes of Aquitaine. And first, their intent was still to serue the king of England, they agreed to deliuer into the custodie of the earle of Foies, the sonne and heire of the said earle of Kendale, being of the age of three yeares; to the intent that if he at his full age denied to become subiect to the French king, or before that time deceased; that then (after the death of his father and grandfather) all the said lands should whole remaine to the next heire of their blood, either male or female, being vnder the obissance of the French king or his heires.

Manie other noble men, whose hearts were good English, made like compositions, and some came into England, and others went to Calis, and bare great offices there: as the lord Duras, which was marshall of that towne; and monsieur Clauclere, which was deputie there vnder the earle of Warwick. Thus were the Englishmen clærelie displaced and lost the possession of all the countries, townes, castles, and places within the realme of France; so that onelie Calis, Hammes and Guines, with the marches thereof remained in their hands, of all those their dominions and seignories which they sometime held

The earle of Arminacke  
extreme enemy  
to the realme of  
England.

Through the  
division of  
home, all was  
abandoned.

Abt. Fl. ex  
I. St. 663,  
664.

Anno Reg. 30.  
John Hooker,  
alias Vowell.  
The king re-  
turned into  
Exeter.

The bishop of  
his cleargie  
against the  
and the duke  
of Summer-  
set, &c. in de-  
fence of their  
ecclesiasticall  
privilege.

The duke of  
York maketh  
claime to the  
crown.

At last in  
France.

John Stow.

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held in the parties beyond the seas. Whereby Eng-  
land suffered a partile but not a totall eclipse of hir  
glorie, in continuall loosing & nothing gaining of the  
enemie. Which recouerie was of great facilitie  
to the French, for that where they came, they found  
little or no resistance, but rather a voluntarie submis-  
sion & yielding as it were with holding bp of hands,  
per they came to handstrokes. So that in such victories  
and conquests consisted small renowne, sth without  
slaughter & bloodshed harde enterprises are not at-  
tained. Notable therefore speaketh *Anglorum prelia*  
of their bloudlesse and sweatlesse victories, saying :

*Delphinus totos (nullo prohibente) per agros  
Francorum transijt prius expugnata receptans  
oppida: perfacile est populum nullis se violentem;  
Tendentemq; manus ultro; nec clarior ornat  
Gloria Vincentem fusa sine sanguine regna.*

Anno Reg. 30.  
John Hoker,  
John Vowell.  
The king re-  
turned into  
Exeter.

This yeare the king made a generall progresse  
and came to the cite of Exeter, on mondaie the  
firstenth of Julie at after none, being the feast daie  
of saint Kenelme; and was received from place to  
place verie honorable throught the whole countie.  
Before he came to this cite, he was met by all the  
cleergie in their degrees, some three miles, some two  
miles, and some at the cite, all in their copes, censing  
all the waies as they went. As soon as he came to  
this cite, he was first conduced to the cathedrall  
church in all most honourable order. When he had  
done his oblations, he was conueied and lodged in  
the bishops house. During his abode here, there was  
a sessions kept before the duke of Summerfet, and  
certeine men complained to die for treason, and had  
iudgement to be executed to death.

The bishop and his clerergie understanding hereof,  
with open mouth complained unto the king, that he  
caused a sessions to be kept within his sanctuarie,  
contrarie to the priuilege of his church: and that all  
their doings (being done against law) were of no  
effect. And notwithstanding the king and his coun-  
cell had discouered unto them the iust and orderlie  
proceeding, the hainousnesse of the offenders, and the  
necessitie of their punishment: yet all could not a-  
uaile, for holie church nor the sanctuarie might be pro-  
phaned (as they said) with the deciding of temporall  
matters. Whereupon the king in the end yielding to  
their exclaimes, released a couple of arrant traitors,  
and renewed all his former lawfull proceedings, and  
so upon the wednesdaye he departed and returned to  
wards London.

The bishop &  
his cleergie  
against the k.,  
and the duke  
of Summer-  
fet, &c. in de-  
fence of their  
ecclesiastical  
priuilege.

The duke of  
Yorke maketh  
come to the  
croune.

The duke of Yorke pretending (as yee haue heard)  
a right to the croune, as heire to Lionell duke of  
Clarence, came this yeare out of Ireland unto Lon-  
don, in the parliament time, there to consult with his  
speciall friends: as John duke of Northfolke, Ri-  
chard earle of Salisburie, and the lord Richard his  
sonne, which after was earle of Marwarthe; Thomas  
Contraire earle of Denonshire, & Edward Broke  
lord Cobham. After long deliberation and aduise ta-  
ken, it was thought expedient, to kepe their chiefe  
purpose secret; and that the duke should raise an ar-  
mie of men, vnder a pretext to remove diuerse coin-  
cellos about the king, and to reuenge the manifest  
injuries doite to the common-wealth by the same  
rulers. Of the which as principall, the duke of Sum-  
merfet was nameilie accused, both for that he was  
greatlie hated of the commons for the losse of Por-  
mandie: and for that it was well knowen, that he  
would be altogether against the duke of Yorke in his  
challenge to be made (when time serued) to the croune;  
in so much that his goods by the commons were fou-  
rle despoiled and bozne awaie from the Blacke fri-  
ers. After which riot, on the next morrow, proclama-  
ti on was made throught the cite, that no man should  
spoil or rob, on paine of death. But on the same daie

at the standard in Cheape was a man beheaded for  
doing contrarie to the proclamation.

Therefore, when the duke of Yorke had thus, by  
aduise of his speciall friends, framed the foundation  
of his long intended enterpryse, he assembled a great  
hoast, to the number of ten thousand able men, in the  
marches of Wales; publishing openlie, that the cause  
of this his gathering of people, was for the publike  
wealth of the realme. The king much affronted at the  
matter, by aduise of his counsell raised a great pow-  
er, and marched forward toward the duke. But he be-  
ing thereof aduertised, turned out of that way, which  
by espials he understood that the king held, and made  
streight toward London: and hauing knowledge  
that he might not be suffered to passe throught the ci-  
tie, he crossed ouer the Thames at Kingston hydge,  
and so kept on towards Kent, where he knew that he  
had both friends & well-willers, and there on Burnt  
heath, a mile from Wertford, and twelue miles from  
London, he imbatelled, and incamped himselfe verie  
stronglie, inuironing his field with artillerie and  
trenches. The king hereof aduertised, brought his  
armie with all diligence vnto Blackheath, and  
there pight his tents.

Whilist both these armies laie thus imbatelled,  
the king sent the bishop of Winchester, and Thomas  
Bourchier, bishop of Ebie, Richard Mowbray, lord  
Riuers, & Richard Arden, the keeper of his priuie  
seale, to the duke: both to know the cause of so great  
a commotion, and also to make a concord; if the re-  
quests of the duke and his companie seemed conso-  
nant to reason. The duke hearing the message of the  
bishops, answered; that his coming was neither  
to damme the king in honour, nor in person, neither  
yet anie god man: but his intent was, to remove  
from him certeine euill disposed persons of his coun-  
cell, blood-succours of the nobilitie, pollers of the  
cleergie, and oppressours of the poore people.

Amongst these, he cheslie named Edmund duke  
of Summerfet, vpon whom if the king would commit to  
ward, to answer such articles as against him in open  
parlement should be both proponed and proued, he  
promised not onelie to dissolue his armie; but also of-  
fered himselfe (like an obedient subiect) to come to the  
kings presence, and to do him true and faithfull ser-  
uice, according to his totall and bounden dutie. But  
a further understanding of the dukes meaning by  
this his forceable entering of the realme (as him-  
selfe pretended) made appeare by certeine letters by  
him writtten to the king, and also the kings answers  
vnto the same: both which I thinke good here to set  
downe, as I find them recorded.

Whethast.  
The duke of  
Yorke raiseth  
a power, for  
recouerie of  
his right to  
the croune.

Whethamsted

The dukes  
answer to the  
kings message

Abr. Fl. ex I. S.  
pag. 666, 667.  
in Quart.

### Richard duke of Yorke his letter to king Henrie.

**I** beseech it your highnesse to conceiue, that  
since my departing out of this your  
realme, by your commandement, and be-  
ing in your seruice in your land of Ire-  
land, I haue bene informed, that diuerse language  
hath bene said of me to your most excellent estate,  
which should sound to my dishonour and reproch, and  
charge of my person: howbeit, that I haue bene,  
and ever will be, your true liegeman and seruant.  
And if there be anie man that will or dare saie the  
contrarie, or charge me otherwise; I beseech your  
rightwisenesse to call him before your high presence,  
and I will declare me for my discharge as a true  
knight ought to do. And if I do not, as I doubt not  
but I shall, I beseech you to punish me as the poorest  
man of your land. And if he be found untrue in his  
suggestion and information, I beseech you of your  
highnesse

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highnesse that he be punished after his desert, in example of all other.

Please it your excellencie to know, that as well before my departing out of this your realme, for to go into your land of Ireland, in your full noble service, as since, certaine persons have lien in wait for to hearken upon me, as sir John Talbot knight at the castell of Holt; sir Thomas Standele knight in Cheshire; Bulford at Chester; Elton at Worcester; Woke at Gloucester; and Richard, groom of your chamber at Beaumaris: which had in charge (as I am informed) to take me and put me into your castell of Conwaie, and to strike off the head of sir William Dohall knight, and to haue put in prison sir William Deuereux knight, & sir Edmund Spaloe knight, withouten enlarging, vntill the time that your highnesse had appointed their deliuerance.

Item, at such time as I was purposed for to haue arrived at your haue of Beaumaris, for to haue come to your noble presence to declare me your true man and subiect, as my dutie is, my landing was stopped and forbarrd by Henrie Poize, Thomas Poize, William Buckleie, William Crust, and Bartholomew Woul, your officers in Northwales, that I should not land there, nor haue vittels nor refreshing for me & my fellowship, as I haue written to your excellencie here before. So farre forth that Henrie Poize, deputie to the chamberlaine of Northwales, said vnto me, that he had in commandement that I should in no wise haue landing, refreshing, nor lodging, for men nor horse, nor other thing that might turne to my worship or ease: putting the blame vpon William Sate vsher of your chamber, saying and affirming that I am against your intent, and as a traitor, as I am informed. And moreover, certaine letters were made and deliuered vnto Chester, Shrewesburie, and to other places for to let mine entrie into the same.

Item, about all wrongs and iniuries about said done vnto me of malice, without anie cause, I being in your land of Ireland, in your honourable service, certaine commissions were made and directed vnto diuerse persons; which for the execution of the same, sat in certaine places, and the iuries impanelled and charged. Vnto the which iuries certaine persons laboured instantlie to haue me indicted of treason, to the intent for to haue vndone me and mine issue, and corrupted my blood, as it is openlie published. Beseeching your maiestie to call, of your righteounesse, to doe examine these matters, and therevpon to doe such iustice in his behalfe as the cause requirith: for mine intent is fullie to pursue to your highnesse for the conclusion of these matters.

### The answer of king Henrie to the duke of Yorke.

**G**odfene, we haue seene the bill that ye wrote vs late, and also vnderstand the god humble obedience that ye in your selfe shew vnto vs, as well in word as in deed: wherefore our intent is, the more hartlie to ease you of such things as were in your said bill. Notobest, that at our more leasure we might answer you to your said bill; yet we let you wit, that for the causes aforesaid, we will declare you now our intent in these matters: sith it is that a long time among the people hath bene vpon you many strange language, and in especiall anon after your disordinate and lawfull slaying of the bishop of Chester, diuerse and manie of the vntrue shipmen and other said (in their maner) words against our estate, making manace to our owne person by your sayings, that ye should be fetched with manie thousands, and ye should take

upon you that, which ye neither ought, nor as we doubt not, ye will not attempt: so farre forth that it was said to our person by diuerse, & especiallie by a member of one Malnes, which had like words to vs.

And also there were diuerse of such false people, that went on and had like language in diuerse of our townes of our land, which by our subiects were taken and duly executed. Wherefore we sent to diuerse of our courts and places, to hearken and to take heed if anie such manner comming were; and if there had bene, for to resist it: but comming into our land our true subiect as ye did, our intent was not that ye, nor lesse of estate of our subiects, nor none of your seruants should not haue bene letted nor warned, but in goodlie wise receiued: notobest that peraduenture your sudden comming, without certaine warning, caused our seruants to doe as they did, considering the causes about said. And as to the indictment that ye spoke of, we thinke verelie, and hold for certaine warning, caused our seruants to doe as they did, considering the causes about said. And as to the indictment that ye spoke of, we thinke verelie and hold for certaine, that there was none such. And if ye may trulie proue that anie person was therabouts, the matter shall be demeaned as the case shall requite: so that he shall know it is to our great displeasure. Vpon this, for the easing of your heart in all such matters, we declare, repute, and admit you as our true and faithfull subiect, and as our faithfull

### Richard duke of Yorke to king Henrie againe.

**P**lease it your highnesse tenderlie to consider, that great murmur and grudging is vniuersallie in this your realme, in that iustice is not duly ministred to such as trespass and offend against your lawes, and in especiall of them that be indicted of treason, and other being openlie noised of the same; whereby great inconueniences haue fallen, and great is like to fall hereafter in your said realme, which God defend: but if by your highnesse prouision conuenable be made for due reformation and punishment in this behalfe. Wherefore I your humble subiect and true liegeman, Richard duke of Yorke, willing as effectualle as I can, and desiring the suertie and prosperitie of your most roiall person, and the welfare of this your noble realme, counsell and aduertise your excellencie, for the conseruation of god tranquillitie and peaceable rule among all other subiects, for to ordeine and prouide, that true iustice be had, against all such that so be indicted, or openlie named: wherein I offer my selfe, and will put my indeuour for to execute your commandement in the premisses, for the punishing of such offenders, and redresse of the said misrules, to my might and power. And for the hastie execution hereof, like it your highnesse, to addresse these letters of priuile seal and writs to your officers and ministers, to doe, take, and arrest, all such persons so noised and indicted, of what estate, degree, or condition soeuer they be, and them to commit to the Tower of London, and to other of your prisons, there to abide without baile or mainprie, vntill the time they be utterly tried, and determined after the course of your lawes.

### The answer of king Henrie to the duke of Yorke.

**G**odfene, as touching your bill last put by to us, we vnderstand well that ye of god hearty counsell and aduertise us to the setting on of iustice,

Whenhamsted

The duke of  
Yorke recom-  
mended to  
the king.

The duke of  
Yorke accus-  
ed the duke  
of Somerset.

A mutuell  
charge be-  
tweene the  
dukes, Yorke  
& Somerset  
for treason.

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justice, and to the speedie punishing of some persons indicted or nossed, offering your service to be readie at commandement in the same, sith it is that for manie causes moving vs to haue determined in our soule, to establish a sad, and a substantiall counsell, giuing them more ample authoritie and power than euer we did before this, in the which we haue appointed you to be one. But sith it is not accustomed, sure, nor expedient, to take a conclusion & conduct by aduise or counsell of one person by himselfe for the conseruation, it is obserued that the greatest and the best, the rich and the poore, in libertie, vertue, and effect of your voices be equall. We haue therfore determined within our selfe to send for our chancellour of England, and for other lordes of our counsell, yea and all other, together within short time ripelle to common of these and other our great matters. In which communication, such conclusion (by the grace of God) shall be taken, as shall sound to his pleasure, the weale of vs and our land, as well in these matters as in anie other.

After all this aduise, it was so agreed vpon by aduise, for the auoiding of bloudshed, and pacifying of the duke and his people, that the duke of Summer set was committed to ward, as some say; or else commanded to keepe himselfe priuie in his owne house for a time. But it should seme by that which some haue written, that the duke of Poike was deceived of the hope which he had, to be aided of the Kentish men; inasmuch that when he saw himselfe overmatched by the king in number of people, who had got together thence as manie men as the duke had there with him, the duke was the more easie to be dealt with. And so comming to the king, and submitting himselfe by mediation of certeine of the nobilitie, he obtained pardon of that his former presumptuous enterprise. And within a few daies after his comming to London with the king, he openlie in the church of St. Pauls (the king being present) recused a solemn oath, that from thenceforth, he should no more commit any such offense, nor attempt anie thing, either against the king, or any other of his liege people, contrarie to the order of law and iustice.

Howsoever the matter went, truth it is, that the duke of Poike, the first of March, dissolved his armie, brake by his campe, & came to the kings tent, where contrarie to his expectation, & against promise made by the king (as other write) he found the duke of Summer set going at large and set at libertie, whome the duke of Poike boldlie accused of treason, bytherie, oppression, and manie other crimes. The duke of Summer set not onelie made answer to the dukes obiections, but also accused him of high treason, affirming, that he with his fautors and compli ces had consulted together, how to come by the scepter and regall crowne of this realme. By meanes of which words the king remoued streight to London, and the duke of Poike (as prisoner) rode before him, and so was kept a while.

The king assembled together a great counsell at Westminster, to heare the accusations of the two dukes, the one obiecting to the other manie heinous and greuous crimes. But the duke of Summer set, which now conceived in his mind the thing that shortly followed, incessantlie exhorted the counsell, that the duke of Poike, by compulsion or otherwise, might be dylent to confesse his offense, that so being attainted of treason, he might suffer execution, and his children to be taken as aduersaries to their native countrie; to the intent that by the extinction of him and his sequale, all ciuill warre and inward diuision might cease and be repressed: beseeching almightie God, that so great an enemie to the king and

his blood, might neuer escape punishment, nor continue long in life.

The duke of Summer set set forth this matter the more vehementlie, because he knew perfectly, that the duke of Poike dallie imagined with himselfe, how to get the crowne, and to depose and destroy both the king and him. But desinite cannot by anie mans deuise be letted, and manie things (to apperance) declared the duke of Poikes innocencie in this case. First, his free and voluntarie comming to the king, without constraint, when he was partlie of puissance able to haue incountred with the kings whole power. Secondlie, his humble submission, and reasonable requests, as well on his owne behalfe, as for the poore commons: which might argue that he sought for no soueraintie.

Whilste the counsell treated of sauing or dispatching of this duke of Poike, a rumour sprang through London, that Edward earle of March, sonne and heire apparant to the said duke, with a great armie of Marchmen, was comming toward London: which tidings fore appalled the quene and the whole counsell. Beside this, the verie same daie came ambassadors from the chiefe citizens and magistrats of the cite of Burdeaur, whereof the chiefe were, the earle of Kendale, and the lord de Leparre; which signified to the counsell, that if they would send an armie into Gascoigne, the people of the countrie would revolt from the French part, and estates become English. These two things fore troubled the heads of the counsell, which, least inward sedition might hinder outward conquests, set the duke of Poike at libertie, and permitted him to go to his castell of Wigmore, in the marches of Wales, by whose absence the duke of Summer set rose in such high fauour, both with the king and quene, that his word onelie ruled, and his voice alone was heard.

¶ Nevertheless the said duke of Poike had first made his submission, and toke his oath to be true, faithful, and obedient subiect to king Henrie the first king of England, in saint Pauls church at London, there being present the king, and most of his nobilitie, that is to saie, the dukes of Buckingham, Northampton, and Summer set; the earls of Warwike, Arundell, Salisburie, Shropshire, Devonshire, Wiltshire, Northumberland, Stafford and Dorset, vicounts of Beaumont and Welles; barons, Fitz Warren, Sainmound, Cobham, Mowglas, and others: bishops, the cardinal, archbishop of Poike and Canturburie, Winchester, Ebie, and London, in these words following.

The tenor of the duke of Yorks submission to king Henrie, under his oath.

**R**ichard duke of Poike confesse and beknow, that I am & ought to be humble subiect and liege man to you my soueraigne lord king Henrie the first, and owe therefore to beate you faith and truth, as to my soueraigne liege lord, and shall do all daies vnto my liues end; and shall not at anie time will or assent, that any thing attempted or done against your most noble person: but where so euer I shall haue knowledge of anie such thing imagined or purposed, I shall with all speed and diligence possible to me, make that your highnesse shall haue knowledge thereof: and ouer that, to all that shall be possible to me, to the withstanding and let thereof, to the uttermost of my

Desinite cannot be avoided

I 4 5 2

Occasion that set the duke of York free.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 671, 672. in Quart.

my life. I shall not anie thing take vpon me against your roiall estate or obeisance that is due thereto, nor suffer anie other man to doo, as farre forth as it shall be in my power to let it: and also shall come at your commandement when so euer I shall be called by the same, in humble and obeisant wise: but if I be letted by anie sickness or impotence of my person, or by such other cause as shall be thought by you my soueraigne lord reasonable. I shall neuer hereafter take vpon me to gather anie rout, nor to make anie assemble of your people, without your commandement or licence, or in my lawfull defense. In interpretation or declaration of the which my lawfull defense, I shall report me at all times to your highnesse, and if the case require, to my peres; nor any thing attempt against anie of your subiects, of what estate, degree, or condition that they be. But when so euer I find my selfe wronged and agrieved, I shall sue humble for remedie to your highnesse: and proceed after the course of your lawes, and in none otherwise: sauing in mine owne lawfull defense in maner aboue said, and otherwise haue to your highnesse as an humble and true subiect ought to haue him to his soueraigne lord.

All these things aboue said I promise you trulie to obserue and keepe, by the holie euangelists contained in the booke that I laie my hand herevpon, and by the holie crosse I here touch, and by the blessed sacrament of our Lord's bodie, that I shall now with his mercie receiue. And ouer I agræ me and will, that if I anie time hereafter, as by the grace of our Lord God I neuer shall, anie thing attempt by waie of feat or otherwise against your roiall maiestie, and obeisance that I owe therto, or anie thing take vpon me otherwise than is aboue expessed, I from that time forth be bnailed, held, and taken as an vntrue and openlie forsworne man, and bnaile to all maner of worship, estate, and degree, be it such as I now occupie, or anie other that might in anie wise grow vnto me hereafter. And this I haue here promised and forsworne, proceedeth of mine owne desire and free voluntee, and by no constraining or coaction. In witnesse of all the which things aboue written, I Richard duke of Yorke (aboue named) subscribe with mine owne hand and seale.

Anno Reg. 31.  
1453

The counsell not forgetting the offer of the Calcoigns, and that they might now haue the citie of Burdeaur, with the countrie round about, by request of the inhabitants, appointed the valiant capteine John lord Talbot earle of Shrewesburie, to go thither with an armie, who arriuing in the Ile of Gaze, passed forth with his power, being scant thre thousand men, and toke the strong towne of Fromsacke, and diuerse other townes & fortresses. The inhabitants of Burdeaur, hearing of the earles arrival, sent to him messengers in the darke night, requiring him with all speed to come and receiue the citie. The earle lost not one houre, but hastened forth, & came

before that citie, per the Frenchmen within vnder stood anie thing of the citizens purpose. When they were aduertised that there was a gate set open for the Englishmen to enter, they thought to haue escaped secretlie by a posterne: but they were pursued, slaine, and taken by the lord de Lepar, and other of the English armie.

After the regaining of Burdeaur, there arriued at Blaie the bastard of Summerfet, sir John Talbot, lord Lisle by his wife, sonne to the said erle of Shrewesburie, the lord Polins, the lord Harington, the lord Camois, sir John Howard, sir John Montgomerie, sir John Wernon, with two & twentie hundred men, with vittells and munitions. When the earle was thus (according to his intent) of all things furnished, first he fortified Burdeaur with Englishmen, and store of vittells; and after that he rode into the countrie abroad, where he obtained cities, and got townes without stroke or dint of sword, for the people already wearied of the French seruitude, and longing for to returne to the English libertie, seemed to desire nothing more than to haue the earle to receiue them into the English obeisance. Amongst other townes, the towne and castell of Chastillon in Perigord was to him deliuered, the which he fortified with men and ordinance verie stronglie.

In the meane time, the French king, being aduertised of all these doings, raised an armie to resist this inuasion made by the erle of Shrewesburie. And first he appointed his capteins to besiege the towne of Chastillon, to the rescue whereof the earle hastened forward, hauing in his companie eight hundred horsemen, vnder the leading of his sonne the lord Lisle, the lord Polins, the lord Camois, sir Edward Hull, sir John Howard, and sir John Wernon. He appointed also five thousand footmen, vnder the conduct of the earle of Kendall, and the lord de Lepar, to follow him with all speed. In his waie, he toke by fine force a tower which the Frenchmen had taken, and due all that he found within it. And after by the waie, he met five hundred Frenchmen going a foraging, of whom he slue the more part, and chased the other to the campe.

The Frenchmen that laie at the siege, perceiuing by those good runners away that the earle approached, left the siege, and retired in good order into the place which they had trenched, ditched, and fortified with ordinance. The earle aduertised how the siege was removed, hastened forward towards his enemies, doubting most, least they would haue bene quite fled and gone before his comming. But they fearing the displeasure of the French king (who was not far off) if they should haue fled, abode the earles comming, and so receiued him: who though he first with manfull courage, and sore fighting wan the entrie of their campe; yet at length they compassed him about, and shooting him through the thigh with an handgun, slue his horse, and finally killed him lieng on the ground, whom they durst neuer loke in the face, while he stood on his feet.

It was said, that after he perceiued there was no remedie, but present losse of the battell, he counselled his sonne the lord Lisle, to saue himselfe by flight, which the same could not rebound to anie great reproch in him, this being the first fourtie in which he had bene present. And he words he used to persuaide him to haue saved his life: but nature so wrought in the son, that neither desire of life, nor feare of death, could either cause him to shrink, or conueie himselfe out of the danger, and so there manfullie ended his life with his said father. There died also the earles bastard sonne Henrie Talbot, and sir Edward Hull elect to the order of the garter, and thirtie other men of name and right valiant personages of the English nation.

An. Dom. 1453

An. Reg. 31. 33

The lord Talbot  
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Burdeaur  
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Aquitaine  
lost.

The dignitie  
and state of  
that duke-  
dome.

The queene  
deliuered of  
her son prince  
Edward.

The valiant  
earle of Shrewesburie  
and his son  
died.

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Ab. Fl. ex  
L. 1. p. 673.

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Aquitaine  
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The dignitie  
and state of  
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The queene  
delivered of  
her son prince  
Edward.

The bolant  
earle of Shyre  
Soeburie and  
his son mar  
tullie name.

Ab. Fi. ex  
151. p. 673.

The lord Apollins was taken prisoner with these othe  
others. The residue of the English people fled to  
Bordeaux and other places, of whom in the flight  
were slaine above a thousand persons.

Thus at this battell of Chatillon, fought the thir  
teenth daie of Julie in this yeare, ended his life John  
lord Albot, and of his progenie the first earle of  
Shrewesburie: after that he with much fame and  
most victorie, had valiantlie made warre, and serued  
his prince and countrie by the space of foure and  
twentie yeares, in the parties of beyond the seas,  
whose corps was left on ground, and after was found  
by his friends, and conueied to Whitchurch in Shrop  
shire where it was interred. After this discomfiture  
duerle lords fled to Bordeaux, but the earle of Car  
dall, the lords of Pontferrant, of Rosaine, & of Dan  
gladas entered into the castell of Chatillon, which by  
the space of ten daies they defended: but in the end  
despairing of all succours, they rendred the fortresse,  
and came safe to Bordeaux.

After this, the towncs of saint Millon, L. bozne,  
and all other, which the erle of Shrewesburie had con  
quered, rendred themselves to the Frenchmen, Bur  
deaux onlie excepted. Which citie, being the last re  
sage of the English people, the French king in per  
son besieged with all his puissance; and in conclusion  
constrained both the garrisons and inhabitants to  
yeld, so that the Englishmen & Gascoignes might  
safely depart into England or into Calis, with all  
their substance; and that the lords de Leparre, Du  
ras, and thirtie others, should neuer (upon paine of  
death) be found within anie of the French kings do  
minions, which lord de Leparre being after taken  
in Gascoigne disguised, was made shorier by the  
head. When this composition was agreed and sealed,  
the Englishmen were shorlie transported ouer into  
England, in the moneth of October this present  
yeare.

Thus was the duchie of Aquitaine, which had con  
tinued in the English possession, from the yeare of  
our Lord 1155, unto this present yeare, which is nere  
hand thre hundred yeares, by the mariage of Glenc  
daughter and heire to William duke of Aquitaine,  
wife to king Henrie the second, finally reduced and  
brought againe to the French obedience and seru  
tude. Within that onlie duchie be foure archbishops,  
four and twentie bishops, fixtene earledomes, two  
hundred and two baronies, and about a thousand cap  
tainships and balliwickes: whereby ye may consi  
der, what a losse this was to the realme of England.  
On the thirtenth daie of October this yeare, was the  
queene delivered at Westminster of a faire sonne,  
who was christened, and named Edward.

His mother sustained not a little slander and oblo  
quie of the common people, who had an opinion that  
the king was not able to get a child; and therefore  
sicked not to saie, that this was not his sonne, with  
manie slanderous words, greatlie sounding to the  
queenes dishonour; much part perchance vntrulie.  
After the birth of this child, he highlie advanced his  
brethren on his mothers side: for Edmund he made  
earle of Richmond, which was father to king Henrie  
the seventh, and Jasper he created erle of Penbroke,  
which died without issue. This yeare, John Stafford  
archbishop of Canturburie departed this life, and  
John Kempe archbishop of Yorke was removed  
from that see, to succeed in place of the said Stafford,  
being the thre score and second archbishop there, &  
John Both bishop of Couentrie and Lichfield was  
translated to Yorke, being the one and fiftie arch  
bishop of that church.

On Bartholome to daie at the torestling nere bri  
to Clerkenwell, a gentleman belonging to the prioz  
of saint Johns, made a rumoz; tumult, for the which

(by the commandment of the maioz) he was arrested  
by Richard Allie one of the shiriffes, and deliuered to  
Paris a sergeant. But such resistance was made by  
parts taking, that the shiriffe was faine to craue  
helpe of the maioz, who with his brethren the alder  
men arose from the game, and strengthened the shi  
riffes. And for the rescue of the said gentleman, one  
named Calis, came out of saint Johns with a great  
strength of archers, to resist the maioz, in the which  
fraie a yeoman of saint Johns was slaine, and ma  
nie other sore hurt. The maioz himselfe escaped hard  
lie, for his cap was smitten from his head with an  
arrows: but the maioz with his citizens put the other  
to flight, sent the principall of them to Newgate, and  
then took his place againe till the citizens were en  
ded: by which time the citizens had gathered them  
selues in great number, and fetched him home, neuer  
maiore so stronglie nor so honozable.]

This yeare was Thomas Bourcier bishop of  
Ely (sonne to the countesse of Stafford, and brother  
to Henrie Bourcier earle of Essex) removed to the  
see of Canturburie; who in the yeare after the woꝝd  
became fleshy and appeared in humane shape 1443,  
first obtained the see of Ely (although once before he  
was by the king put backe from thence after his  
election of the couent thereunto, and confirmation  
of the pope) being translated from Worcester to the  
said see of Ely, the twelfth daie of March in the said  
yeare 1443. This man (after that he had remained  
at Ely ten yeares, thre and twentie weekes, and  
sine daies) was (as is before said) in this yeare 1454  
removed to Canturburie by Nicholas the fift then  
bishop of Rome. After this he was made chanceloz,  
which office he obtained the sequenth of March, in the  
yeare 1455, being the thre and thirtie yeare of king  
Henrie the sixts reigne. Lastlie he was advanced to  
the dignitie of cardinall by pope Paul the second,  
in the yeare of our Lord 1465, of whom is made a  
more liberall discourse in a tretise of the liues of the  
chancelozs of England: a place of no small authori  
tie and reputation.]

After the warres foule ended in foren parties, ci  
uill dissention began againe at home, diuided speci  
allie into two factions. As R. Henrie descended of  
the house of Lancaster possessed the crowne from his  
grandfather king Henrie the fourth (first author of  
that title) so Richard duke of Yorke, as heire to Li  
nell duke of Clarence, thir sonne to king Edward  
the thir, enforced. By reason thereof, the nobles as  
well as the common people were into parts diui  
ded, to the vtter destruction of manie a man, and to  
the great ruine and decaye of this region: for while  
the one partie sought to destroye the other, all care of  
the common wealth was set aside, and iustice and e  
quitie clearelie extolled.

The duke of Yorke (above all things) first sought  
means how to stir by the malice of the people against  
the duke of Summerzet, imagining that he being  
made awaie, his purpose should the sooner take effect.  
He also practised to bring the king into the hatred of  
the people, as that he should not be a man apt to the  
government of a realme, wanting both wit and sta  
mach sufficient to supplie such a rourc. Many of the  
high estates, not liking the woꝝd, and disallowing the  
doings both of the king and his counsell, were faine  
inough of some alteration. Which thing the duke well  
vnderstanding, chiefelie sought the fauour of the two  
peuils, both named Richard, one earle of Salisbu  
rie, the other earle of Marthwike, the first being the  
father, and the second the sonne.

This earle of Salisburie was second son to Ra  
fe Peuill earle of Westmerland, whose daughter the  
duke of Yorke had married, and the said Richard was  
spoused to ladie Alice, the onelie child and sole heire  
of Salisburie.

The maiore,  
shiriffes and  
aldermen, res  
isted and a  
bused in a  
fraie nere  
Clerkenwell.

Fr. Thin,  
Anno Reg. 32.  
1454

In a tretise  
hereafter fol  
lowing.

The duke of  
Yorke seeks  
the destructio  
of the duke of  
Summerzet.

He banded  
himselfe with  
the Peuils.

The issue of  
Richard earle  
of Salisburie.

W.P.

of Thomas Montacute earle of Salisburie, slain at the siege of Mleance (as before is declared) of which woman he begat Richard, John, and George: Richard the eldest sonne espoused Anne, the sister and heire of the entire blood to lord Henrie Beauchamp earle and after duke of Warwicke, in whose right and title he was created and named earle of Warwicke. [Full fraught was this noble man with good qualities right excellent and manie, all which a certaine naturall grace did unto all estates so farforth recommend, that with high and low he was in singular favour and good liking, so as (unfought for) it seemed, in authoritie among them, he grew able to command all alone.]

Anno Reg. 33.

The duke of  
Summerfet  
arrested.

1455

The king  
sick.

Whichehamsted.

The duke of  
Summerfet  
set at libertie.Made depu-  
tie of Calis.The duke of  
Yorkie assen-  
bled an armie.

Whichehamsted.

The king  
with two  
thousand.The duke  
with three  
thousand.

When the duke of Yorke had fastened his chaine betwene the two strong pillars, he with his friends wrought so effectuously, and handled his businesse so politikelie, that the duke of Summerfet was arrested in the quenes great chamber, and sent to the Tower of London, where he kept his Christmasse without great solemnitie. Against whom, some after in open parlement were laid diuerse and heinous articles of high treason, as well for the losse of Normandie, as for the late mischance which happened in Guen. The king at that time was sicke at Clarendon, and conuened to London, by reason whereof no small determination proceeded in this weightie cause; but all was put in suspence, till the next assemble of the high court of parlement. Some do write, that whilst the king was sicke, the duke of Yorke bare all the rule, and gouerned as regent or viceroy, by authoritie committed to him by the lords of the realme, then assembled in counsell; he to see to the preservation and good gouernement of the common-wealth, during the kings sicknesse, which was so greivous (as it was said) that he late fenselle, and was not able for a time either to go or stand.

The duke of Yorke hauing aforehand obtained an absolution of the pope, in discharge of his oth before taken, did now discover his stomach against the duke of Summerfet. But when the king was amended againe, and returned to him his former gouernement, either of his owne mind, or by the quenes procurement, the duke of Summerfet was set at libertie; by which doing, great enuie and displeasure grew. That notwithstanding, the quene (which then bare the chiefe rule) caused the duke of Summerfet to be preferred to the captainship of Calis, wherewith not onlie the commons, but also manie of the nobilitie were greatly greiued and offended, saying, that he had lost Normandie, and so would he do Calis.

The duke of Yorke and his adherents, perceiving that neither exhortation nor charging him with his crimes preuailed against the duke of Summerfet, they meant to mend the matter by open war: & some after he being in the marches of Wales, accompanied with his speciall friends, the earles of Salisburie, and Warwicke, the lord Cobham, and others, assembled a power, and in warlike manner marched toward London. The king informed herof, assembled likewise a great host, and meaning to meet with the duke, rather in the north parts than about London, where it was thought he had too manie friends, he accompanied with the dukes of Summerfet and Buckingham, the earles of Denbroke, Stafford, Northumberland, Devonshire, Dorset, and Wilshire, the lords Clifford, Sudlie, Berneis, Roos, and others, being in all about two thousand men of warre, departed from Westminster the twentieth, or (as some haue) the one and twentieth of Maie, and late the first night at Wladford.

Of whose doings the duke of Yorke by espials hauing full aduertisement, with all his power, being not past three thousand men (as some write) castled

the countrie, and came to saint Albons the third daie next ensuing. The king there had pight his standard in a place called Golelow, otherwile Sandisford, in saint Peters street: the lord Clifford kept the barriers of the towne, to stop, that the duke being assembled in his field, should not enter the towne. & The duke of Yorke (saith one moderne Chronographer) knowing the strength made against him, abiding in the field aforesaid, from seuen of the clocke in the morning untill it was almost ten of the clocke with out anie stroke smitten on either part, by the aduise of his counsell sent unto the king vnder these words following.

### Words in writing by the duke of Yorke to the king.

**L**ease it unto your excellent grace, Richard duke of Yorke, to take him as your true liege man and humble subiect; and to consider and tender at the reuerence of God, and in the waie of charitie, the true intent of my comming, and to be good and gracious souereigne unto me, & all other your true liegemen, which, that with all their power and might will be ready to liue and die with you in your right, and to do all things as shall like your maiestie roiall to command us, if it be to the worship of the crowne of England, and the welfare of this your noble realme. Forcuer, gracious lord, please it unto your maiestie roiall, of your great godnesse and rightwisenesse, to incline your will to heare & see the rightwile part of vs your true subiects and liege men. First, praising and beseeching to our souereigne, Christ Jesus, of his high and mightie power, to giue you vertue of prudence, and that through the praier of the glorious martyr S. Albion giue you verie knowledge of our truths, and to know the intent of our assembling at this time: for God that is in heauen knoweth, our intent is rightfull and true. And therefore we praise unto that mightie Lord in these words: *Domine, secundum defensionem nostram.* Wherefore gracious lord, please it your maiestie roiall, to deliuer such as we will accuse, and they to haue like as they haue deserved: and this done, you to be honorable worshipped as most rightfull king and our true gouernour. And if we should now at this time be promised, as afore this time (is not unknownen) haue bene promises broken which haue bene full faithfullie promised, and thereupon great othes sware, we will not now cease for no such promises, nor oth, till we haue them which haue deserved death, or else we to die therefore.

### The answer by the king to the duke of Yorke.

**I** King Henrie charge and command, that no manner person, of what degree, estate or what condition soeuer he be, abide not; but that they auoid the field, and not be so hardie to make resistance against me in my owne realme. For I shall know what traitour dare be so bold to raise anie people in mine owne land, where though I am in great disease and heaviness. By the faith I owe unto S. Edward, and unto the crowne of England, I shall destroye them euerie mothers sonne, and eke they to be hanged, byawne, and quartered, that may be taken afterward of them, in example to make all such traitors to beware for to make anie rising of people within mine owne land, and so traitorously to abide their king and gouernour. And for a conclusion, rather than they shall haue anie lord, that here is with me at this time, I shall this day for their sake in this quarell my selfe liue and die.

The

Whichehamsted.  
The duke of  
Buckingham  
sent to the duke  
of Yorke.The duke of  
Summerfet  
buriedd with  
all thinge that  
had happened  
amisse.  
W. P.The first bat-  
till of saint  
Albans.  
Whichehamsted



The words of the duke of Yorke  
to all gentlemen and other assem-  
bled with him.

**S**irs, the king our soueraigne lord will not be reformed at our beseeching ne prai-  
er, nor will not in no wise vnderstand the  
intent therfore we be here assembled and  
gathered at this time, but onelie is in full purpose to  
destroie vs all. And therupon a great oth hath made,  
that there is none other waie, but that he with all his  
power will pursue vs; and if we be taken, to giue vs  
a shamefull death, leeing our liuelod and goods, and  
also our heires shamed for ever. Therfore sirs, now  
sith it will none other wise be, but that we shall utter-  
lie die; better it is for vs to die in the field, than co-  
wardlie to be put to an vtter rebuke and shamefull  
death, for the right of England standeth in vs. Con-  
sidering also in what perill it standeth at this time,  
and for to redresse the mischæse thereof, let euerie  
man helpe to his power this daie, and in that quarell  
to quite vs like men, to the crowne of England; prai-  
sing and beseeching vnto that Lord, the which is eter-  
nall, th it reigneth in the glorious kingdome celesti-  
all, to keepe and saue vs this daie in our right, and  
through the gifts of his holie grace we may be made  
strong to withstand the great, abhominable, and hor-  
rible malice of them that purpose to destroie vs and  
the realme of England, and put vs to a shamefull  
death. Prate we therefore to the Lord to be our com-  
fort and our defendour, saying these words, *Domine  
siclypsus defensoris nostri.*

But another historie-writer saith, that the king,  
when first he heard of the duke of Yorke's approach,  
sent to him messengers, the duke of Buckingham  
and others, to vnderstand what he meant by his  
comming thus in maner of warre. The duke of Buc-  
ingham to his message was answered by the duke  
of Yorke and his complices, that they were all of  
them the kings faithfull liege subiects, and intended  
no harme to him at all: but the cause of our com-  
ming (saie they) is not in meaning aint hurt to his  
person. But let that wicked and naughtie man the  
duke of Summerfet be deliuered vnto vs, who hath  
lost Normandie, and taken no regard to the preser-  
uation of Gascoigne; and furthermore, hath brought  
the realme vnto this miserable estate; that where it  
was the floure of nations, and the princesse of pro-  
uinces (now is it haled into desolation & spoile, not  
so dreadfull by malice of foren enemie, that indeed  
utterlie (as yee know) seeketh our ruine, as by the in-  
tolerable outrages of him that so long ago & euen  
still appeares to haue sworne the confusion of our  
king and realme. ] If it therefore please the king to  
deliuer that bad man into our hands, we are readie  
without trouble or breach of peace, to returne into  
our countrie. But if the king be not minded so to do,  
because he cannot misse him; let him vnderstand, that  
we will rather die in the field, than suffer such a mil-  
chæse vttered.

The king aduertised of this answer, more willfull  
than tollerable, appointed him rather to trie battell,  
than deliuer the duke of Summerfet to his enemies.  
Whereof they ascertained made no longer staie, but  
straightwaie sounded the trumpet to battell: or ra-  
ther (as Hall saith) while king Henrie sent forth his  
ambassadors to treat of peace at the one end of the  
towne, the earle of Marwike with his Marchmen  
entred at the other end, and fiercelie setting on the  
kings foreward, within a small time discomfited the  
same. The place where they first brake into the towne,  
was about the middle of saint Peters street. The  
fight for a time was right sharpe and cruell, for the

duke of Summerfet, with the other lords, comming  
to the succours of their companions that were put to  
the worse, did what they could to beat backe the eni-  
mies; but the duke of Yorke sent euer fresh men to  
succour the wearie, and to supplie the places of them  
that were hurt, whereby the kings armie was final-  
lie brought low, and all the chiefeins of the field  
slaine and beaten downe.

For there died vnder the signe of the castell, Ed-  
mund duke of Summerfet, who (as hath bene repo-  
ted) was warned long before to auoid all castles: and  
beside him laie Henrie the second of that name earle  
of Northumberland, Humfre earle of Stafford  
sonne to the duke of Buckingham, John lord Clif-  
ford, sir Barthram Antwile knight, a Norman  
bozne (who forsaking his native countrie to continue  
in his loiall obedience to king Henrie, came ouer to  
dwell here in England when Normandie was lost)  
William Zouch, John Boutreux, Rafe Bapthorp,  
with his sonne William Corwin, William Cotton,  
Gilbert Faldinger, Reginald Griffon, John  
Dawes, Elice Wood, John Cith, Rafe Woodward,  
Gilbert Sharlock, and Rafe Willoughbie esquires,  
with manie other, in all to the number of eight thou-  
sand, as Edward Hall saith in his chronicle: if there  
escaped not a fault in the impression, as 8000 for  
800, sith hundreds in verie deed would better agree  
with the number of the kings whole power, which he  
brought with him to that battell, being not manie a-  
bout two thousand, as by writers appeareth.

Humfreie duke of Buckingham, being wound-  
ded, and James Butler earle of Ormond and Wil-  
shire, and Thomas Thorpe lord chiefe baron of the ex-  
chequer, seeing fortune thus against them, lest the king  
alone, and with a number fled awaie. Those that thus  
fled, made the best thist they could to get awaie  
through gardens and backesides, through thubs, hed-  
ges and woods, seeking places where to hide them-  
selues, vntill that dangerous tempest of the battell  
were overblowne. Diuerse of the kings boules also  
that could better skill to plaie the courtiers than war-  
riors, fled with the first; and those of the east parts of  
the realme were likewise noted of too much lacke of  
courage, for their speedie withdrawing themselves,  
and leauing the king in danger of his aduersaries:  
who perceluing his men thus fled from him, with-  
drew into a poore mans house to saue himselfe from  
the shot of arrowes, that flue about him as thicke as  
snow.

¶ This done, saith one historie, the duke of Yorke,  
the earles of Marwike, and Salisburie, came vnto  
the king where he was, and besought him on their  
knees of grace and forgiveness for that they had  
done in his presence, and besought him of his high-  
nesse to take them to grace, and as his true liege  
men. The king desiring them to cease their people,  
that there should be no more hurt done, and to obeie  
his commandement, did cause to be proclaimed in  
the kings name, that all manner of people should  
cease off their malice, and not to smite one stroke  
more, and so ceased the battell. And vpon the day next  
after, the king and the duke of Yorke, the earles of  
Marwike & Salisburie, came all to London; and  
were lodged in the bishops palace of London, where  
they kept their Whitsuntide with great ioy and so-  
lemnitie, concluding there to hold a parliament, the  
same to begin on the ninth daie of Iulie next follow-  
ing.]

Another historie saith, that the duke of Yorke, ad-  
uertised of the place into the which the king was  
withdrawne for the safetie of himselfe, and taking  
him into his power, comforted him in the best wise  
he could; assuring him, that now that the common  
enemie of the realme was dispatched, to wit, the duke  
of

Edw. Hall.

The duke of  
Summerfet  
slaine.Thomas lord  
Clifford, saith  
Whemhamsted.The kings  
part banquis-  
hed.Abr. Fl. ex I.S.  
pag. 678, 679.  
in Quart.The first bat-  
tle of saint  
Peters.

of Summerfet, he had cause rather to reioisse, than to be sorie, sith his destruction was the kings preservation. And for himselfe and all his adherents he undertooke, that they were and would remaine, during life, his most faithfull liege people, ready in all points to serue him, as his trustie and obedient subjects. After he had vsed such words, as therewith best to comfort him, he brought the king forth of that simple house with all due reuerence thewed toward him first to the chyrne, and after to his chamber.

¶ When the duke of Porke was about thus to comfort the king, the soldiers that had the victorie now in their hands, applied the spoile, namelye, the Pothernemen, stripping not onelie those that had borne armor against the m, but also the townsmen and other, with whom they might meet. So that it was thought, if the king had taken by his lodging at his first coming thither, within the abbey, as he did not (but in the midst of the towne, to prouide the better to resist his enemies) the abbey had bene spoiled also. This was the end of the first battell at saint Albons, which was fought vpon the thursdaie next before the feast of Penthecost, being the thre and twentieth day of Maie, in this thre and thirtieth yere of the kings reigne. The bodies of the noble men were buried in the monasterie in our ladies chappell, and the meane people in other places. This Edmund duke of Summerfet left behind him thre sonnes, Henrie, Edmund and John, which to the extremitie of death took part with the line of king Henrie.

[There was this yere a great fight & fraie vpon Cliffe heath, distant about two miles from Excester, betwene Thomas Courtheie earle of Denonshire, against William lord Bonuile of Shute, and sundrie men of both parts were slaine. But yet the lord Bonuile preuailed & had the victorie, who forthwith came to this citie, and the gates before being shut, were opened and he receiued; which thing so grieved the earle, that he continually sought thenceforth to be reuenged. But not long after in the quarell betwene king Henrie the sixt, and king Edward the fourth, he ended his daies, and was beheaded at Porke, and was the last of that line.]

The duke of Porke, hauing gotten the victorie, remembred well, that he had published abroad how the onelie cause of this warre was, for the advancement of the common-wealth, and therefore vsing all courtesie, would not touch the kings person after a nie violent sort; but with all honour and due reuerence conuied him to London, and so to Westminster. To which place was summoned a parlement, which began the ninth daie of Iulie, in the which session, the late duke of Gloucester was openly declared a true subject, both to the king and to the realme. Beside this, it was enacted, that no person should either iudge or report anie point of vntruth of the duke of Porke, the earles of Salisburie and Warwicke, or of anie knight, esquier, archer, or other, for coming in warlike arate against the king, at saint Albons; considering their enterpryse was onelie to see the kings person in safegard.

But all the blame was put vpon the duke of Summerfet, Thomas Thorp, baron of the eschequer, and William Iosep esquier, the kings collaterall companion; because that they, vpon malicious purpose, kept a certeine letter from the kings knowledge, and would in no wise suffer it to be deliuered vnto him, notwithstanding the same made to the advancement of some good peace, had it bene thoughtlie and aduiseably read, weied & considered. In which letter they declared, that as faithfull and humble subjects, they required onelie, that it would please the king (whose honor, health, suertie, and preservation, they chæfely wished) not to giue credence to their ad-

uersaries malicious suggestions, till their coming to his presence, vnto the which they humbly besought him that they might be admitted as his faithfull liege people, to shew the intent and purpose of their commings; which was to none other end, than to declare their fidelitie and allegiance towards his most roiall person, intending to put themselves with as much diligence and trauell in all things that might aduance his honour, health, and safegard, as any subject he had liuing.

The keeping backe of this letter from the kings sight and knowledge, did minister matter sufficient vnto the parlement, to colour and iustifie for well done all transgressions committed in the late battell and chase at saint Albons. In this parlement also, the duke of Porke was made protectour of the realme, and the earle of Salisburie was appointed to be lord chancellor, and had the great seale to him deliuered, and the earle of Warwicke was elected to the office of the capteineship of Calis, and the territories of the same; and thus the rule of the realme rested in the orders of the duke and chancellor, and all warlike affaires remained principallie in the earle of Warwicke. And so amongst them it was agreed, that king Henrie should reigne still in name and dignitie, but neither in deed nor in authoritie; not minding to destroye him, least they might suddenly prouoke the furie of the common people against them, because that of the simple sort of people he was for his holiness of life, and abundant clemencie, much favoured and highlie esteemed.

In this parlement also it was enacted, that the king should resume, take into his hands againe, haue and retaine into his possession, all honours, castles, lordships, townes, villages, manours, lands, tenements, waists, forests, chases, rents, reuerfions, fees, farmes, seruices, issues, profits, counties, aduoufons of priories, churches, hospitals, and free chapels, and all other reuenues with their appurtenances, the which had passed from him since the first daie of his reigne vnto that present; either by his letters patents, or authoritie of parlement, and manie other meanes, whether by grant, confirmation, or release from him made in fee simple, or fee taile, for tearme of life or yeares, to anie maner of person and persons in England, Wales, Scotland, or the marches; in Ireland, or in the townes of Calis, & Guisnes, & the marches there. And likewise all grants made of such things as are aboue mentioned, being parcel of the duchie of Lancaster; and further all grants of offices, rannes, fees, wages, or commodities, not accustomed to belong to anie office or charge before the said first daie of the kings reigne, were likewise renoked.

Diuerse other things were also contained within this renocation and generall resumption; with certeine exceptions yet and prouisoies had, as were thought conuenient, and as by the same act it doth appeare. Moreover, now that the duke of Porke and his adherents had wrested the whole rule & gouernment into their hands; all such persons as the king either loued, or the quene favoured, were put beside the priue councill; and such put in their places, as were knowne to fauour the house of Porke. Also the officers were changed throughout the realme, at the will and disposition of the protectour, chancellor, and capteine of Calis; so that they constituted as it were a triumvirat, ruling all things at discretion of these thre. And yet in all their rule I find not that anie mention is made of their deferring of iustice, or of anie polling or byberie; as was openly praued by such as gouerned before their time. Onlie they were noted of diuerse spiritual persons, and namelye of the abbat of Westminster and his monks, for a

Battell of St. Albons on thursday the 23 of Maie. Anno Reg. 33.

Four of the to wit, the duke of Summerfet, the earle of Northumberland, and the lord Clifford, were buried in our ladie chappell. Whetherhamsted John Hooker, abis Vowell.

A parlement.

Whetherhamsted Collaterall. A letter kept from the king of purpose.

Henrie dnt of Summerfet.

The duke of Porke wisheth of his o fice.

1456

Whetherhamsted. An act for the king to resume certain grants.

In bypoyse the cite of London.

A foule dist.

A common council call.

great offense: because they took out of the sanctuarie at Westminster, John Holland duke of Excester, all against the order taken in the last parliament, and sent him to the castell of Pomfret.

Henrie duke of Summerset.

But now the lord Henrie Beauford, netolie duke of Summerset by the death of duke Edmund his father, slaine at the battell of Saint Albons (as aboue is rehearsed) and Humfrie duke of Buckingham (who then & there lost his sonne and heire) and other of estate taking the part of king Henrie, whose case they did much bewaile & doubt, as perceivinge there to the courtesie of the duke of Yorke did draw: they therefore thinking it necessarie to puerue for a remedie yer the mischefe happened, consulted with the quene. By whose aduise was a great counsell called at Grenewich, where the duke of Yorke was discharged of his protectorship, & the earle of Salisburie deposed also of his office. ¶ This sudden change amongst the nobilitie caused alteracions, and seditious attempts in the commonaltie, and in especiall within London: whereof this was one. A yong merchant, which before time had bene in diuerse cities of Italie, and there forbidden by the magistrats (as the law and maner is) to weare anie weapon, now challenged an Italian in Cheapside for wearing a dagger, telling him it was against his owne countrie lawes: whereto because the Italian answered somewhat disdainefullie, the merchant not onelie took by force from him his dagger, but also with the same brake his pate.

The duke of Yorkes discharge of his office.

1456

This Italian in great hast complained to the maior, so that at the next court holden at the Guildhall, the merchant was sent for, and upon charge of his offense, he was commanded to ward. Whereupon diuerse other light persons within the citie, assembled together in great plumps, by force constrained the maior to deliuer the prisoner out of the towgate: and not so satisfied, like mad men ran to the severall houses of diuerse Venetians, Lucases, and Florentines, and them spoiled, robbed, and rifled without reason or measure. The maior, perceivinge this enormous doing, assembled a number of substantiall and graue citizens; who (not without bloodshed and maiming of sundrie) appeased the rage, and caused the misruled people to depart to their houses. The beginner of this vppore got him to Westminster, and there registered himselfe for a sanctuarie man.

In bygone in the citie of London.

2 foule disposed.

The quene, which now againe ruled all, being aduertised of this unlawfull misdeemeanour, sent the dukes of Excester and Buckingham, with other noble men to London, with a commission oier and terminer, for the inquirie and punishment of so seditious an offense. But when the maior, the two dukes, and the two chiefe iustices were set in the Guildhall upon their commission, intelligence was giuen, that a number of light persons were appoehing in armor to rescue the prisoners apprehended for the late robbery and riot, as they were caried to their arraignment. The two dukes and the other commissioners quickelie thence departed, and lest their inquirie for that daie, though in deed in no such danger as they doubted: for certeine discret and sage citizens so handled the matter, that no misorder followed of thaturie.

A common council called.

The maior on the next daie called a common council, whereof the number was an hundred fourescore and od, who ordeined that all wardens of mysteries should assemble their companies in their halles, where exhortation should be to the obseruation of peace; and if they spied any man either readie to stirre a rumor, or make to the deliuerance of such as were in prison, their names should be secretlie written, and so deliuered to the maior: which policie well appeased this outrage. Whereupon after the commissioners sat in

Guildhall, where manie of the robbers were attained & put to execution, beside diuers great fines set on the heads of diuerse merchants, & paid, for thinking at the matter. ¶ This yeaere John Kempe archbishop of Canturburie departed this life, & Thomas Beaufort bishop of Elie remoued to his place, being the thirde and thirde archbishop of that see.

¶ In the moneth of Nouember, in the Ile of Bortland not farre from the towne of Wilmouth, was sene a cocke coming out of the sea, hauing a great cress upon his head, and a great red beard, and legs of halfe a yarde long: he stood on the water & crowed foure times, and euerie time turned him about, and bekened with his head, toward the north, the south, and the west, and was of colour like a fasant, & when he had crowed thre times, he vanished awaie. And shortly after were taken at Crith within twelue miles of London, foure great and wonderfull fishes whereof one was called *Mors marina*, the second a sword fish, the other two were whales.]

Abr. Fl. ex l. 5. 681.

1457 Fabian.

The french nation, hearing of the ciuill dissention within the realme here, and for an old grudge seeking our annoie, two nauies appointed they to invade the towne standing upon the riuage of the sea. The captains of the one fleet was William lord Boniers, and of the other sir Peter Bessie, a great ruler in Normandie. These two captains, taking their course out of the mouth of Saine, severed themselves, the one westward; and the other eastward, which was sir Peter Bessie, who sailing alongst the coasts of Sussex and Kent, durst not yet take land, but laid in the Dotoines: and there hauing by espiall perfect notice that Sandwich was neither peopled nor fortified (because that a little before, the rulers of the towne were from thence departed, for to auoid the plague, which sore there afflicted and sate the people) he entered the hauen, spoiled the towne, and after such poze stufte as he there found rifled and taken, he fearing an assemble of the countrie, shortly gat him awaie.

Anno Reg. 35.

Sandwich spoiled by the French.

The lord Boniers likewise took his course westward, & by night burning certeine houses in Fulmar, with a little pillage retired into Britaine. The Scots also (busse like flies where no flap to fraie them) entered into Northumberland (king James the second being there in person) & burned certeine poze houses, and little cottages: but in the verie midst of their great enterprize, they hearing of the duke of Yorkes marching toward them with a great host, with much paine and no gaine in all hast returned to their countrie. But now to passe ouer outward inuasions, & to intreat of the daillie disorder amongst the nobles at home. So was it, that a great conflict fell betwene the lord Egremond, & the sonnes of the erle of Salisburie, in which manie persons were slaine, & a great number hurt. The lord Egremond, seeking to get awaie but could not, by force was taken & brought before the counsell: where the king and the quene, to shew themselves indifferent, adiudged him to paie to the earle of Salisburie a great summe of monie; and for his heinous offense against the lawes, was committed to the towgate in London, out of which he escaped, to the great trouble of the shiriffes.

Fulmar.

The Scots invaded Engalnd.

The lord Egremond committed to the towgate.

He made an escape.

The quene nothing more seeking than the ouerthrow of the duke of Yorke and his friends, and perceivinge she could attempt nothing against him nere to London, because the duke was in more estimation there, than either the king his husband, or his selfe: therefore she caused the king to make a progress into Warwicke shire for his health and recreation. And so in semblance of batoking and hunting, came to Couentræ, where diuerse waies were studied to fulfill the quenes desire: for the accomplishing whereof, the duke of Yorke, the earles of Salisburie

It shalbe to  
have intrep-  
ped the duke  
of York.

lissburie, and Warwike (whose destructions was  
chiese sought) were sent for to Couentre by the  
kings letters, vnder his priuie seale, to which place  
the said lordes without suspicion of danger obedient-  
lie resorted.

But being admonished by secret friends, that  
was intended against them, they by slight auoided  
that danger, where otherwise their liues had bene  
lost without all remedie. And so without bidding a-  
nie farewell, they departed from the court; the duke  
vnto Wilmoxe in the marches of Wales, the earle  
of Salisburie to his castell of Spidieham in the  
north, and the earle of Warwike sailed to Calis.  
The bodies of which three noble personages though  
thus separated, yet their hearts knit in one, and still  
went messengers & letters betwixt them, to commu-  
nicat their deuises, and giue signification of their  
minds and purposes.

Anno Reg. 36.  
1458  
The bishop  
abjured for  
incurring a-  
gainst the  
popes extor-  
tion.

In this yere Reginald Beacoke bishop of Chiche-  
ster, abjured at Pauls crosse, all his bookes burnt,  
and he himselfe commanded to keepe his owne house  
during his naturall life: because that he (verie well  
learned, and better stomached) began to moue que-  
stions, not priuie but openlie, in the vniuersities,  
concerning the annates, Peter pence, and other tur-  
biditions & authorities, which the pope vsurped; and  
not onely put forth such questions, but declared his  
mind and opinion in the same. Some saie he held  
that spirituall persons by Gods law ought to haue  
no temporall possessions, nor that personall tithes by  
Gods law were due (nor that christian men were to  
believe in the catholike church, nor in the communi-  
on of saints, but to believe that a catholike church and  
a communion of saints there is) and that he held  
both the vniuersall church might erre in matters of  
faith; and that it is not of necessitie to believe all  
that which is ordeined by generall counceils, nor all  
that which they call the vniuersall church ought to  
be allowed and holden of all christian people.

W. P.

Abt. Fl. ex I. S.  
pag. 682, 683,  
684, 685, 686,  
in Quart.

Moreover, that it was meet to euerie man to un-  
derstand the scriptures in the true and plaine sense, &  
none bound to glosses of anie other sense, vpon anie  
necessitie of saluation. ¶ But because I find a larger  
report hereof elsewhere, and as more methodicall, so  
also (as it seemeth) in such forme as it was *res gesta*, a  
deed done, it shall not be amisse to insert the same.  
This bishop was a secular doctor of diuinitie, that  
had labored manie yeres to translate the holie scrip-  
ture into English, & was accused to haue passed the  
bounds of diuinitie and christian beleefe in certaine  
articles, of the which he was conuict before the arch-  
bishop of Cantuarburie, and other bishops and clerks,  
and after bitterlie abjured, reuoked, and renounced  
those articles openlie at Pauls crosse in his mother  
tong on the fourth day of December, as followeth.

#### The forme of his abiuration.

**I**n the name of the trinitie, father, sonne,  
and holie-ghost, I Reginald Beacoke bi-  
shop of Chichester vniuersitie, of mine  
owne power and will without anie ma-  
ner coaction or dread, confesse and knowledg that I  
here, before this time, presuming of my naturall  
wit, and preferring my iudgement and naturall rea-  
son before the new and the old testament, and the au-  
thorities & determination of our mother holie church,  
haue held, written and taught other wise than the ho-  
lie Romane and vniuersall church teacheth, preach-  
eth, or obserueth. And one is against the true catho-  
like and apostles faith, I haue written, taught, and  
published manie & diuerse perillous doctrines, bookes,  
woorks, and writings, containing heresies and er-  
rors, contrarie to the faith catholike, and determina-  
tion of holie church: and speciallie these heresies

and errors following, that is to saie in particular.

In primis, quod non est de necessitate fidei credere quod do-  
minus noster Iesus Christus post mortem descendit ad inferna.  
Item, quod non est de necessitate salutis credere in sancti-  
rum communionem.

Item, quod ecclesia vniuersalis potest errare in his que  
sunt fidei.

Item, quod non est de necessitate salutis credere & tenere  
illud, quod consilium generale & vniuersale ecclesia statuit,  
approbat, seu determinat in fauorem fidei, & ad salutem ani-  
marum, est ab vniuersis Christi fidelibus approbandum & te-  
nendum.

Wherefore I miserable sinner, which here before  
long time haue walked in darkenesse, and now by  
the mercie and infinit goodnesse of God reduced into  
the right waie, and light of truth, and considering my  
selfe grauouslie haue sinned and wickedlie haue in-  
formed and infected the people of God, retorne and  
come againe to the vnitie of our mother holie church,  
and all heresies and errors written and contained in  
my said bookes, woorks and writings, here solemnlie  
and openlie reuoke & renounce. Which heresies and  
errors, and all other spices of heresies I haue before  
this time before the most reuerend father in God, and  
my god lord of Cantuarburie, in diuerse and lawfull  
foinie iudiciallie abjured, submitting my selfe, being  
then and also now at this time verie contrite and pe-  
nitent sinner, to the correction of the church and of my  
said lord of Cantuarburie.

And ouer this, exhorting & requiring in the name  
& vertue of almighty God, in the saluation of your  
soules and mind, that no man hereafter giue faith  
and credence to my said pernicious doctrines, her-  
esies and errors; neither my said bookes keepe, hold, or  
read in anie wise; but that they all such bookes, woorks,  
and writings suspect of heresies, deliuer in all god-  
lie hast vnto my said lord of Cantuarburie, or to his  
commissioners and deputies, in eschewing of manie  
inconueniences and great perils of soules, the which  
else might be cause of the contrarie. And ouer this  
declaration of my conuersion and repentance, I  
here openlie assent, that my said bookes, woorks, and  
writings, for declaration and cause aboue rehearsed,  
be deputed vnto the fire, and openlie burnt in exan-  
ple and terror of all other, &c.

After this, he was deprived of his bishopricke, ha-  
ving a certeine pension assigned vnto him for to liue  
on in an abbey, and some after died. His bookes were  
intituled: 1 Of christian religion, and a booke pertai-  
ning therevnto. 2 Of matrimonie. 3 Just expressing  
of holie scripture, diuided into three parts. 4 The  
donet of christian religion. 5 The flower of the do-  
net. 6 The booke of faith. 7 The booke filling the  
fourtables. 8 The booke of worshipping. 9 The  
prouoker of christian men. 10 The booke of counsell.

In the moneth of Januarie died the earle of De-  
nonthire in the abbey of Abindon, poisoned (as men  
said) being there at that time with quene Margarete,  
to appeale the malice betwene the young lordes, whose  
fathers were slaine at saint Albons, and they that  
held with the duke of York. The thirtieth of April  
there was a great fraie in Fleetstreet, betwene men  
of court and the inhabitants of the same street, in  
which fraie the quenes attornie was slaine. For this  
fact the king committed the principall gouernours  
of Furniuals, Cliffords, and Bernards In to prison  
in the castell of Hertford; and William Cailor abet-  
man of that ward, with manie other were sent to  
Windsoze castell the seventh of Maie. On Thursday  
in Whitsunteweke, the duke of Summerfet with An-  
thoine Rivers and other four kept tables before the  
quene in the Tower of London, against the el-  
quiers of the quenes. And in like maner at Greene  
with

The peres of  
the realm  
called to a  
matie.

The ypona-  
cence of the  
cric for safe-  
gard of peace.

The lordes are  
brought to a  
gra.

The clergy  
were sure in  
most daies to  
lose nothing

with the sunbete following.]

King Henrie and his counsell, perceiving the duke of Powke late still and sicced not, returned to London, and there called a great counsell, openlie declaring both the French and Scots (imbolened by the civil discord within this realme) attempted to annoy the same, as of late they had shewed apparant tokens, and likelie not ceasse upon occasions to do further displeasures, till a perfect concord were concluded betwene him and his friends, and those of the contrarie part and confederacie. And to the intent that he would be the cheefe author of peace, he promised of his dignitie so to intertaine the duke of Powke and his friends, that all old grudges should be not onelie inwardlie forgotten, but also outwardlie forgiven, which should be cause of perpetuall love and assured amitie.

This devise was of all men judged for the best. Whereupon diverse grane persons were sent to the duke of Powke, and all other the great estates of the realme, who since the battell of saint Albons never met nor communed together, commending them for great causes to repaire to the kings court without delay. At his commandement came to London Richard duke of Powke, with foure hundred men, and was lodged at Wainards castell being his owne house; and after him came the earle of Salisburie with five hundred men, and was likewise lodged at his owne house called the Herbour. Then came the dukes of Excester and Summerfet with eight hundred men, and were lodged without Temple barre; and the earle of Northumberland, the lord Egremond, and the lord Clifford came with fiftene hundred men, and lodged without the citie. The earle of Warwicke also came from Calis with six hundred men in red sackets, imbodered with white ragged staves behind and before, and was lodged at the grate friers.

Thus were all those of the one part lodged within the citie, and those of the other without, in Holborne towards Westminister, and in other places of the suburbs, all upon wise consideration: for that the Powke faction and the Lancastrians could not well have bene mingled without danger of discord. After that these lords were thus come unto London, the king and the queene shortly followed, comming thither the seventeenth date of March, and lodged in the bishops palace. Because no riotous attempt or bickering should be begun betwene any of the parties or their retinues, the mayo and aldermen of the citie kept great watch, as well by daie as by night, riding about the citie by Holborne, and Fleetstreet, with five thousand men well armed and arrayed, to see good order and peace on all sides kept.

The lords which lodged within the citie held a daillie counsell at blacke friers: the other part sojourning without the walles, assembled likewise in the chapter house at Westminister. At length by the diligent travell and good exhortation of the archbishop of Canturburie, and other prelates; both parties were persuaded to come to communication, and so did. Where, after long debating of grievances on both sides, they promising to forget all old rancors, and to be friends each to other, & both obedient to the king, were accorded by award, wherof writings were sealed, signed, and delivered to effect as followeth.

The award made at Westminster  
on the three and twentieth of March,  
Anno regni regis 36.



First, that at the costs, charges, and expenses of the duke of Powke, the earles of Warwicke, and Salisburie, fourtie & five pounds of yearelie rent should be

assured by waile of a mortifement for ever, unto the monasterie of S. Albons, for suffrages and obits to be kept, and almes to be imploied for the soules of Edmund late duke of Summerfet, Henrie late erle of Northumberland, and Thomas late lord Clifford late slain in the battell of saint Albons, and buried in the abbey church, and also for the soules of all other slain in the same battell. The said duke of Summerfet, the earle of Northumberland, and lord Clifford, by vertue of the same award, were declared for true and faithfull liegemen to the king, and so to be holden and reputed in the date of their deaths, as well as the said duke of Powke, the earles of Warwicke and Salisburie.

Moreover it was decreed, that the duke of Powke should give to Glenor duchesse of Summerfet, and to Henrie duke of Summerfet his sonne, the summe of five thousand markes of good assignements of debts, which the king ought him for his wages, due during the time of his service in Ireland, to be divided as the king should thinke convenient, betwixt the brethren & sisters of the said duke of Summerfet. Also that the earle of Warwicke should give unto the lord Clifford, the summe of a thousand markes, in good and sufficient assignements of debts, which the king ought him, to be distributed betwixt the said lord Clifford his brethren and sisters.

Also where Thomas Percie knight, lord Egremond, and Richard Percie his brother, sonnes of the ladie Glenor countesse of Northumberland, had been in a sessions holden within the countie of Powke before Richard Wingham, and Rafe Pole the kings justices and other commissioners, condemned unto the earle of Salisburie in the summe of eight thousand markes; and to the same earle, and to his wife Alice in the summe of five thousand markes; and to Thomas Peuill knight, son to the said earle of Salisburie, in the summe of a thousand markes; and to the said Thomas and spawd his wife, in the summe of two thousand markes; and to John Peuill knight, sonne to the said earle of Salisburie, in the summe of eight hundred markes: for transgressions and trespasses there found to be done by the said lord Egremond, and Richard his brother, unto the said earle of Salisburie, Alice, Thomas Peuill, spawd and John Peuill, as by the record appeared.

It was ordeined, that the said earle and his sonnes should release all the said summes of monie, and the executions thereof, and likewise release unto Rafe Werneie, and John Steward late thiriffes of London, unto whose custodie the said lord Egremond had bene for the same condemnations committed, and from them escaped, all actions which they or any of them might have against the said Werneie and Steward for the same escape. Yet it was decreed by this award, that the said lord Egremond should be bound by recognisance in the Chancerie, to keepe the peace toward the said erle and his wife, children, servants, and tenants.

Also where diverse knights, esquires, and other servants and tenants to the said earle of Northumberland, and to the said lord Egremond, were by their severall obligations bound, by occasion of the said debates, unto the said duke of Powke, earle of Salisburie, or any of their children, to stand to their order and gouvernement; it was ordeined that the same obligations should be delivered to them that so stood bound, before the feast of saint Peter ad vincula next ensuing at the citie of Powke; or else that the parties so bound, should have sufficient acquittances in discharge of the same obligations.

It was further awarded, that all variances, discords, debates, controuersies, appeales, and actions personals, that were or had bene betwixt any of the

by these considerations how soener the

The lord Egremond.

They were thiriffes, and 1456.

The picture of the realme called to a man.

The promise of the citie for safety of peace.

quod non

The lords are brought to a

ing to

The clergy were sure in such cases to lose nothing



the said persons, or any of their servants, or tenants, should be for ever determined & ended, saving to euerie one his title, action and right, which he had by any evidence of arreages of rents or seruices, accounts, detinues, or debts due by reason of anie lawfull contract or deed, had and made for anie reasonable considerations, other than the variance before said.

And for the more assurance of both parties, it was ordeined that either should release to other all manner of actions, that were mere personals and appeales, which anie of them might haue against the other, by reason of the variances and discords before mentioned.

Also it was decreed, that if anie action, sute or quarrell chanced betwixt anie of the servants or tenants of anie of the parties, for matter or title supposed to be had, occasioned or moued before this time; that from thenceforth, none of the said parties should mainteine, support, or aid any of them that will so sue and moue strife and debate: but should rather so deale, as the matter may be brought to peace and quietnesse.

It was further awarded, that if anie man complained, pretended, or surmised, that this award was not kept, but in some point broken by anie of the parties, for the which breach he would haue a Scire facias, or some other action prosecuted in the kings name vpon anie recognisance made to the king for the performance of this award: yet should not the same Scire facias or action be prosecuted, till the kings counsell might be thoroughlie certified of the matter by the complainant, and vpon consideration see iust cause why the same Scire facias, or action ought to be had and prosecuted in the kings name.

And if anie variance rose betwixt the counsell of both the parties in making of the recognisances, releases, acquitances, or other writings; the same variance should be determined by the two lordes chiefe iustices, that should be fullie instructed of the kings intention in this behalfe.

And besides this, it was notified and declared by the same award, that the parties being feuerallie bound in the Chancerie in great sums to obeis and performe this award, ordinance & iudgement made by the king; it was the kings will and pleasure, that the same recognisances should stand in force, and no parcels of the summes therein contained to be pardoned in anie wise, without the agreement and consent of the parties, for whose assurance the same recognisance was taken.

And if anie of the said summes, or anie parcell thereof should be recovered by action or execution taken and prosecuted in the kings name, vpon anie of the said recognisances; the parties to whose hinderance the award was broken, should haue the one halfe of the monie so recovered; and the other moitie should be assigned to the treasurer of the kings house. This ordinance, award and agreement, was giuen by vnder the kings great scale, at the kings palace of Westminter, the foure and twentieth daie of March in the six and thirtieth yeare of his reigne.

For the open publishing of this iustfull agreement, there was (vpon our ladie daie in March) a solemne procession celebrated within the cathedrall church of saint Paule in London, at the which the king was present in habit roiall, with his crowne on his head. Before him went hand in hand the duke of Summerset, the earle of Salisburie, the duke of Excester, and the earle of Marlowe; and so one of the one faction, and another of the other: and behind the king the duke of Boke, and the queene with great familiaritie in apperance leading hand in hand. But what shall be said: As goodlie apples corrupted at coze,

(how faire coated so euer they seeme) can neuer be made to become sound againe: no rotten walles new plastered without, can euer the more staie their moldering inward, till the putrified matter first through the crufflaie all in the mire: so fared it on all parts in this dissembled and counterfeited concord. For after this apparant peace (but inward discord) diuerse of the nobles smallie regarding their honours, forgot their oth, and brake their promise holdie.

Not long after this, of pretended purpose (as it was thought) a fraie was made vpon a yeoman of the earle of Marlowes, by one of the kings seruants, in the which the assailant was sore hurt; but the earles man fled. Wherevpon the kings meniall seruants, seeing their fellow hurt, and the offender escaped, assembled together and watched the earle, when he returned from the counsell chamber toward his barge, and suddenly set on him, the yeomen with swords, the blackegard with spits and fier-fores. After long fight, and manie of the earles men mained and hurt, by helpe of his friends he gat a libertie, and so escaped to London. The queene aduertised hereof, incontinentlie commanded that he should be apprehended and committed to the tower, where (if he had bene taken) he had shortly ended his daies.

By this unhappie fraie, there arose anon after such trouble and terrible warre, that the whole realme was thereby disquieted. For after this displeasure done to the earle, and the queens good mind towards him by his secret friends reuealed; he with all diligence toke his iourne to Marlowe, and after into Bokehire, where he found the duke of Boke, and the earle of Salisburie, declaring vnto them the assault made vpon him by the kings seruants, and the pretended euill purpose of the queene. After which complaint made, he fearing to be dispossessed of his home at Calis, with great speed imbarked himselfe and sailed thither. He was not onelie depuie or lieutenant of Calis, but also high admerall of the seas, which office was to him confirmed for the space of five yeares. Wherevpon, whether before his arrival now at Calis, or shortly after, I cannot say; but this yeare about the middell of summer, the said earle, hauing with him a foureteene well appointed ships, sailed abroad to scowle the seas, and by chance met with five great ships, whereof three were caraks of Genoa, and the other two were of Spaine, bigger in heighth and length than the caraks.

The earle, though he was scarce able to deale against them, yet he valiantlie incountred them. There was a verie sore and long continued battell fought betwixt them, for it lasted almost the space of two daies. Yet in the end the victorie fell to the English, so that two of those ships being forced to saue themselves by flight, the other three were taken, which the earle brought vnto Calis, with all the merchandise aboard the same; the value whereof in wine, oile, wax, iron, cloth of gold, and other riches, was estimated to the summe of ten thousand pounds & above. By reason whereof, that was sold now for twelue pence, which would not haue bene bought before for two shillings. There were taken a great number of prisoners, beside a thousand of the enemies slaine in fight. Of the earles part there were fiftie slaine. The earles fame hereby increased not a little, and manie a blessing he had for this pece of seruice.

The noble science of Printing was about this time found in Germanie at Spagunce by one John Guttembergus a knight; one Conradus an Almaine brought it into Rome: William Carton of London mercer brought it into England about the yeare 1471: and first practised the same in the abbey of saint Peter at Westminter; after which time it was likewise practised in the abbies of S. Augustine at

A solemne  
procession at  
saules.  
1459

Anno Reg. 37.  
w. P.

trained  
and.

Anno Reg. 38.

The earle of  
Salisbury  
gathereth a  
power.

Therethous  
and saith  
Whethamsted

The lord  
Audite.

Excessus  
culce.

Whethamsted

Whethamsted

The 23 of  
September.

Audite of  
times pasteth  
tope.

Abt. Fl. 15  
pag. 66. 67.  
Printing  
man.

Police of  
times past the  
same.

In the morning early, being the date of faint De-  
cle, he caused his souldiers to shoo their flights to-  
wards the lord Audelies companie, which laye on the  
other side of the said water, and then he and all his  
people made a signe of retreat. The lord Audelie, sup-  
posing his aduerfaries had fled in deed, caused his  
trumpets quicklie to blow vp, and setting forth his  
boldard, speedilie passed the water. The earle of Sal-  
isbury, which knew the sleights of warlike policie,  
suddenly returned, and set vpon the lord Audelie  
and his cheefe captaine, yet the residue of his armie  
could passe the water. The fight was foze and dead-  
full. The earle desiring the sauing of his life, and his  
aduerfaries coueting his defraction, fought foze for  
the obtaining of their purpose: but in conclusion, the  
earles armie, as men not looking for other succours,

When the bishop was come vnto them, and had declared his message, they first withdrew themselves apart, and fell together in counsell: and after they gaue answer by the mouth of the erle of Warwicke.

Whethamsted  
The bishop of  
Salisbury  
sent to y<sup>e</sup> duk  
of Yorke and  
others.

Their answer  
touching the  
pardon offered.

which consisted in three points. First, that as concerning the pardon, they durst not trust unto it, considering they had diuerse pardons befoze, and the same confirmed by parlement, and yet nothing available to their assurance. Secondlie, that notwithstanding such pardons, those that were about the king, were presumptuous and unrulie, that they cared not at all to breake the kings commandments, nor were any thing abashed to be noted for the breach thereof.

Thirdlie, although by law of the land, and right of the statute, euery lord by vertue of the kings writ, being called to the parlement, ought fasslie to come, fasslie there to remaine, and fasslie to depart and returne home: this notwithstanding, the said earle of Warwike himselfe, at a certeine councill holden at Westminster, by vertue of the kings writ of priuie seale, being there in person, & labouring to his knowledge to giue good aduise and counsell for the profit of the common-wealth, was yet in danger of death, if the Lord above had not the better provided for his escape, moze than anie humane power or force of the kings pardon. For the which cause (quoth he) sith the kings pardon maie be likened in these daies to a buckler of glasse, or to a staffe of reed, in which is no trust, we dare not commit our selues unto the defence of anie such pardons. But if anie other waie might be deuised for their suerties, whereunto they might fasslie trust (he said) they were ready to come to his grace, and to sue for his fauour.

A letter from  
the lords to  
the king.

The king receiuing such answer in these words, or other to the like effect, was nothing contented therewith, and so commanded his standards estioners to aduance. But yet befoze he came nere to the place where they were incamped, the said lords wrote to him a letter in their owne circule, professing they meant no harme in the world against his person, as by their demeanors and proceedings it might well appeare, who had euer fled & withdrawn themselves from place to place, from towne to towne, from village to village, and from countie to countie. Which might serue for an euident token, that they sought for nothing but onelie their owne safegards & quietnesse of the realme, with so much fauour, as in good and safe suertie they might come to his presence, to declare certeine things which in their opinions might turne to the wealth of the realme: and further to make answer to all things that had bene objected against them. And now (said they) we are here remaining in the uttermost parts of the land (that is) in the marches towards Wales, not farre from Ludlow, not vpon anie presumptuous meaning, but rather in all humble lowlinesse of mind and bodie to abide his graces comming: which they besought of God might be in some peaceable manner and fauorable in their behalves.

A proclama-  
tion.

The king hauing receiued this letter, and coniecturing that some bitter meaning laie vnder so sweet a speech, commanded his armie againe to march forth; and comming within halfe a mule of the aduersaries campe, pitched downe his field, and forthwith caused proclamation to be made, that who so euer of his aduersaries would giue ouer his lewd begun enterprise, and repaire to his presence to sue for mercie, he would pardon him of all offenses. This proclamation, comming to the vnderstanding of them in the duke of Yorkes host, caused a great number that were there with him against the king, to get abate & come to the kings side. Whereouer, there rose among the residue great murmuring: so as they seemed verie like to grow to a greuous mutinie.

Andrew  
Trollop for-  
sakes the  
lords.

Amongst other of those that came to the kings campe, Andrew Trollop was chiefe, who with the other Calissians, which had long serued the king, and liued a long time by his wages, perceiuing now that

they should fight against their soueraine lord himselfe (whose true subject they esteemed befoze that time the earle of Warwike euer to haue bene, and in no wise his enimie) in the dead of the night befoze the daie of the battell secretlie departed from the dukes campe, and submitted themselves to the king, aduising him of all things deuised against him. Whereof part was, that the duke of Yorke by his expert capitaine appointed vpon a waie how to set vpon his enimies, & easilie to discomfit them; so as on the next morning he meant to haue assailed the king and his people, yet they could haue bene readie of warie of his comming.

But now by the going abwaie thus of his capitaine and people, that purpose was disappointed. And Andrew Trollop thus departed, he was now as much discomfited, as befoze by trust in him he was encouraged: for all his counsell and purpose by Andrew disclosed, he thought it better for him & his to depart in suertie, than to abide the imminent danger. Wherevpon he with his yonger sonne Edmund earle of Rutland, secretlie fled into Wales, and so passed into Ireland, where he was with all joy and honour gladielie receiued, all the Irish offering to liue and die with him; as if they had bene his liege subjects, and he their lord and prince naturallie boine.

The earle of March sonne and heire apparant to the said duke, accompanied with the earles of Salisburie and Warwike, and sir John Menloche, got abwaie the same night, and came into Devonshire: where, by the meanes of John Dinham esquier (which after was high tresuroz of England, in the daies of king Henrie the seauenth) they bought a ship which cost a hundred and ten marks at Exmouth, and sailed into Cerneseie, after came to Calis, where being let in at the posterne, they were iustlicie welcomed of their friends, namelie of sir William Perrell lord Fauconbridge, that was the earle of Warwikes uncle, and brother to the earle of Salisburie, who had the towne and castell in keeping. All these being assembled cast their heads together, and euery one seuerallie had his deuise for the perfecting of their purpose, whereto there wanted in them neither will nor hardinesse.

But now to returne to the king. When in the morning he was aduertised that the duke of Yorke and his partakers were fled and gone, he caused all his horsemen to follow them; although in vaine: for they were got farre enough out of danger (as befoze ye haue heard.) The king pardoned all the poore soldiers, saving certeine ringleaders, of the which some he punished and fined, and some he hanged and quartered. After this he remoued to Ludlow, and there brake vp his host, and spoiling the towne and castell, he sent the duchesse of Yorke with hir two yong sonnes to be kept in ward with the duchesse of Buckingham hir sister. This done, he proclaimed these lords, traitors to him, enimies to their countie, and rebels to the crowne, confiscating their lands, goods, and offices: and committed the gouernance of the north parts to the earle of Northumberland, and to the lord Clifford, as to his trustie and most faithfull friends, & of his towne of Calis he made capitaine Henrie the new duke of Summerfet.

This duke reioysing much in his new office, chose forth diuerse valiant and hardie souldiers, and with great pompe hostlie after toke the seas, and sailed towards Calis. But when he thought to haue entered the haven, the artillerie shot so hotlie, both out of the towne, and from Risebanke, that he suffering there a fore repulse, was faine to land at Whitlandbaie; and sent word to the capitaine of the towne to receiue him as the kings lieutenant, shewing to them his letters patents. But neither he nor his

Whitland

The estimate  
tion of An-  
drew Trol-  
lop.  
The duke of  
Yorke embus-  
complaints.

John Din-  
ham.

The lord Ri-  
vers taken.

John Stow.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S.  
pag. 62.  
1460  
Sir Bald-  
uine fral-  
d his en-  
terprise.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S.  
pag. 68, 69,  
67, 68, 69.

The lord  
proclaimed  
traitors.

The duke of  
Summerfet  
made capitaine  
of Calis.

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The lords  
nd proclaimed  
traitors.

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The duke of  
Summeret  
made captive  
of Calis.

writing was once regarded: and so of necessity he resorted to the castell of Guisnes, dailie skirmishing with the garrison of Calis, more to his losse than gaine. Diuerse of the mariners of those ships that went ouer with him, after his arrival, owing more good will to the earle of Warwike than to this yong duke, conuicted their ships into the haven of Calis, and in them diuerse of the earle of Warwikes enemies, as Jamin Findill, John Ffelow, and diuerse others, the which being presented unto the earle of Warwike, he caused their heads forthwith to be stricken off.

Shortlie after, Richard lord Riuers, and sir Anthony Woodville his valiant sonne that was after lord Seales, accompanied with foure hundred warlike persons, were appointed to passe ouer to Guisnes, to aide the duke of Summeret against his aduersaries, which laie in Calis. But as they sojourned at Sandwich abiding for wind and weather to transport them ouer, the earles of March and Warwike had knowledge thereof, and sent John Dinham with a small number of men (but a multitude of valiant hearts) unto the towne of Sandwich, which suddenly entered the same, and toke the lord Riuers and his sonne also in their beds, robbing houses, and spoiling ships. And beside this, they toke the principall ships of the kings nauie, and had them alwaie with them to Calis (one excepted called *Grace de Dieu* which might not be had alwaie because she was broken in the bottome) and there presented them to the earle of March, of whome he was long receiued. For though in the fight he was sore hurt & malined in the leg, so as he halted euer after, yet he bare himselfe so worthilie in that enterpryse, that his praise was great amongst all men.

¶ Sir Baldwine Fulford undertooke on paine of losing his head, that he would destroy the earle of Warwike: but when he had spent the king a thousand marks in monie, he returned againe. After this god fortune thus chanced to the lords, diuerse of the best ships taken in the haven of Sandwich, were well vittelled and manned, and with them the earle of Warwike sailed into Ireland, to common with the duke of Poike of their great affaires and businessse. The weather and wind were so fauourable to the earles purpose, that within lesse than thirtie daies he passed and repassed from Calis to Dublin, and backe againe.

The duke of Ercester, being chiefe admerall of the sea, laie in the west countie, and durst not once meddle with the earle of Warwikes nauie, as he came by; by reason of the mistrust which he had in the captains and mariners of his owne nauie: who by their murmuring well shewed that they wished the earle of Warwikes good successe. ¶ But here is to be remembred, that after the great discomfiture of the lords (as before you haue heard) and proclamation made against them as traitors, the duke of Poike and the earles of Salisburie and Warwike had conference; and thereupon concluded with one assent, to write a letter excusatorie (supposing thereby to saue by the force) in all their names to the king: and so did, as followeth.

A copie of the said letter excusatorie written by the said duke and earles.



Most christian king, right high and mighty prince, and our most dread soueraigne lord, after as humble recommendations to your high excellencie as will suffice. Our true intent to the prosperitie and augmentation of your high estate, and to the common-weale of

this realme, hath bene shewed vnto your highnesse in such writing as we make thereof. And ouer that, an indenture signed by our hands in the church cathedraall of Worcester, comprehending the proofe of the truth and dutie that (God knoweth) we beare to your said estate, and to the preheminance and prerogative thereof, we sent vnto your god grace by the prior of the said church, and diuerse other doctors, and among other, by maister William Linwood doctor of diuinitie, which ministred vnto vs severallie the blessed sacrament of the bodie of Iesus, whereupon we and euerie of vs depose for our said truth and dutie, according to the tenor of the said indenture.

And since that time we haue certified at large in writing and by mouth, by Carter king of armes, not onelie to your said highnesse, but also to the god and worthy lords being about your most noble presence, the largenesse of our said truth and dutie, and our intent and disposition, to search all the motions that might serue conuenientlie to the affirmation thereof, and to our perfect suerties from such inconuenient and vnreruent jeopardies as we haue bene put in diuerse times here before. Whereof we haue cause to make, and ought to make such exclamation and complaint, not without reason, as is not vnknown to all the said worthy lords, and to all this land; and will offer vs to your high presence, to the same intent, if we might so do, with our said suertie, which onelie causeth vs to keepe such fellowship as we do in our lawfull manner.

And hereto we haue forborne, and auoided all things that might serue to the effusion of christian blood, of the dread that we haue of God, and of your roiall maiestie: and haue also eschued to approach your said most noble presence, for the humble obsequance and reuerence wherein we haue, and during our life will haue the same. And yet neuer thelesse we heare, that we be proclaimed and defamed in our name vnrighthie, vnlawfullie, and (sauius your high reuerence) vnrulie, and otherwise (as God knoweth) than we haue giuen cause; knowing certeinlie, that the blessed and noble intent of your said god grace, and the righteounesse thereof is, to take, repute, and accept your true and lawfull subiects; and that it accordeth neither with your said intent, nor with your will or pleasure, that we should be otherwise taken or reputed. And ouer that, our lordships and tenants bene of high violence robbed and spoiled, against your peace and lawes, and all righteounesse.

¶ We therfore, as we suffice, beseech your said god grace, to take, repute, and reueue therevnto our said truth and intent, which to God is knowne, as we shew it by the said tenor of the same indenture. And not applie your said blessednesse, ne the great righteounesse and equitie wherewith God hath euer indured your high nobilitie, to the importune impatience and violence of such persons, as intend of extream malice to proceed vnder the shadow of your high might and presence) to our destruction, for such inordinate couetise (whereof God is not pleased) as they haue to our lands, offices, and goods, not letting or sparing therefore, to put such things in all lamentable and too sorrowfull jeopardie, as might in all wise take effect, by the myserie of Gods will and power.

¶ Not hauing regard to the effusion of christian blood, ne anie tendernesse to the noble blood of this land, such as serue to the tuition and defense thereof, ne not waiting the losse of your true liege men of your said realme, that God defend, which knoweth our intent, and that we haue auoided therefrom as farre as we may with our suerties; not of anie dread that we haue of the said persons, but onelie of the dread of God and of your said highnesse, and will not vse our said defense vntill the time that we be prouoked

hed of necessitie, whereof we call heauen and earth vnto witness and record, and therein beseech God to be our iudge, and to deliuer vs according to our said intent, and our said truth & dutie to your said highnesse, and to the said common-weale.

Most christian king, right high and mightie prince, and most dread soueraigne lord, we beseech our blessed Lord to preserve your honour and estate in joy and felicitie. Written at Ludlow the tenth daie of October: R. Pothe, R. Warwike, R. Salisburie.

A parlement at Conentre.

Duke of Yorke and others thereto attainced.

Ludlow spoiled.

Whethamsted.

The kings inclination to mercie.

Abr. Fl.

Onid. de Ponto. lib. 1.

Obert Montford esquire faith Whethamsted, who should also have gone on to Guines with five hundred soldiers to the aid of the duke of Summerset.

The lord Fauconbridge was chiefe of this enterprise faith Whethamsted.

Chyrtene beheaded at once.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 692, 693.

During this time the king called a parlement in the citie of Conentre, which began the twentieth of September, in the which were attainted of high treason, Richard duke of Yorke, Edward erle of March his sonne and heire, Richard earle of Warwike, Edmund earle of Rutland, Richard earle of Salisburie, John lord Clifford, lord Clinton, sir Thomas Warrington, sir John Wenlock, Thomas Peuill & John Peuill sons of the earle of Salisburie, James Pickeering, John Coniers, Thomas Par, William Oldhall, and Henrie Ratford knights; John Bowser, Thomas Coke, John Claie, Richard Citon, Robert Woloue, Edward Bowser, Thomas Vaughan, John Roger, Richard Greie, Walter Deuoreur, Walter Hopton, Roger Linderton, Will. Bowes, Forlike Stafford, the lord Polwis, and Alice countesse of Salisburie, their goods and possessions escheated, and their heires disherited vnto the ninth degree, their tenants spoiled of their goods, maimed and slaine; the towne of Ludlow, belonging to the duke of Yorke, was robbed to the bare wals, & the duches of Yorke spoiled of his goods.

But (saith another) when the king should come to geue his consent vnto the acts passed in the same parlement, and that the clerke of the parlement had read that statute of the attainder of those lords; such was the kings modestie and great zeale vnto mercie, that he caused a prouiso to be put in, and added vnto the same statute, that it might be lawfull vnto him at all times fullie without doutfullie of any other parlement, to pardon the same noble men, and restore them againe to their former estates, degrees, and dignities in all things, so they would come in vnto him, and in the spirit of humblenesse beseech him of grace and fauour. Wherein the king gaue euident testimonie, that he was indued with those qualities of mind which the poet ascribed vnto Cesar (namelie slow to punish, & sad when he was constrained to be seuerer; with the one commended his lenitie, the other sauoured of tyrannie) in this distinction of like termination:

*Est piger ad poenas princeps, ad premia velox, Cuiq; dolet quousq; cogitur esse ferax.*

Wherewith also order was taken for the defense of the heuens & landing places alongst the sea coasts. Sir Simon Montford, with a great crew of men, was appointed to keepe the downes, and the five ports; and all men passing into Flanders were vpon paine of death prohibited to passe by Calis, least the lords there should borrow of them any prest monie, as they did lately before of the merchants of the staple the summe of eightene thousand pounds. The lords were not ignorant of all the kings provisions made against them, but were ascertained dalleie what was done euen in the kings priue chamber: wherefore first they sent a companie to Sandwich vnder the gouernance of the lord Fauconbridge, who took the towne, & sir Simon & Obert Montford within it, and sent him with all his mates to Calis, where incontinently he with twelue of his chiefe fellows lost their heads on the sand before Alesbanke.

The earles at Calis sent to the archbishop of Canturburie, and to the commons of England at large

certaine articles in writing, beginning thus: We the duke of Yorke, the earles of March, Warwike, and Salisburie, send and offered to haue come to the king our soueraigne lords most noble presence, to haue declared there afore him for our dutie to God and to his highnesse, and to the prosperitie and welfare of his noble estate, and to the common-weale of all his land as true liege men, the matters following.

10 Articles sent from the duke of Yorke, and the earles, to the archbishop of Canturburie and the commons.



In primis, the great oppression, extortion, robbrie, murder, and other violence done to Gods church, and to his ministers thereof; against Gods and mans law.

2 Item, the pouertie and miserie that to our great heavinesse our soueraigne lord standeth in, not hauing any liuelod of the crowne of England whereof he may keepe his honorable household, which causeth the spoiling of his said liege men by the takers of his said household, which liuelod is in their hands that haue bene destroyers of his said estate, and of the said common-weale.

3 Item, how his lawes be parcialle and unrightfullie guided, and that by them that should most lone and tender his said lawes, the said oppression and extortion is most fauoured and supported; and generally, that all rightousnesse and iustice is crield out of the said land, and that no man dareth to offend against the said lawes.

4 Item, that it will please his said god grace to liue vpon his owne liuelod, where vpon his noble progenitors haue in daies heretofore liued as honorable and as worthilie as any christian princes, and not to suffer the destroyers of the said land, and of his true subiects, to liue there vpon, and therefore to lacke the sustentances that should be belonging to his said estate, and: and his said household vpon his poore commons, without payment, which neither accordeth with Gods nor mans law.

5 Item, how oft the said commons haue bene greatlie and inuicellouslie charged with taxes and tallages to their great impoverishing, whereof little good hath either growne to the king or to the said land, and of the most substance thereof the king hath lest to his part not halfe so much; and other lords and persons, enemies to the said common-weale, haue to their owne vse, suffering all the old possessions that the king had in France and Flandres, Anion and Haine, Gascoigne and Guien, wone and gotten by his father of most noble memorie, and other his noble progenitors, to be shamefullie lost or sold.

6 Item, how they can not cease therewith, but now begin a new charge of imposition and tallages vpon the said people, which neuer afore was sente; that is to saie, enerie towneship to find men for the kings gard, taking example therein of our enemies and aduersaries of France. Which imposition & tallage, if it be continued to heire, heires, and successors, will be the heauiest charge and worst example that euer grew in England; and the foresaid subiects, and the said heires and successors in such bondage, as their ancestors were neuer charged with.

7 Item, where the king hath now no more liuelod out of his realme of England, but onelie the land of Irel and the towne of Calis, and that no king christened hath such a land and a towne without his realme; diuerse lords haue caused his highnesse to write letters vnder his priue seale, vnto his Iustices, which neuer king of England did heretofore,



the, whereby they may haue comfort to enter into the conquest of the said land, which letters the same Irish enimies sent unto me the said duke of Yorke, and maruelled greatlie that anie such letters should be to them sent, speaking therein great shame and villanie of the said realme.

8 Item, in like wise the king by exortation and labour of the same lords, wrote other letters to his enimies and aduersaries in other lands, that in no wise they should thew anie fauour or good will to the towne of Calis, whereby they had comfort inough to proceed to the winning thereof. Considered also, that it is ordeined by the labour of the said lords, that no where bittels nor other thing of refreshing or defense should come out of England, to the succour or reliefe of the said towne, to the intent that they would haue it lost, as it may openlie appeare.

9 Item, it is deemed and ought greatlie to be deemed, that after the same lords would put the same rule of England, if they might haue their purpose and intent, into the hands and gouernance of the said enimies.

10 Item, how continuallie since the pitious, shamefull, and sorrowfull murder to all England, of that noble, worthy, and christian prince Humfrie duke of Gloucester the kings true vnckle, at Burie, it hath bene laboured, studied, and conspired, to haue destroyed and murdered the said duke of Yorke, and the issue that it pleased God to send me of the roiall blood, and also of vs the said earles of Marwike and Salisburie, for none other cause but for the true hart that (God knoweth) we euer haue borne, and beare to the profit of the kings estate, to the common-weale of the same realme, and defense thereof.

11 Item, how the earles of Shrewesburie and Wilshire, and the lord Beaumont, our mortall and extreme enimies now, and of long time past, hauing the guiding about the most noble person of our said soueraigne lord, whose highnesse they haue restrained & kept from the libertie & freedom that belongeth to his said estate, & the supporters & fauourers of all the promises, would not suffer the kings said good grace to receive and accept vs, as he would haue done, if he might haue had his owne will, into his said presence, breaching the charge that would haue bene laid vpon them, of the miserie, destruction, and wickednesse of the said realme, whereof they be causes, and not the king, which is himselfe as noble, as vertuous, as righteous and blessed of disposition, as a nic prince earthlye.

12 Item, the earles of Wilshire and Shrewesburie, and the lord Beaumont, not satisfied nor content with the kings possessions and his goods, stirred and excited his said highnesse to hold his parlement at Conentrie, where an act is made by their prouocation and labour, against vs the said duke of Yorke, my sonnes March and Rutland, and the earles of Marwike and Salisburie, and the sonnes of the said earle of Salisburie, & manie other knights and esquires of diuerse matters falselie and vntrolic imagined, as they will answer afore almightie God in the date of downe; the which the said earles of Shrewesburie & Wilshire, and the lord Beaumont prouoked to be made, to the intent of our destruction and of our issue; and that they might haue our liuelod and goods, as they haue openlie robbed and despoiled all our places and our tenements, and manie other true men, and now proceed to hanging and drawing of men by tyrannie, and will therein thew the largenesse of their violence and malice as vengeable as they can, if no remedie be prouided at the kings highnesse, whose blessednes is neither assenting nor knowing thereof.

Wherefore, seeing all the said mischieses, hea-

ring also that the French king maketh in his land great assemble of his people, which is greatlie to be dread for manie causes, purpose yet againe with Gods grace to offer vs to come againe to the said presence of our said soueraigne lord, to open and declare vnto him there, the mischieses aboue declared; and in the name of the land to sue, in as reuerent and loiallie wise as we can, to his said good grace, to haue pittie and compassion vpon his said true subiects, and not to suffer the same mischieses to reigne vpon them. Requiring you in Gods behalfe, and praesing you in our owne, therein to assist vs, doing alwaie the due tie of liege men in our persons to our soueraigne lord, to his estate, prerogatiue, and preheminance, and to the suertie of his most noble person, wherevnto we haue euer bene and will be as true as anie of his subiects aliuie, thereof we call God, our labie saint Marie, and all the saints in heauen to witnesse.

10 In the meane time, the earle of Wilshire treasurer of England, the lord Seales & the lord Hungerford went to Newberie, which belonged to the duke of Yorke, and there made inquisition of all them that in anie wise had fauoured the said duke; whereof some were found guiltie, and were drawn, hanged, and quartered, and all the inhabitants of the towne were spoiled of their goods, from thence the earle of Wilshire went to Southampton; where, under colour to take the earle of Marwike, he armed five great carracks of Fene with souldiers, taking bittels of the kings price without payment, and put a great part of his treasure into the said carracks, and after sailed about in the sea, and at last stole into Dutchland, sending backe againe his souldiers into England. When were the kings priuie seales directed to all bishops, abbats, priors, and other states, to lend the king monie, therewith to wage souldiers to keepe the sea coasts.]

40 After the kings nauie was gained, and his capteins (as before we haue heard) on the sea taken; the lords Heng at Calis, being aduertised from the lord Fauconbridge (who after the taking of Pontford late still in Kent) that the people of that countrie and other parts were altogether bent in their fauor, and no lesse addicted to do them seruice both with bodie and goods, than the Irishmen seemed to be at their receiving of the said duke of Yorke, and his yonger sonne Edmund earle of Rutland, whom they so highly honoured, that they offered to line and die in their quarrell; they conceived therevpon so great hope in their friends within the realme, that they determined to passe the sea, and therewith entring their ships with fiftene hundred men landed all at Sandwich.

50 [But it is to be read in a late writer, that the commons of Kent dreading the like vengeance towards them, as fell vpon them of Newberie, sent priuie messengers to Calis to the foresaid earles, beseeching them in all hast possible to come to their succour. Wherevpon the said earles sent ouer into Kent the lord Fauconbridge, to know if their dees would accord with their words: so that anon the people of Kent and the other shires adjoining, resorted to the said lord Fauconbridge in great number. Wherefore when the earles knew the willing hartes of those people, they prepared to come into this land. Against whose coming, a long ballet was fired vpon the gates of Canturburie, made in fauour of the duke of Yorke and the said earles, beginning thus: In the daie of fast and spirituall affliction, the celestiaall influence of bodies transitorie, &c.]

Now as they passed through Kent, there came to them the lord Cobham, John Gifford, William Bede, Robert Horne, and manie other gentlemen; so that before they approached to London, their number

The earle of Wilshire and other spoiled Newberie.

The earle of Wilshire stole ouer the seas.

Prinse seales for monie.

Abr. Flem.

Abr. Fl. ex l. S. pag. 697.

The men of Kent sent to Calis for the earles.

Wherewithed 1460

ber was esteemed above fourtie thousand fighting men, for the same of their landing being once knowne, gentlemen and yeomen resorted to them out of all the south parts of the realme. Upon which rumor, Thomas lord Scales, a man in great fauour with the king & queene, accompanied with the earle of Kendall a Calcoigne, and the lord Louell, resorted to London with a great companie of armed men, declaring to the maior, that their repaire onelie was to defend and keepe the citie from spoile of such traitors as the king was crediblie informed were thither comming. To whom the maior answered, that he needed no fellow helper, either to defend or gouerne the citie to him committed in charge. With which answer the lord Scales and his associates nothing contented, entred into the Tower, daile deuising waies how to grieue the citizens, whom he perceiued to fauour rather the duke of Borks part, than the kings.

But shortly after the earles of March and Warwick, and other of their affinitie, came to London, and were of the maior and citizens so iouslie receiued, to whome resorted Thomas archbishop of Canturburie, the bishops of London, Lincoln, Salisburie, Chichester, with manie other prelates and religious persons: amongst whom also was the popes legat to treat of peace, if need so required. Upon good deliberation and aduise had and taken amongst these lords how to go forward with their weightie enterprise, the earles of March and Warwick, William lord Fauconburghe, Henrie lord Bourchier, called earle of Eu, with a great number of men which came out of Kent, Essex, Surrie, and Suffex, to the number (as some writers affirme) of fine and twentie thousand persons, departed from London toward the king lieng at Couentrie, then called the queenes secret harbour, leauing behind them to keepe the Londoners in their promised friendship, the earle of Salisburie, the lord Cobham, and sir John Wenlocke, which took such order, and watched the gates and entries on each side so diligentlie, that no succours might come to the lord Scales lodging in the tower; who took therewith such displeasure, that he shot out his great ordinance against them within the citie, and they likewise shot at him againe, to the hurt and no pleasure of both parts.

The king hauing knowledge of all these doings, assembled a great armie, and accompanied with the duke of Summerfet (latelie come from Guines) and the duke of Buckingham, and diuerse other great lords that took his part, came to Portsmouth; where the queene perceiuing his puissance to be able to match in fight with the aduersaries, took upon him to encourage his friends and well-willers: for the king studied of nothing but of peace, quietnesse, and solitarie life. When the whole host of the kings part was assembled, the same issued forth of the towne, and passing ouer the riuer of Tine, lodged in the new field betwene Harington and Sandhith, strongly fencing themselves about with high banks, and deepe trenches. On the other part, the lords being herewith advanced verie nere the place where the kings people lay without Portsmouth; the bishops that were there with them, by the aduise and consent of the said lords, sent vnto the king the bishop of Salisburie, to vnderstand his mind, and to moue him vnto some treatie of peace, and to admit the archbishop of Canturburie, and the other bishops there present, to be mediators in the matter, that some good accord might be concluded betwixt the parties, so as an vniuersall peace might be restored in all parts through the whole realme.

The bishop of Salisburie doing this message not so circumspetie as had bene conuenient, returned without bringing any towarde answer; but rather

words of high despite and bitter defiance. For the lords that were about the king, trusting in their warlike engines and strength of place, in which they were incamped, though otherwise inferior in number of men, purposed to abide the brunt of battell, and so led with the spirit of rashnesse, sent none other answer backe againe by the bishop, but contumelious words sounding greatlie to the reproch of their aduersaries; who being sore offended therewith, determined to seeke reuenge with dint of sword. The earle of March as then being in the flower of his lustie and most couragious youth, lieng betwixt Touceto and Portsmouth, determined to set on the kings armie without longer delay: and thereupon in the night season removed his campe toward Portsmouth, and in marching forward set his men in order of battell: whereof the banward was led by the earle of Warwick, which either by strength or stealth wan a street which the lord Beaumont kept, going toward the kings campe; and herewith entering freshlie with his people, began the battell about seauen of the clocke the ninth daie of Iulie. After him followed the earle of March with the banner of his father. Others write, that the earle of March led the foreward, the earle of Warwick the middleward, and the lord Fauconburghe the reeward.

Moreover, that Edmund lord Greie of Ruthen, who was on the kings side, failed in the trust committed to him: for where the enemies could not without great danger enter upon the kings campe, by reason of a mightie trench and rampire pight full of piles and sharpe stakes, wherewith the campe was compassed about: the said lord Greie came with his men, and with helping hands pulled the enemies by, and receiued them into the field, where the battell was begun with great force & violence. For being now entred the field, they set upon the kings people so fiercelie, that it seemed they ment either to obtaine the victorie, or to die for it, euen all the whole number of them. The fight continued right fierse and cruell, with vncertaine victorie, till the houre of nine: at which time the kings armie was discomfited, and of the same slaine and drowned in the riuer, few lesse than ten thousand; and the king himselfe left comfortlesse alone was taken by the aduersaries, as a man in great miserie.

At this battell fought at Portsmouth, were slaine Humfreie duke of Buckingham, John Talbot earle of Shrewesburie, a valiant person, and not degenerating from his noble parents, Thomas lord Egremont, John viscount Beaumont, and sir William Lucie, which made great loss to come to part of the fight, and at his first approach was stricken in the head with an ar. Besides these that were slaine, manie were taken prisoners, because they left their horses, alighting to fight on foot. The duke of Summerfet, and other, which narrowly escaped, fled with the queene and prince into the bishopricke of Durham. The earles, hauing got the victorie in this bloodie battell, conueied the king to London, and lodged him in the bishops palace. After whose comming to the citie, the Tower was deliuered to the earle of March, upon a certeine composition; but the lord Scales suspecting the sequelle of the deliuerie thereof, took a wherrie priuillie, intending to haue fled to the queene; but he was espyed by diuerse watermen belonging to the earle of Warwick (which waited for his forth comming on the Thames) and suddenly taken, was shortly slaine with manie darts & daggers, and his bodie left naked and all bloudie at the gate of the clinke, and after was buried in the church adjoining.

Then were diuerse persons apprehended, and indicted of treason, whereof some were pardoned, and some executed. Thomas Thorpe second baron of the clcher,

Concentric the  
queenes secret  
harbour.

The queene  
the better  
captaine.

Whethamsted

The battell  
at Portsmouth

Whethamsted

Anno Reg. 1

The A. G. of  
Warwick

Whethamsted  
The duke of  
Borks com-  
muth south  
Ireland.

Whethamsted

Edw. Hall.  
The kings  
part discom-  
fited.

Strange  
means of  
the king of  
York

The A. G. of  
Warwick

Whethamsted

The Tower  
deliuered  
to the earle  
of March

The king  
of Borks

The king  
of Borks

her, was committed to the Tower, where he remained long after, for that he was knowne to be great friend to the house of Lancaster. ¶ When queene Margaret heard that the k. was taken, the with hir sonne, and eight persons fled to the castell of Harbrough in Wales, and was robbed by the wale in Lancashire of all hir goods, to the value of ten thousand markes: from thence she went into Scotland. Thus you see what fruits the tree of ciuill discord doth bring forth; that euill tree, which whilest some haue taken paine to plant, and some to pzoine and nourish, for others confusion (to whome they haue giuen a taste of those apples which it bare, far more bitter than colquintida) themselves haue bene forced to take such share as befell them by lot. ¶ For as it is not possible that a common tier, whose heat & flame is bruerfallie spread, should spare any particular place (for so should it not be generall) no moze is it likelie that in ciuill commotions, rebellions, insurrections, and partakings in conflicts and pitched fields (speciallie under ringleaders of great countenance and personage, such as be the peres and states of kingdoms) anie one should, though perhaps his life, yet (a thousand to one) not saue his bloud vnspilt, nor his goods vnspolled. ¶ During this trouble, a parlement was summoned to begin at Westminster, in the moneth of October next following.

In the meane time the duke of Boke, aduertised of all these things, sailed from Dublin towards England, and landed at the red banke nere to the citie of Chelster, with no small companie: and from Chelster by long tournies he came to the citie of London, which he entred the fridaie before the feast of S. Edward the Confessor, with a sword borne naked before him, with trumpets also sounding, and accompanied with a great traine of men of armes, and other of his friends and seruants. At his comming to Westminster he entred the palace, and passing forth directly through the great hall, staied not till he came to the chamber, where the king and lords used to sit in the parlement time, commonlie called the vpper house, or chamber of the peres, and being there entred, stepped vpon the throneroyal, and there laung his hand vpon the cloth of estate, seemed as if he meant to take possession of that which was his right (for he held his hand so vpon that cloth a good pzetie while) and after withdrawing his hand, turned his face towards the people, beholding their preassing togither, and marking what countenance they made.

Whilest he thus stood and beheld the people, supposing they reioiced to see his presence, the archbishop of Canturburie (Thomas Bourcher) came to him, & after due salutations, asked him if he would come and see the king. With which demand he seeming to take disdain, answered briefly, and in few words thus: I remember not that I know anie within this realme, but that it befleemeth him rather to come and see my person, than I to go and see his. The archbishop hearing his answer, went backe to the king, and declared what answer he had receiued of the dukes owne mouth. After the archbishop was departed to the king that late in the queenes lodging, the duke also departed, and went to the most principall lodging that the king had within all his palace, bearing vpon the lockes and doores, and so lodged himselfe therein, moze like to a king than a duke, continuing in the same lodging for a time to the great indignation of manie, that could not in anie wise like of such presumptuous attempts made by the duke, to thrust himselfe in possession of the crowne, and to depose king Henrie, who had reigned ouer them so long a time.

¶ After Edward Hall in his chronicle maketh mention of an oration, which the duke of Boke uttered,

sitting in the regall seat there in the chamber of the peres, either at this his first comming in amongst them, or else at some one time after, the which we haue thought good also to set downe: though Iohn Whethamsted the abbat of saint Albons, who liued in those daies, and by all likelihood was there present at the parlement, maketh no further recitall of anie words, which the duke should utter at that time in that his booke of records, where he intreateth of this matter. But for the oration (as maister Hall hath written thereof) we find as followeth. ¶ During the time (saith he) of this parlement, the duke of Boke with a bold countenance entered into the chamber of the peres, and sat downe in the throneroyal, under the cloth of estate (which is the kings peculiar seat) and in the presence of the nobilitie, as well spirituall as tempozall (after a pause made) he began to declare his title to the crowne, in this forme and order as insueth.

Edw. Hall. in  
Hen. 6. fol.  
clxxvij, &c.

### The duke of Yorks oration made to the lords of the parlement.

**M** singular good lords, maruell not that I approach vnto this throne: for I sit here as in the place to me by verie iustice lawfullie belonging: & here I rest, as to whom this chaire of right apperteineth, not as he which requireth of you fauour, partialitie, or bearing, but equall right, friendlie indifferencie, and true administration of iustice. For I being the partie grieved, and complainant, can not minister to my selfe the medicine that should helpe me (as expert laches & cunning surgians maie) except you be to me both faithfull aiders & also true counsellors. For yet this noble realme and our naturall countrie shall neuer be unbuckled from hir daile feuer, except I (as the principall physician, and you as the true and trustie apothecaries) consult togither in making of the potion, and trie out the cleane and pure luffe from the corrupt and putrified drugs.

For vndoubtedlie, the root and bottome of this long festured canker is not yet extirpate, nor the feeble foundation of this fallible building is not yet espied, which hath bene and is the daile destruction of the nobilitie, and the continuall confusion of the poore communalitie of this realme and kingdome. For all you know (or should know) that the high and mightie prince king Richard the second, was the true and vndoubted heire to the valiant conqueror and renowned prince king Edward the third, as sonne & heire to the hardie knight and couragious capteine Edward prince of Wales, duke of Aquitaine and Cornewall, eldest sonne to the said king Edward the third: which king was not onelie in deed, but also of all men reputed and taken for the true and infallible heire to the wise and politike prince king Henrie the third, as sonne and heire to king Edward the second, sonne and heire to king Edward the first, the very heire and first begotten sonne of the said noble and vertuous prince king Henrie the third.

¶ q. ii.

Which

he battell of  
Ozthampid,

he hamsted

he L. Crow  
Rutben,

Ano. Reg. 38.

When hamsted  
The duke of  
Boke com-  
meth forth of  
Ireland.

When hamsted

w. Hall.  
he brings  
re. discom-  
d.

he is taken

A strange be-  
hauour of the  
duke of York.

he both  
such.

he Tower  
uered to  
carle of  
arch.

he is  
alen. 1460.

mad  
1460.

Which king Richard of that name the second, was lawfullie & iustlie possessed of the crowne and diadem of this realme and region, till Henrie of Derby duke of Lancaster and Hereford, sonne to John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster, the fourth begotten sonne to the said king Edward the third, and yonger brother to my noble ancestoz Lionell duke of Clarence, the third begotten sonne of the said king Edward, by force and violence, contrarie both to the dutie of his allegiance, and also to his homage to him both done and sworn, raised warre and battell at the castle of Flint in North-wales, against the said king Richard, and him apprehended, and imprisoned within the Tower of London: during whose life and captiuitie, he wrongfullie usurped and intruded vpon the roiall power, and high estate of this realme and region, taking vpon him the name, stile, and authoritie of king and gouernour of the same.

And not therewith satisfied, and contented, compassed and accomplished the death and destruction of his naturall prince, and most worthy souereigne lord, not as a common homicide and butcherlie murtherer, but as a regicide, and destroyer of his king. After whose pitious death, and execrable murther, the right and title of the crowne, and superiouritie of this realme was lawfullie reuerted & returned to Roger Mortimer earle of March, sonne and heire to ladie Philip the onelie child of the aboue rehearsed Lionell duke of Clarence, vnto which Rogers daughter called Anne, my most darest and welbeloued mother, I am the verie true and lineall heire, which descent all you can not iustlie gaine say, nor yet trulie denie. Then remember this, if the title be mine, why am I put from it: If I be true heire to the crowne (as I am in deed) why is my right withhelden: If my claime be good, why haue I not iustice? For suertie, learned men of great science and knowledge say and affirme, that lineall descent, nor usurped possession can nothing preuaile, if continuall claime be lawfullie made, or openlie published.

For the auoiding of which scruple and ambiguitytie, Edmund earle of March my most welbeloued vnckle, in the time of the first usurper, in deed but not by right called king Henrie the fourth, by his coelines the earle of Northumberland, & the lord Percie, he being then in captiuitie with Owen Glendouer the rebell in Wales, made his title & righteous claime to the destruction of both the noble persons. Likewise my most darest lord my father, so farre set forth that right and title, that he lost his life & worldlie ioy at the towne of Southampton, more by power than indifferent iustice. Since whose death, I comming to my full age, haue neuer desisted to pursue my title, and require my right, which by meanes of sinister counsell and vniust detention, I can neither obtaine nor recouer. So that of fine force I am compelled to

use power in stead of praier, and force in stead of request; not (as I said before) for my priuat emolument and peculiar profit: but to restore peace, loue, and quietnesse to this our naturall region, which euer since the first vngodlie usurpation of the aforesaid named Henrie, vnrulie called king Henrie the fourth, hath bene clarelie banished, and out of the same vniustlie exiled.

What murthers and manslaughterers haue bene perpetrated and committed within this countrie, since the beginning of that vngodly usurpation: What number of noble men haue bene slaine, destroyed, & executed since that infortunate daie: It is too lamentable and manifest. For although Henrie of Lancaster earle of Derby tooke vpon him the scepter and the crowne, and wrongfullie bare the name and stile of a king; and was not much tickled with mine vnckle the earle of March, at that time being within age: yet was he neuer in suertie of himselfe, nor had or ioined any profit & quietnesse either in mind or in bodie. For suertie, a corrupt conscience, neuer sealeth rest, but looketh when the sword of vengeance will descend and strike. His sonne also called king Henrie the fifth, obtained notable victories, and immortall praises for his noble acts done in the realme of France: yet God (for the offense of his vntrue parent) suddenlie touched him, vnbodyng his soule in the flower of his youth, and in the glorie of his conquest.

And although he had a faire sonne and a yong heire apparant: yet was this orphan such a one (as preachers say) that God threatned to send for a punishment to his vnrulie and vngodly people, sauing by his prophet Esai: I shall giue you children to be your princes, and infants without wisdom shall haue the gouernance of you. The prophet lied not, if you note all things in an order: for after this Henrie the fifth (whose fame no man can iustlie reproue or deface) succeeded his sonne, whom all we haue called our naturall prince, and obeyed as his heire. In whose time and wrongfull reigne, I require you diligently to consider, with what great torments and afflictions God hath whipped & scourged this miserable Ile: yea with such and so manie scourges and plagues, as no nation (the Egyptians onelie excepted) were euer tormented or afflicted withall. I will not speake of rebellious murthers and oppressions, which of late haue bene done and exercised here among vs. But I will declare & manifest to you, how the crowne and glorie of this realme is by the negligence of this sillie man, and his vniust counsell minished, defaced, and also dishonoured.

Is not Normandie, which his father gat, regained & conquered againe, by the insolencie of him & his couetous counsell: Is not the whole duchie of Aquitaine, by two hundred and odd yeares peaceable possessed by the kings of this realme, in one yeare

Prodigious tokens.

The castle of Harburgh besieged.  
The king of Scots through misfortune slaine.

The determination of the parliament concerning the maitling of the crowne.

yeare and a little moze, gotten out of our hands & feignozie: What should I speake of Anjou & Maine, or the losse of the Ile of France, with the rich citie of Paris. Alas it is too apparant. Neither will I molest you with the recitall of all the particulars thereof. But now in the middelt of this affliction, and to make an end of the same: God of his ineffable goodnesse, looking on this countrie with his eyes of pitie & mercie, hath sent me in the truth, to restore againe his decayed kingdome to his ancient fame and old renoume whereof here in open parlement, according to my iust & true title, I haue and doe take possession of this roiall throne: not putting diffidence, but firme hope in Gods grace, that by his diuine aid, and assistance of you the pæres of this realme, I shall beautifie & mainteine the same to the glorie of him, honour of my blood, and to the publike wealth as well of you all here present, as of all the poore commons and subiects of this kingdome and regiment.

When the duke had made an end of his oration, the lords sat still as men stricken into a certeine amazednesse, neither whispering nor speaking forth a word, as though their mouthes had bene sewed by. The duke not verie well content with their silence, aduised them to consider throughlie, and ponder the whole effect of his words and sayings: and so neither fullie displeased, nor yet altogether content, departed to his lodging in the kings palace. While he was declaring thus his title in the higher house among the pæres, there happened a strange chance in the vertic fame, instant amongst the commons in the nether house. A crowne which did hang in the middle of the same to garnish a branch to set lights vpon, without touch of man, or blast of wind, suddenlie fell doونه. About the same time also fell doونه the crowne which stood on the top of Dover castell. Which chanches were construed to be signes, that the crowne of the realme should some waie haue a fall.

The lords forgot not the dukes demand, and to take some direction therein, diuerse of them, as spirituall and temporall, with manie graue and sage persons of the commonaltie daillie assembled at the Blackefriers, and other places, to treat of this matter, being of so great importance. During which time the duke of Yorke, although he and the king were both lodged in the palace of Westmister; yet would he not for anie pælers or request once visit the king, till some conclusion were taken in this matter: saving, that he was subiect to no man, but only to God, vnder whose mercie none here superiour but he. The king of Scots, partlie encouraged thorough the ciuill discord here in England, and partlie for the displeasure which he had conceiued for the death of Edmund duke of Summerset his mothers brother, this yeare besieged the castell of Roxburgh: and by the breaking of a bombard, as the same was shot off against the castell, he chanced to be slaine. Yet the Scots left not off their enterprise, assaulting the castell till they gat it, and then defended it a long time after, till Richard duke of Gloucester was it againe, and rased it.

After long debating of the matter, and deliberate consultation amongst the pæres, prelates, and commons, vpon the vigill of All saints, it was concluded: for so much as king Henrie had bene taken as king by the space of thirtie and eight yeares and moze, that he should inioy the name and title of

king, and haue possession of the realme during his naturall life. And if he either died, or resigned, or forfeited the same, by breaking or going against anie point of this concord, then the said crowne & authoritie roiall should immediatlie be deuoluted and come to the duke of Yorke, if he then liued; or else to the next heire of his linage. And that the duke of Yorke from thence forth should be protectoz and regent of the land. ¶ This was the determination of the parlement to & fro, tending to peace betwene the king & the duke (which was ratified accordynglie) as by the articles insuing doth appeare.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S.  
pag. 700, 701,  
& c. in Quart.

### The articles betwixt king Henrie and the duke of Yorke.

**B**lessed be Iesu, in whose hands and bountie resteth and is the peace and unitie betwixt princes, and the weale of euerie realme: by whose direction (I know) agreed it is, appointed, and accorded as followeth, betwixt the most high and most mightie prince king Henrie the first king of England and of France, and lord of Ireland, on the one partie, and the right high & mightie prince Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke on the other partie: vpon certeine matters of variance moued betwixt them, and especiallie vpon the claime and title vnto the crownes of England and of France, and roiall power, estate, and dignitie appertaining to the same, and lordship of Ireland, opened, shewed, and declared by the said duke, before all the lords spirituall and temporall, being in this present parlement.

First, where the said Richard duke of Yorke hath declared and opened (as is aboue said) title & claime in maner as followeth.

That the right noble and worthy prince, Henrie king of England the third had issue, and lawfullie got Edward the first begotten sonne, borne at Westmister, the fifteenth kalends of Iulie, in the yeare of our Lord 1239, & Edmund his second sonne which was borne on St. Marcells daie, the yere 1200, the which Edward, after the death of king Henrie his father, intituled & called king Edward the first, had issue, Edward his first begotten sonne, called (after the deceasse of his father) king Edward the second, the which had issue, Edward the third; which Edward the third had issue, Edward prince of Wales; William of Hatfield his second sonne; Lionell the third, duke of Clarence; John of Cant fourth, duke of Lancaster; Edmund of Langley fifth, duke of Yorke; Thomas of Woodstocke first, duke of Gloucester; and William of Windsor; sequently.

The said Edward prince of Wales, which died in the life time of his father, had issue Richard, which succeeded Edward the third his grandsire; Richard died without issue; William of Hatfield the second sonne of Edward the third, died without issue; Lionell the third sonne of Edward the third, duke of Clarence, had issue Philip his daughter and heire, which was coupled in matrimonie vnto Edmund Mortimer earle of March, and had issue Roger Mortimer earle of March his sonne and heire; which Roger had issue of Edmund erle of March, Roger Mortimer, Anne, Elianor; which Edmund, Roger, and Elianor died without issue.

And the said Anne coupled in matrimonie, to Richard earle of Cambridge, the sonne of Edmund of Langley, the first sonne of Henrie the third, and had issue Richard Plantagenet, commonlie called duke of Yorke; John of Cant, the fourth sonne of Edward, and the younger brother of the said Lionell, had issue Henrie earle of Derby, vnto incontinentlie after that king Richard resigned the crownes of the realmes

Prodigious  
signs,

The castell of  
Roxburgh be-  
sieged.  
The king of  
Scots  
through  
multitude  
slaine.

The determi-  
nation of the  
parlement con-  
cerning the  
marriage of  
Henrie.



realmes and lordship of Ireland, bntighteouslie entered vpon the same, then being alius Edmund Mortimer earle of March, sonne to Roger Mortimer earle of March, sonne and heire of the said Philip, daughter and heire of the said Lionel, the third sonne of the said king Edward the third, to the which Edmund the right and title of the said crownes and lordship by law and custome belonged. To the which Richard duke of Yorke, as sonne to Anne daughter to Roger Mortimer earle of March, sonne and heire of the said Philip, daughter and heire of the said Lionel, the third sonne of king Edward the third, the right, title, dignitie roiall, and estate of the crownes of the realmes of England and France, and the lordship of Ireland pertaineth and belongeth afore anie issue of the said John of Gaunt, the fourth sonne of the same king Edward.

The said title notwithstanding, and without prejudice of the said Richard duke of Yorke, tenderlie desiring the wealth, rest, and prosperitie of this land, and to set apart all that might be trouble to the same, and considering the possession of the said king Henrie the first, and that he hath for his time bene named, taken, and reputed for king of England and of France, and lord of Ireland, is contented, agreed, and consenteth, that he be had, reputed, and taken for king of England and France, with the roiall estate, dignitie, and preheminance belonging thereunto, and lord of Ireland during his naturall life. And for that time, the said duke, without hurt or prejudice of his said right, and title, shall take, worship, and honour him for his soueraigne lord.

Item, the said Richard duke of Yorke, shall promise and bind him by his solemne oth, in maner and forme as followeth.

The oth of  
Richard duke  
of Yorke.

In the name of God Amen: I Richard duke of Yorke, promise and sweare by the faith and truth that I owe to almighty God, that I shall neuer consent, procure, or stirre, directie or indirectie, in priue or apert, neither (as much as in me is) shall suffer to be done, consented, procured, or stirred, anie thing that may sound to the abridgement of the naturall life of king Henrie the first, or to the hurt or diminishing of his reigne or dignitie roiall, by violence, or anie other waie, against his freedom or libertie: but if any person or persons would do or presume anie thing to the contrarie, I shall with all my might and power withstand it, and make it to be withstood, as far as my power will stretch thereunto, so helpe me God and his holie euangelists.

Item, Edward earle of March, and Edmund earle of Rutland, sonnes of the said duke of Yorke, shall make like oth.

Item, it is accorded, appointed, and agreed, that the said Richard duke of Yorke, shall be called and reputed from henceforth, verie and rightfull heire to the crownes, roiall estate, dignitie and lordship aboue said; and after the deceasse of the said king Henrie, or when he will laie from him the said crownes, estate, dignitie, and lordship, the said duke and his heires shall immediatlie succede to the said crownes, roiall estate, dignitie and lordship.

Item, the said Richard duke of Yorke, shall haue by authoritie of this present parliament, castles, manors, lands, and teneiments, with the wards, marriages, reliefes, seruices, fines, amercements, offices, aduonsions, fees, and other appurtenances to them belonging, what soeuer they be, to the peacelie value of ten thousand marks, ouer all charges and reprises, whereof five thousand marks shall be to his owne state, three thousand five hundred marks to Edward his first begotten sonne earle of March for his estate, and one thousand pounds to Edmund earle of Rutland his second sonne for his peacelie sustentation, in

such consideration and such intent as shall be declared by the lords of the kings council.

Item, if anie person or persons imagine or compass the death of the said duke, and thereof probable be attained of open deed done by folkes of other condition, that it be deemed & aduouched high treason.

Item, for the more establishing of the said accord, it is appointed and consented, that the lords spiritual and tempozall, being in this present parliament, shall make oths, to accept, take, worship, and repute the said Richard duke of Yorke and his heires, as aboue is rehearsed, and keepe, obserue, and strengthen (in as much as apperteineth vnto them) all the things abouesaid, and resist to their power, all them that would presume the contrarie, according to their estates and degrees.

Item, the said Richard duke of Yorke, earles of March, and Rutland, shall permit and make oth to helpe, aid, and defend the said lords, and euerie of them, against all those that will quarrell, or anie thing attempt against the said lords, or anie of them, by occasion of agreement or consenting to the said accord, or assistance giuing to the duke and earles, or anie of them.

Item, it is agreed and appointed, that this accord, and euerie article thereof, be opened and notified by the kings letters patents, or otherwise, at such times and places, and in maner as it shall be thought expedient to the said Richard duke of Yorke, with the aduise of the lords of the kings council. The king bndersandeth certeinlie the said title of the said Richard duke of Yorke, iust, lawfull, and sufficient, by the aduise and assent of the lords spiritual and tempozall, and the commons in this parliament assembled; and by authoritie of the same parliament declareth, approueth, ratifieth, confirmeth, and accepteth the said title, iust, good, lawfull, and true, and thereunto giueth his assent and agreement of his free will and libertie.

And ouer that, by the said aduise and authoritie declareth, intituleth, calleth, establisheth, affirmeth, & reputeth the said Richard duke of Yorke, verie true and rightfull heire to the crownes, roiall estate, and dignitie of the realmes of England and of France, and of the lordship of Ireland abouesaid; and that according to the worship and reuerence that thereto belongeth, he be taken, accepted and reputed, in worship & reuerence, by all the states of the said realme of England, and of all his subjects thereof; saving and ordeining by the same authoritie, the king to haue the said crownes, realme, roiall estate, dignitie, and preheminance of the same, and the said lordship of Ireland during his life naturall.

And furthermore, by the same aduise and authoritie willet, consenteth and agreeth, that after his deceasse, or when it shall please his hignesse to laie from him the said crownes, estate, dignitie, and lordship, the said Richard duke of Yorke and his heires shall immediatlie succede him in the said crownes, roiall estate, dignitie, and worship, and them then haue and inioie: anie act of parlement, statute, or ordinance, or other thing to the contrarie made, or interruption, or discontinuance of possession notwithstanding.

And moreover, by the said aduise and authoritie, establisheth, granteth, confirmeth, approueth, ratifieth, and accepteth the said accord, and all things therein contained, and thereunto free and absolutelie assenteth; agreeth; and by the same aduise and authoritie ordeineth and establisheth, that if anie person or persons imagine or compass the death of the said duke, & probable be attained of open deed done by folkes of that condition, that it be deemed and aduouched high treason.

And

And furthermore ordeineth and establissheth by the said aduise and authoritie, that all statutes, ordinaunces, and acts of parlement, made in the time of the said king Henrie the fourth, by the which he and the heires of his boote, comming of Henrie late king of England the first, the sonne and heire of the said king Henrie the fourth, and the heires of king Henrie the first, were or be inheritable to the said crownes and realmes, or to the heritage of the same, be annulled, repealed, damned, cancelled, void, and of none effect.

And ouer this, the king by the said aduise, assent and authoritie, ordeineth and establissheth, that all other acts and statutes made afore this time by act of parlement, not repealed or annulled by like authoritie, or otherwise void, be in full force, effect, and vertue, as they were afore the making of these ordinaunces; and that no letters patents, rotall of record, nor acts iudiciall, made or done afore this time not repealed, reuerced, ne otherwise void by law, be preiudiced or hurt by this present act.]

This agreement put in articles, was ingrossed, sealed, and sworne vnto by the two parties, and also enacted in the parlement. For to whereof the king, hauing in his companie the duke of Yorke, road to the cathedraall church of saint Paule in London, and there on the day of All saints with the crowne on his head went solemnelie in procession, and was lodged a good space after in the bishops palace, nere to the said church. And upon the saturdaye next insuing, Richard duke of Yorke was by sound of trumpet solemnelie proclaimed heire apparant to the crowne of England, and protectour of the realme. After this, the parlement kept at Couentrie the last yeare, was declared to be a diuelish counsell, and onelie had for destruction of the nobilitie, and was indeed no lawfull parlement: because they which were returned, were neuer elected according to the due order of the law, but secretlie named by them which desired rather the destruction than the aduancement of the common-wealth. When these agreements were enacted, the king dissolved his parlement, which was the last parlement that euer be ended.

The duke of Yorke, well knowing that the queene would spurne against all this, caused both hir and hir sonne to be sent for by the king. But she as wont rather to rule, than to be ruled, and thereto counselled by the dukes of Excester and Summerfet, not onelie denied to come, but also assembled a great armie, intending to take the king by fine force out of the lords hands. The protectour in London, hauing knowledge of all these doings, assigned the duke of Norfolk, and erle of Warwike his trustie friends to be about the king, while he with the earles of Salisburie and Rutland, and a conuenient number, departed out of London the second date of Decembris northward, and appointed the earle of March his eldest sonne to follow him with all his power. The duke came to his castell of Sandall beside Wakefield on Christmas euentide, there began to make muster of his tenants and friends. The queene therof aduertised, determined to cope with him per his succour were come.

Both he, hauing in hir companie the prince hir sonne, the dukes of Excester and Summerfet, the earle of Devonshire, the lord Clifford, the lord Roos, and in effect all the lords of the north parts, with eightene thousand men, or (as some write) two and twentie thousand, marched from Yorke to Wakefield, and had balle to the duke, euen before his castell gates. He hauing with him not fullie five thousand persons, contrarie to the minds of his faithfull counsellors, would needs issue forth to fight with his enemies. The duke of Summerfet and the queenes part, casting vpon their most aduantage, appointed the

lord Clifford to lie in one scale, and the earle of Warwike in another, and the duke with other to keepe the maine battell. The duke of Yorke with his people descended downe the hill in good order and arraie, and was suffered to passe on towards the maine battell.

But when he was in the plaine field betwene his castell and the towne of Wakefield, he was inuironed on euerie side, like fish in a net, so that though he fought manfullie, yet was he within halfe an houre slaine and dead, and his whole armie discomfited: with him died of his trustie friends, his two ballard vnckles, sir John and sir Hugh Spottismers, sir Dauid Hall, sir Hugh Hastings, sir Thomas Beuill, William and Thomas Apurre, both brethren; and two thousand and eight hundred others, whereof manie were yong gentlemen, and heires of great parentage in the south parts, whose kin reuenged their deaths within foure moneths next, as after shall appeare.

In this conflict was wounded and taken prisoner, Richard earle of Salisburie, sir Richard Limbryke, Rafe Stanleie, John Harlow, capteine Hanfson, and diuerse others. The lord Clifford, perceiuing where the earle of Rutland was conueied out of the field (by one of his fathers chapleins, and scholemaster to the same earle) and overtaking him, stabbed him to the heart with a dagger as he kneeled afore him. This earle was but a child at that time of twelue yeares of age, whome neither his tender yeares, nor dolorous countenance, with holding vp both his hands for mercie (for his speech was gone for feare) could moue the cruell heart of the lord Clifford to take pittie vpon him, so that he was noted of great infamie for that his vnnmercifull murder vpon that yong gentleman.

But the same lord Clifford not satisfied herewith, came to the place where the dead corpe of the duke of Yorke lay, caused his head to be stricken off, and set on it a crowne of paper, fixed it on a pole, and presented it to the queene, not lieng farre from the field, in great despise, at which great reioysing was shewed: but they laughed then that shortly after lamented, and were glad then of other mens deaths that knew not their owne to be so nere at hand. Some wrote that the duke was taken alive, and in derision caused to stand vpon a molehill, on whose head they put a garland in stead of a crowne, which they had fashioned and made of sedges or bulrushes; and haping so crowned him with that garland, they kneeled downe afore him (as the Jewes did vnto Christ) in scorn, saleng to him; Haile king without rule, haile king without heritage, haile duke and prince without people or possessions. And at length hauing thus scorned him with these and diuers other the like despitefull words, they stroke off his head, which (as we haue heard) they presented to the queene.

Spante demed that this miserable end chanced to the duke of Yorke, as a due punishment for breaking his oth of allegiaunce vnto his soueraigne lord king Henrie: but others held him discharged thereof, because he obtained a dispensation from the pope, by such suggestion as his procurators made vnto him, whereby the same oth was aduinged void, as that which was reuiled and aduised, to the preiudice of himselfe, and disheriting of all his posteritie. After this victorie by the queene, the earle of Salisburie and all the prisoners were sent to Pomfret, and there beheaded, whose heads (together with the duke of Yorkes head) were conueied to Yorke, and there set on poles ouer the gate of the citie, in despise of them and their linage. The earle of March, now after the death of his father, herie duke of Yorke, lieng at Glocester, was wonderfullie amazed, when the sorrowfull newes of these mishaps came vnto him: but after

The battell at Wakefield.

The duke of Yorke slaine.

Onelie seauen hundred fourthe men saith Whethamsted.

The cruell murder of the yong earle of Rutland.

Whethamsted,

A purchase of Gods curlew with popes bidding.

The prisoners beheaded  
I 461

The earle of March now duke of Yorke.

after comfort giuen to him by his faithfull louers and assured allies, he remoued to Shrewsburie, declaring to the inhabitants of that towne, and to them of the other townes in those parties the murder of his father, the inopordie of himselfe, and the present ruine of the common-wealth.

The people on the marches of Wales, for the fauour which they bare to the Mortimers linage, more gladly offered him their aid and assistance than he could desire the same; so that he had incontinentlie a puissant armie, to the number of thre and twentie thousand, ready to go against the queene, and the murderers of his father. But when he was setting forward, newes was brought to him, that Jasper earle of Penbroke halfe brother to king Henrie, and James Butler earle of Ormond and Wiltshire, had assembled a great number of Welsh and Irish people to take him: he here with quickned, retired backe and met with his enemies in a faire plaine, nere to Mortimers crosse, not far from Hereford east, on Candlemasse daie in the morning. At which time the sunne (as some write) appeared to the earle of March like thre sunnes, and suddenlie ioined altogether in one. Upon which sight he took such courage, that he fiercelie setting on his enemies, put them to flight: and for this cause men imagined, that he gaue the sunne in his full brightnesse for his badge or cognisance. Of his enemies were left dead on the ground thre thousand and eight hundred.

The earles of Penbroke and Wiltshire fled, but sir Owen Teuther father to the said earle of Penbroke (which Owen had married king Henries mother, as ye haue heard before) with David Floyd, Morgan ap Ikenher, and diuerse other were taken, and beheaded at Hereford. The queene neuertheless encouraged by hir late victorie, with a multitude of northerne people, marched toward London, intending to vndo all that had bene ordeined in the last parlement. These northerne people, after they were once passed ouer the riuer of Trent, spoiled and wasted the countrie afoze them, in manner as if they had bene in the land of forren enemies. At length, they approached to saint Albons, hearing that the duke of Northfolke, and the earle of Warwicke, with other whom the duke of Poike had left to gouerne the king in his absence, had (by the kings assent) assembled a great host, and were incamped nere to that towne.

Those northerne lords and other that were with the queene, made forward, and entring into S. Albons, meant to passe through the towne, and so to coape with their enemies; but finding a sort of archers ranged nere to the great crosse in the market place, to defend their passage, they were receiued with such a storme of arrowes, which came flying about their eares as thicke as haile, that they were quicklie repelled backe, and with losse of men to retire in hast vnto the west end of the towne; where, by a lane that leadeth northwards vp to saint Peters street, they made their entrie, and had there also a sharpe encounter against certaine bands of the kings people. But after great slaughter on both parts, they got through, and vpon the heath that lieth at the north end of the towne, called Barnard heath, they had a farre greater conflict with foure or fife thousand of the kings armie, that seemed as they had bene auant couriers.

Wherof gaue the onset so fiercelie at the beginning, that the victorie rested doubtfull a certaine time, so that if the catterne and southerne men had continued as they began, the field had bene theirs; but after they had stood to it a prettie while, and perceiued none of their fellows from the great armie to come and assist them, they began to faint, and turning their

backes, fled amaine ouer hedge and ditch, through thicke and thin, woods and bushes, seeking so to escape the hands of their cruell enemies that followed them with eger minds, to make slaughter vpon them, namely, the northerners pickers, now in the chase pursued most hotlie, and bare downe manie, and more had done, if the night comming vpon, had not staied them.

When the daie was closed, those that were about the king (in number a twentie thousand) hearing how euill their fellows had sped, began vtterlie to despair of the victorie, and so fell without anie long tarriance to running awaie. By reason whereof, the nobles that were about the king, perceiuing how the game went, and withall saw no comfort in the king, but rather a good will and affection towards the contrarie part, they withdrew also, leauing the king accompanied with the lord Bonneville, sir Thomas Kirrell of Kent; which vpon assurance of the kings promise, tarried still with him, and fled not. But their trust deceiued them, for at the queenes departing from saint Albons, they were both beheaded; though contrarie to the mind and promise of hir husband, sir Thomas Thorp, baron of the exchequer, was also beheaded the same daie, at Highgate, by the commons of Kent.

Such was the successe of this second battell fought at S. Albons, vpon Shrouetuesdaie, the seventeenth of Februarie, in which were slaine thre and twentie hundred men, of whom no noble man is remembred, saue sir John Graie, which the same daie was made knight, with twelue other, at the village of Colneie. How after that the noble men and other were fled, and the king left in maner alone without anie power of men to gard his person, he was counselled by an esquier called Thomas How, a man well languaged, and well sene in the lawes, to send some conuenient messenger to the northerne lords, aduertising them, that he would now gladly come vnto them (whome he knew to be his verie friends, and had assembled themselves together for his seruice) to the end he might remaine with them, as before he had remained vnder the gouernement of the southerne lords.

According to the aduise and counsell of this esquier, the king thought it good to send vnto them, and withall appointed the same esquier to beare the message, who first went and declared the same vnto the earle of Northumberland, and returning backe to the king, brought certaine lords with him, who conueied the king first vnto the lord Cliffords tent, that stood next to the place where the kings people had incamped. This done, they went and brought the queene and hir sonne prince Edward vnto his presence, whome he forthwith receiued, embracing and kissing them in most louing wise, and yelding hartie thanks to almightie God, whome it had pleased thus to strengthen the forces of the northerne men, to restore his daughter beloued and orleis sonne againe into his possession. Thus was the queene fortunate in her two battels, but unfortunate was the king in all his enterprises: for where his person was present, the victorie still fled from him to the contrarie part. The queene caused the king to vnto her sonne, prince Edward knight, with thirtie other persons, with the day before fought on hir side against his part.

This done, they went to the abbey, where of the abbat and monks they were receiued with hymnes and songs, and so brought to the high altar, and after to the shrine, and so to the chamber in which the king was wont to lodge. The abbat made sute that order might be taken to restraine the northerne men from spoiling the towne: and proclamation in that was made to that effect, but it auailed not: for they

The earle of Penbroke.

The battell of Mortimers crosse.

The cognisance of bright sunne.

Owen Teuther and other taken and beheaded.

Wherhamsted.

The northerne men enter into S. Albons.

They passe through it.

The second battell at S. Albons.

The northerne men spoile the towne of saint Albons.

The queene cometh to the mayor of London for butlers.

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mainteine them by co the riuer of clamation thing that were meet using thus don, comm teine cart freshing of lie caused them for w not suffer gate, not by gentle Durin therne boz the citie, at they were them slain to Barnet matter; ar with diuer queene, to the citie. I use of hir knights, u the citie, a disposition appointed them to L poleth. A other form the queene March, ha and Will (after this Morton by powers le having litt least of all departed f there the rested.

The queene returneth northward.

The great hope of the people conceited of the erie of March.

Edw. Hall

Prince Edward knight.

An. Reg. 39.

maintained, that the spoile of things was granted them by couenant, after they were once passed ouer the riuer of Trent: and so not regarding anie proclamation or other commandement, they spared nothing that they could laie hands vpon, if the same were meet for them to carie awaie. The quene, hauing thus got the victorie, sent to the maior of London, commanding him without delaie to send certeine carts, laden with Lenton vittels, for the refreshing of hir and hir armie. The maior incontinentlie caused carts to be laden, and would haue sent them forward; but the commons of the citie would not suffer them to passe, but staied them at Triplegate, notwithstanding the maior did what he could by gentle persuations to quiet them.

During which controuersie, diuerse of the northerne horsemen, came and robbed in the suburbs of the citie, and would haue entred at Triplegate; but they were repelled by the commoners, and thre of them slaine. Whereupon, the maior sent the recorder to Barnet to the kings counsell there, to excuse the matter; and the duchess of Bedford, the ladie Scales, with diuerse fathers of the spiritualtie, went to the quene, to asswage hir displeasure conceived against the citie. The quene at this humble request, by aduise of hir counsell, appointed certeine lords and knights, with foure hundred tall persons, to ride to the citie, and there to view and see the demeanour and disposition of the people: and diuerse aldermen were appointed to meet them at Barnet, and to conueie them to London. But what man purposed, God disposeth. All these deuises were shortly altered to another forme, because true report came not onelie to the quene, but also to the citie; that the earle of March, hauing vanquished the earles of Denbroke and Gloucestre, had met with the earle of Warwicke (after this last battell at saint Albons) at Chipping Norton by Cotfold; and that they with both their powers were coming toward London. The quene hauing little trust in Essex, and lesse in Kent, but least of all in London, with hir husband and sonne, departed from saint Albons, into the north countrie, where the foundation of hir aid and refuge onelie rested.

The duchess of Yorke, seeing hir husband and sonne slaine, and not knowing what should succed of hir eldest sonnes chance, sent hir two yonger sonnes, George and Richard, ouer the sea, to the citie of Trecht in Almaine, where they were of Philip duke of Burgognie well receiued; and so remained there, till hir brother Edward had got the crowne and gouernement of the realme. The earles of March and Warwicke, hauing perfect knowlege that the king and quene, with their adherents, were departed from saint Albons, rode straight to London, entring there with a great number of men of warre, the first weeke of Lent. Whose coming thither was no sooner knowne, but that the people resorted out of Kent, Essex, and other the counties adioining, in great numbers, to see, aid, and comfort this lustie prince and flower of chualtrie, in whome the hope of their ioy and trust of their quietnesse onelie consisted.

This prudent yong prince, minding to take time when time serued, called a great counsell, both of the lords spiritual and temporall, and to them repeated the title and right that he had to the crowne, rehearsing also the articles concluded betwene king Henrie and his father, by their writings signed and sealed, and also confirmed by act of parlement; the breaches whereof he neither forgat, nor leste undeclared. After the lords had considered of this matter, they determined by authoritie of the said counsell, that because king Henrie had done contrarie to the ordinances in the last parlement concluded, and was in-

sufficient of himselfe to rule the realme, he was therefore to be depaured of all kinglie estate: and incontinentlie was Edward earle of March, sonne and heire to Richard duke of Yorke, by the lords in the said counsell assembled, named, elected, and admitted for king and gouernour of the realme.

On which date, the people of the earles part, being in their muster in S. Johns field, and a great number of the substantiall citizens there assembled, to behold their order; the lord Fauconbridge, who toke the musters, wiselie anon declared to the people the offenses and breaches of the late agreement, committed by king Henrie the first; and demanded of the people, whether they would haue him to rule and reigne anie longer ouer them? To whome they with whole voice answered; Naie, naie. Then he asked them, if they would serue, loue, honour, and obeye the erle of March, as their onlie king and soueraigne lord? To which question they answered; Yea, yea: crying (King Edward) with manie great shouts & clapping of hands in assent and gladnesse of the same.

The lords were shortly aduertised of the louing consent which the commons franklie and frelie had given. Whereupon incontinentlie, they all with a conuenient number of the most substantiall commons repaired to the erle at Baintards castell, making iust and true report of their election and admission, and the louing assent of the commons. The erle, after long pausing, first thanked God of his great grace and benefit towards him shewed; then the lords and commons for their fauour and fidelitie: notwithstanding, like a wise prince, he alleged his insufficiencie for so great a toome and weightie burthen, as lacke of knowlege, want of experience, and diuerse other qualities to a gouernour appertaining. But yet in conclusion, being perswaded by the archbishop of Cantuarie, the bishop of Excester, and other lords then present, he agreed to their petition, and toke vpon him the charge of the kingdome, as forfeited to him by breach of the couenants established in parlement.

Thus farre touching the tragicall state of this land vnder the rent regiment of king Henrie, who (besides the bare title of roialtie and naked name of king) had little appertaining to the port of a prince. For whereas the dignitie of princedom standeth in soueraintie; there were of his nobles that imbecilled his prerogative by sundrie practices, speciallie by maine force; as seeking either to suppress, or to erile, or to obscure, or to make him a waite: otherwise what should be the meaning of all those foughen fields from time to time, most miserable falling out both to prince, peere, and people? As at saint Albons, at Bloreheath, at Northampton, at Banbury, at Barnet, & at Wakefield; to the effusion of much blood, and pulling on of manie a plague, which otherwise might haue bene auoided. All which battels, together with those that were tried betwene Edward the fourth, after his inthronization; and Henrie the first after his extermination (as at Erham, Doncaster, and Tewkesburie) are remembered by *Anglorum praelia* in good order of pithie poetrie, as followeth:

*Nobilis inter plures hec sunt loca cade,*  
*Albani sanum, Blorum borealis Ampton,*  
*Banbrecum campie, Barnettum collibus herens,*  
*Experrectorium pagus fanum, secundo*  
*Albani, propior Scotis confinium Exam,*  
*Conrignog, istis habitantes rure coloni,*  
*Marentes hodie, quoties proscindis arator*  
*Arua propinqua locis dentale reuelleret terra*  
*Semisepulta virum sulcis Cerealibus ossa:*  
*Morsu exsecrantur plantu civile duellum,*  
*Quo periere hominum plus centum millia caesa,*  
*Nobile Tadastrum clades accepta coegit*

The earle of March elected king.

The lord Fauconbridge.

The earle of March taketh vpon him as king.

Abr. Flem.

\*Wakefield.

Millibus

om. 146

The kings part

The northmen sent to the quene

The quene sent to the mayor of London

The mayor sent to the king

1916, as John

Thomas the northmen

The quene sent to the king

The great

w. Hall

since the

*Millibus enestis ter denis nomen habere.  
 prima postrema locus est Teuxburia pugna,  
 oppidulis his accedens certissima testis,  
 bello intestino flumino fluxisse cruoris.]*

But now before we proceede anie further, sith the reigne of king Henrie maie seeme here to take end, we will specifie some such learned men as liued in his time. John Leland, surnamed the elder (in respect of the other John Leland, that painefull antiquarie of our time) wrote diuerse treatises, for the instruction of grammarians; John Hainton, a Carmelit or white frier (as they called them) of Lincoln; Robert Colman, a Franciscane frier of Poxtowich, and chancellor of the vniuersitie of Wrenford; William White a priest of Kent, professing the doctrine of Wickliffe, and forsaking the order of the Romane church, married a wife, but continued his office of preaching, till at length, in the yeare 1428, he was apprehended, and by William bishop of Poxtowich, and the doctors of the friers mendicants, charged with thirtie articles, which he mainteined, contrary to the doctrine of the Romane church, and in September the same yeare suffered death by fire.

Alexander Carpenter, a learned man, set forth a booke called *De fructibus virtutum*, wherein he inuicteth against the prelates of the church of that time, for their crueltie vsed, in persecuting the poore and godlie christians; Richard Kendall, an excellent grammarian; John Bate, warden of the white friers in Poxtowich, but borne in the borders of Wales, an excellent philosopher, and a diuine, he was also saine in the Greeke tong, a thing rare in those daies; Peter Bassett, esquier of the priue chamber to king Henrie the sixt, whose life he wrote; John Pole a priest, that wrote the life of saint Walburgh, daughter to one Richard, a noble man of this realme of England, which Walburgh (as he affirmeth) builded our ladie church in Antwerpe; Thomas Imaelit, a monke of Shione, either of those wrote certeine treatises full of superstition, as Iohn Bale noteth.

Thomas Malden so called of the towne where he was borne, but his fathers surname was Petter, a white frier of London, and the thre and twentieth prouinciall gouernour of his order, a man vndoubtedlie learned, and thoroughlie furnished with cunning of the scholes, but a sore enemie to them that professed the doctrine of Wickliffe, writing sundrie great volumes and treatises against them, he died at Rome in Noymandie, the second of Nouember, in the yeare one thousand foure hundred and thirtie; Richard Allerton, borne in Lancashire, wrote diuerse treatises of diuinitie; Peter Clarke, a student in Wrenford, and a defender of Wickliffes doctrine, whereupon when he feared persecution here in England, he fled into Boheme, but yet at length he was apprehended by the imperialists, and died for it, as some write, but in what order, is not expressed.

Robert Hounslow, a religious man of an house in Hounslow beside London, whereof he toke his surname; Thomas Walsingham, borne in Poxtowich, in a towne there of the same name, but professed a monke in the abbeie of saint Albons, a diligent historiographer; John Milne, a white frier of Permouth, but a student in Cambridge, and proued an excellent diuine; Richard Fleming, a doctor of diuinitie in Wrenford, of whome more at large before, pag. 624. John Low borne in Worcester-shire, an Augustine frier, a doctor of diuinitie, and prouinciall in England of his order, and by king Henrie the first, made first bishop of saint Asaph, and after removed from thence to Rochester; Thomas Kingsted the younger, not the same that was bishop, but a doctor of the law, and vicar of Spiltenhall in Suffolke,

a notable preacher, and wrote diuerse treatises.

John Felton, a doctor of diuinitie of Padgdales college in Wrenford; Nicholas Botletham, a Carmelit frier borne in Cambridgeshire, and student first in the vniuersitie of Cambridge, and after in Paris, where he proceeded doctor of diuinitie; Thomas Ruddenburne, a monke of Winchester, and an historiographer; John Holbrooke, borne in Surrie, a great philosopher, and well saine in the mathematiks; Peter Paine, an earnest professor of Wickliffes doctrine, and fearing persecution here in England, fled into Boheme, where he remained in great estimation for his great learning & no lesse wisdom; Nicholas Wpton, a ciuillian, wrote of heraldrie, of colours in armorie, and of the dutie of chualrie; William Beckeleie, a Carmelit frier of Sandwiche, & warden of the house there, a diuine, and possessed degree of schole in Cambridge; John Tope, a Carmelit frier of Poxtowich.

John Capgrauie borne in Kent, an Augustine frier, proceeded doctor of diuinitie in Wrenford, was admitted prouinciall of his order, and proued (with out controuersie) the best learned of anie of that order of friers here in England, as Iohn Bale affirmeth, he wrote manie notable volumes, and finally departed this life at Lin in Poxtowich, the twelfth of August, in the yere 1464, which was in the fourth yeare of king Edward the fourth; Humfre duke of Gloucester, earle of Penbrooke, and lord chamberlaine of England, also protector of the realme, during the minority of his nephue king Henrie the first, was both a great fauourer of learned men, and also verie well learned himselfe, namelie in astrologie, where of (beside other things) he wrote a speciall treatise intituled, *Tabula directionum*.

John Wethamsted, otherwise called Frumentarius, was abbat of saint Albons, and highlie in fauor with the good duke of Gloucester last remembred, he wrote diuerse treatises, and among others, a booke as it were of the records of things, chancing whilest he was abbat, which booke I haue sene, and partlie in some parcell of this kings time haue also followed; Roger Onleie, borne in the west countrie (as Bale thinketh) was accused of treason, for practising with the ladie Cleane Cobham, by sorcerie to make the king auaie, and was thereof condemned, and died for it, though he were innocent thereof, as some haue thought, he wrote a treatise intituled, *Contra vulgi superstitiones*, also another *De sua innocentia*; Nicholas Cantlow, a Welshman borne, descended of an ancient familie in Southwales, as by Bale it should appeare, he became a frier Carmelit in Wiltow; Henrie Wittingham, a Carmelit frier of Poxtowich, a notable diuine, a great preacher, and wrote also sundrie treatises of diuinitie.

John Lidgate, a monke of Wurtie, an excellent poet, and chiefe in his time in that facultie, of all other that practised the same within this land, he travelled thorough France and Italie to learne the languages and sciences, how greatlie he posited in attaining to knowledge, the bookes which he wrote do sufficientlie testifie; Nicholas Hordresham, an excellent physician; John Blackeneie, a religious man, of the order of the Trinitie intituled, *De redemptione captiuorum*, and prior of an house of the same order, at Ingham in Poxtowich, he was surnamed Blackeneie, of the towne where he was borne; Thomas Beckington, bishop of Bath, wrote against the law Salique, by which law the Frenchmen would exclude the princes of this realme from their title vnto the crowne of France; John Waringham, a Carmelit frier of Gipestowich in Suffolke; David Bois, borne in Wales, and a frier Carmelit, professed

Peter Bassett  
wrote king  
Henrie the  
sixt his life.

Fabian and  
Caxton.

Anno Reg. x.

The earle of  
Surrey  
was  
killed  
upon  
his  
king.



lected in Glocester, a doctor of diuinitie.

John Rhome, an Augustine frier; Michaell Triggurie, a Cornishman bozne, whome for his excellencie and learning, king Henrie the first appointed to be gouernour of that schole of vniuersitie, which he instituted in the cite of Caen in Normandie, after he had brought it vnder his subiection; John Amundigham, a monke of saint Albons; Oswald Anglicus, a monke of the Chartreux order; John Kenningale, a Carmelit frier of Porwich; Peter De sancta fide, a Carmelit also of Porwich; Reginald Pecocke, bishop of Elychester, of whome ye haue heard before, he was bozne in Wales, and student in a small college in Drenford, where he proceeded doctor of diuinitie, he wrote manie treatises touching the christian religion; John surnamed Barie of the towne where he was bozne, an Augustine frier in the towne of Clare in Suffolke.

Robert Fleming, a man perfect in the Greeke and Latine tong among whose works some haue bene seene vnder these titles: namely, *Lacubrationum Thiburtinam lib. 1.* a dictionarie in Greeke and Latine, and a worke in verse of sundrie kinds, this man was of most fame in the yeare of our Lord 1470, which was in the tenth yeare of Edward the fourth, though he were not obscure also in the daies of this Henrie the first; Thomas Gascoigne, bozne at Dunstote in Dorsetshire, of that worshipfull familie of the Gascoignes there, a doctor of diuinitie, and chancellor of the vniuersitie of Drenford; William Stapilhart, bozne in Kent, but by profession a white frier in London; Robert Fimingham bozne in Dorsetshire a franciscan frier in Porwich; Nicholas Pontacute, an historiographer; John Chandler, chancellor of Welles; William Botoner, descended of a good houle, a knight by degree, and bozne in Bristow, verie studious in antiquities, and other sciences.

John Stow, a monke of Porwich, but student in Drenford, where he proceeded doctor of diuinitie; Thomas Langley, a monke of Hulme; Nicholas Bungeie, bozne in a towne of Dorsetshire of that name, wrote an historie, called *Adunationes chronorum*; Henrie Beauford bishop of Winchester, base

sonne to John duke of Lancastere, of whome before we haue made sufficient mention, made cardinall by pope Martine the fourth, in the yeare 1426; Adam Boulington, a Carmelit frier; William Coppinger, maister of the vniuersitie of Drenford; Thomas Stacie, an expert mathematician, and notable skilfull in astronomie; John Talangerne, a monke of Worcester; William Sutton, an astrologian; Robert Ballacke, wrote a booke intituled *De re militari*, that is to saie, of warre or chivalrie, so that (as is thought) he was both a good souldier, and a painefull student of god letters.

Thomas Dando, a Carmelit frier of Marleburgh, he wrote the life of Alfrede king of well Saxons; William Craie, bozne of the noble house of the Grales of Codnor, he went to attaine to some excellencie of learning in Italie, where he heard that noble cleerke Guarinus Veronensis read in Ferrara, he was preferred to the bishopricke of Ely, in the yeare 1454, by pope Nicholas the first, when Thomas Bourchier was translated from thence to Canturburie; John Kempe, archbishop of Porke, and after removed from thence to Canturburie (as before ye haue heard) he was made cardinall of S. Albin, by pope Eugenie the fourth; Adam Molins (as Bale calleth him) keeper of the kings priuie seale, excellentlie learned, in time of the ciuill warre betwixt king Henrie, and the duke of Porke, in which he lost his head.

Thomas Chylenden, a doctor both of the law ciuill and canon, became at length a monke in Canturburie; Robert Wale, surnamed the elder, excellentlie learned in the lawes of the realme, recorder of London, gathered as it were a chronicle of the customs, lawes, foundations, changes, restoring magistrats, offices, orders, and publike assemblies of the cite of London, with other matters, touching the perfect description of the same cite; he wrote other works also touching the state of the same cite, and the acts of king Edward the third; he departed this life in the yeare of our Lord 1461, euen about the beginning of the reigne of king Edward the fourth, vnto whome we will now againe returne.

Thus farre the tragicall historie of Henrie the sixth  
deprived of his roialtie.



## Edward the fourth earle of March, sonne and heire to Richard duke of Yorke.

An. Reg. 1.



The earle of March  
was upon  
Lancastere.

After that this prince Edward earle of March had taken vpon him the gouernement of this realme of England (as before ye haue heard) the next morow ing, being the fourth of March, he rode to the church of saint Paule, and there offered; and after *Te Deum* song, with great solemnitie

he was conueied to Westmister, and there set in the hall with the scepter roiall in his hand, whereto people in great numbers assembled. His claimc to the crowne was declared to be by two maner of waies, the first, as sonne and heire to duke Richard his father, right inheritor to the same; the second, by authoritie of parlement, and forseiture committed by king Henrie. Whereupon it was againe demanded of the commons, if they would admit and take the said erle as their prince and soueraign lord, which all with one voice cried, *Yea, yea.*

This

The proclamation  
king.

This part thus plaied, he entered into Westmin-  
ster church under a canopie with solemne procession,  
and there as king offered; and herewith taking the  
homages of all the nobles there present, he returned  
by water to London, and was lodged in the bishops  
palace; and on the morrow after, he was proclaimed  
king by the name of Edward the fourth, throughout  
the citie. This was in the yeare of the world 5427,  
and after the birth of our Sauour 1461 after our ac-  
count, beginning the yeare at Christmase; but after  
the vsuall account of the church of England 1460,  
the twentieth of emperor Frederike the thirde; the  
nine and thirtieth and last of Charles the seventh  
French king; and first yeare of the reigne of James  
the thirde king of Scots.

Whilste these things were aduoying in the south  
parts, king Henrie being in the north countrie, as-  
sembled a great armie, trusting (for all this) to sub-  
due his enemies; namely, first their chiefe ringleader  
the duke of Porke was dispatched out of the waie.  
But he was deceived: for out of the ded stocke sprang  
a branch more mightie than the stem; this Edward  
the fourth, a prince so highlie fauoured of the people,  
for his great liberalitie, clemencie, bysight dealing,  
and courage, that aboue all other, he with them stood  
in grace alone: by reason whereof, men of all ages  
and degrees to him dailie repaired, some offering  
themselves and their men to leopord their liues with  
him, and other plentifully gaue monie to support his  
charges, and to mainteine his right.

By which meanes, he gathered together a puissant  
armie, to the intent by battell (if then none other  
waies would serue) at once to make an end of all.  
So, his armie and all things prepared, he departed  
out of London the twelue daie of March, and by ea-  
sie iournies came to the castell of Donfret, where he  
rested, appointing the lord Fitz Walter to keepe the  
passage at Ferribridge with a good number of tall  
men. King Henrie on the other part, hauing his ar-  
mie in readinesse, committed the gouernance there-  
of to the duke of Sommerfet, the earle of Northum-  
berland, and the lord Clifford, as men desiring to re-  
uenge the death of their parents, slaine at the first  
battell at saint Albons. These capitaines leaving king  
Henrie, his wife, and some, for the most safegard  
with in the citie of Porke, passed the riuer of Warfe  
with all their power, intending to stop king Edward  
of his passage ouer the riuer of Atre.

And the better to bring that to passe, the lord Clif-  
ford determined to make a charge vpon them that  
kept the passage of Ferribridge; and so he departed  
with his light horsemen from the great armie on the  
saturdaie before Palmesundaie; and earlie per his  
enemies were aware, due the keepers and wan the  
bridge. The lord Fitz Walter hearing the noise, sud-  
denlie rose out of his bed, and vnarmed with a pollax  
in his hand, thinking that it had bene but a fraie a-  
mongst his men, came downe to appease the same;  
but per he knewe that the matter meant was slaine,  
and with him the bastard of Salisburie brother to the  
earle of Marwike, a valiant yong gentleman, and  
of great audacitie.

When the earle of Marwike was informed here-  
of, like a man desperat, he mounted on his hacknie,  
and hasted puffing and blowing to king Edward,  
saying; Sir, I praye God haue mercie of their soules,  
for in the beginning of your enterprise haue lost  
their liues. And because I see no succors of the world  
but in God, I remit the vengeance to him our crea-  
tor and redemer. With that he alighted downe, and  
due his hie with his sword, saying; Let him see that  
will, for suerlie I will tarrie with him that will tar-  
rie with me: and kissed the crosse of his sword as it  
were for a bow to the promise. King Edward, per-

The earle of  
Marwike.

ceiving the courage of his trustie friend the earle of  
Marwike, made proclamation, that all men which  
were afraid to fight, should depart: and to all those  
that carried the battell, he promised great rewards,  
with addition, that any souldier which voluntarilie  
would abide, and afterwards; either in or before the  
fight should seme to flee or turne his backe, then he  
that could kill him, should haue a great reward and  
double wages.

After this proclamation ended, the lord Faucon-  
bridge, sir Walter Blunt, Robert Horne with the  
foreward, passed the riuer at Castelford, thre miles  
from Ferribridge, intending to haue inuironed the  
lord Clifford and his companie. But they being then  
of aduertised, departed in great hast toward king  
Henries armie; yet they met with some that they lo-  
ked not for, and were so trapt per they were aware. For  
the lord Clifford, either for heat or paine, putting off  
his gorget, suddenlie with an arrow (as some saie)  
without an head, was striken into the throte, and im-  
mediatlie renoued his spirit; and the earle of West-  
merlands brother, and all his companie almost were  
there slaine, at a place called Dintingdale, not far  
from Colwton. This end had the lord Clifford, which  
saw the earle of Rutland kneeling on his knees, whose  
yong sonne Thomas Clifford was brought up with  
a shepheard in poore habit, euer in feare to be  
knotone, till king Henrie the seventh obtained the  
crotone, by whom he was restored to his name and  
possessions.

When this conflict was ended at Ferribridge, the  
lord Fauconbridge, hauing the foreward, because  
the duke of Porke was fallen sicke, valiantlie by-  
passed on Palmesundaie in the twilght set forth his armie  
and came to Sarton, where he might apparantlie be-  
hold the host of his aduersaries, which were accom-  
panied thre score thousand men, and thereof aduertised  
king Edward, whose whole armie amounted to eight  
and fortie thousand six hundred and thre score per-  
sons: which incontinentlie with the earle of Mar-  
wike set forthward, leaving the reerward under the  
gouernance of sir John Wenlocke, sir John Din-  
ham, and other. And first of all, he made proclamati-  
on, that no prisoner should be taken. So the same  
daie about nine of the clocke, which was the nine and  
twentieth daie of March, being Palmesundaie, both  
the hostes approached in a faire plaine field, betwene  
Colwton and Sarton.

When ech part perceiued other, they made a great  
shout; and at the same instant there fell a small hette  
or snow, which by violence of the wind that blew a-  
gainst them, was diuen into the faces of king Hen-  
ries armie, so that their sight was somewhat dim-  
med. The lord Fauconbridge, leading the foreward,  
caused euerie archer under his stan-  
dard to shot one sight (which before he caused them  
to prouide) and then made them to stand still. The  
northerne men feeling the shot, but by reason of the  
fleece, not well biewing the distance betwene them  
and their enemies, like forward men shot their theefe  
arroues as fast as they might: but all to losse, for  
they came short of the southerne men by thre score  
yards.

So their shot almost spent, the lord Fauconbridge  
marched forward with his archers, which not onelie  
shot their whole theafes, but also gathered the ar-  
roues of their enemies, and let a great part flee a-  
gainst their first owners, and suffered a great sort of  
them to stand, which fore troubled the legs of the no-  
therne men, when the battell ioined. The earle of  
Northumberland and Andrew Crollop, chiefe cap-  
tains of king Henries backward, seeing their shot  
not to preuaile, hasted to ioine with their enemies,  
and the other part slacked not their pace. This battell  
was

The procla-  
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The lord  
Clifford was  
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was forsofoughten, for hope of life was set aside on either part, & taking of prisoners proclaimed a great offense, so euerie man determined to vanquish or die in the field.

This deadlie conflict continued ten houres in doubtfull state of victorie, vncerteinlie heauing and setting on both sides; but in the end, king Edward so couragiously comforted his men, that the other part was discomfited and overcome, who like men amazed, fled toward Tadcaster bridge to saue themselves, where in the mid waie is a little brooke called Coker, not verie broad, but of a great depeneesse, in which, what for hast to escape, and what for feare of their follovers, a great number was drowned there. It was reported, that men aliue passed the river by on dead carcasses, and that the great riuer of Wharfe wherein that brooke dooth run, and of all the water coming from Towton, was coloured with blood.

The chase continued all night, and the most part of the next daie, and euere the northerne men (as they saw anie aduantage) returned againe, and fought with their enemies, to the great losse of both parts. For in these two daies were slaine (as they that knew it wrote) on both parts six and thirtie thousand seven hundred threescor & fiftene persons, all Englishmen and of one nation, whereof the chiefe were the earles of Northumberland and Westmerland, the lord Wacres, and the lord Welles, sir John Peuill, Andew Trollop, Robert Horne, and manie other knights and esquires, and the earle of Devonshire was taken prisoner, but the dukes of Summer set and Excester fled from the field and saued themselves.

After this great victorie, king Edward rode to Poike, where he was with all solemnitie receiued; and first he caused the heads of his father, the earle of Salisburie, and other his friends, to be taken from the gates, and to be buried with their bodies: and there he caused the earle of Devonshire, and three other to be beheaded, and set their heads in the same place. King Henrie, after he heard of the irreuerable losse of his armie, departed incontinentlie with his wife and sonne to the towne of Berwicke, and leauing the duke of Summer set there, went into Scotland, and comming to the king of Scots, required of him and his counsell, aid, and comfort.

The young king of Scots, lamenting the miserable state of king Henrie, comforted him with faire words and friendlie promises, and assigned to him a competent pension to liue on, during his abode in Scotland. King Henrie, in recompense of this courtesie and friendship, deliuered to the king of Scots the towne of Berwicke, whereof he had got possession. He faithfullie supported the part of king Henrie, and concluded a marriage betwixt his sister, and the young prince of Wales, but the same was neuer consummate, as after ye shall heare. When king Henrie was somewhat settled in the reime of Scotland, he sent his wife and his sonne into France to king Reiner his father, trusting by his aid and succour to assemble an armie, and once againe to recover his right and dignitie: but he in the meane time made his aboad in Scotland, so that waie his friends in England would studie for his restitution.

The queene being in France, did obtaine of the young French king then Lewis the eleventh, that all his husbands friends, and those of the Lancastriall band, might safelie and suerlie haue resort into anie part of the realme of France, prohibiting all other of the contrarie faction anie access, or repaire into that countrie. Thus ye haue heard, how king Henrie the first, after he had reigned eight and thirtie yeares & od moneths, was drowned out of this realme. But now leauing him with the princes of his part,

consulting together in Scotland, and queene Margaret his wife gathering of men in France, I will returne where I left, to proceed with the doings of king Edward.

This young prince, hauing with prosperous success obtained so glorious a victorie in the mortall battell at Towton, and chased all his aduersaries out of the realme, or at the least waies put them to silence, returned after the maner and fashion of a triumphant conquerour, with great pompe vnto London; where according to the old custome of the realme, he called a great assemblie of persons of all degrees, and the nine & twentieth daie of June was at Westminster with solemnitie crowned and anointed king. In which yeare, this king Edward called his high court of parlement at Westminster, in the which, the state of the realme was greatlie reformed, and all the statutes made in Henrie the first his time (which touched either his title or profit) were renoued.

In the same parlement, the earle of Orford was stricken in age, and his sonne and heire the lord Aubrey War, either through malice of their enemies, or for that they had offended the king, were both, with diuerse of their counsellors, attainted, and put to execution; which caused John earle of Orford euere after to rebell. There were also beheaded the same time, sir Thomas Tudenham knight, William Tirell, and John Montgomerie esquires, and after them diuerse others. Also after this, he created his two younger brethren dukes, that is to saie, lord George duke of Clarence, lord Richard duke of Gloucester; and the lord John Peuill, brother to Richard earle of Marwick, he first made lord Pontacute, and afterwards created him marques Pontacute.

Beside this, Henrie Bourchier brother to Thomas archbishop of Canturburie, was created earle of Essex; and William lord Fauconbridge was made earle of Kent. To this Henrie lord Bourchier, a man highlie renowned in martiall feats, Richard duke of Booke long before this time had given his sister Elizabeth in marriage, of whome he begat foure sonnes, William, Thomas, John, and Henrie: the which William being a man of great industrie, wit, and prouidence in graue and weightie matters, married the ladie Anne Woodville, descended of high parentage, whose mother Jaquet was daughter to Peter of Lutzenburgh earle of saint Paule, by the which Anne he had lord Henrie earle of Essex, one daughter named Cicile, married to Walter lord Ferrers of Chartleie, and an other called Isabell, which died unmarried.

The earle of Kent was appointed about this time to keepe the seas, being accompanied with the lord Andeleie, the lord Clinton, sir John Howard, sir Richard Malgraue, and others, to the number of ten thousand, who landing in Brittain, wan the towne of Conquet, and the Ile of Keth, and after returned.

When all things were brought in order, and framed as king Edward in maner could wish, Henrie duke of Summer set, sir Rafe Persie, and diuerse other, being in despair of all god chance to happen vnto king Henrie, came humble, & submitted themselves vnto king Edward, whome he gentlie receiued. Which clemencie notwithstanding both the one and the other (when time serued) resolted from king Edward, and betooke themselves to take part with Henrie, vnto whom they had bene adherents before: because they grew in hope that in the end the confederats, to whom they so closelie did cleaue both in affection and serounesse of labour (though they pretended a temporall renunciation of all dutie and seruice for their securitie sake) should haue the honoe of victorie against their gainstanders. But as commonlie the euents of enterprises fall out flat contrarie to

1462  
John Stow.

Anno Reg. 2.  
The duke of Summer set & other, submit them to king Edward.

mens expectation and hope; so came it to passe with these, whose hope though it were greene and flourie in the prosecuting of their affaires, yet in the knitting up of the matter and unluckie successe thereof, it fell out in trill to be a flattering, a false, and a fruitlesse hope: and therefore that is a true and a wise sentence of the comiall poet well serving the purpose:

*Insuperata accidunt magis sepe quam qua speres.*

Plant. in  
Moffet.

1463  
Anno Reg. 3.

The queene  
returneth  
south of  
France.

All this season was king Henrie in Scotland, and quene Margaret (being in France) found such friendship at the French kings hands, that she obtained a crue of five hundred Frenchmen, with the which she arrived in Scotland. And after that she had reposed hir selfe a time, she sailed with hir gallant band of those ruffling Frenchmen toward Bewcastle, and landed at Linmouth. But whether she were afraid of hir owne shadow, or that the Frenchmen cast too manie doubts, the truth is, that the whole armie returned to their ships, and a tempest rose so suddenlie, that if she had not taken a small carauell, and that with good speed arrived at Berwikke, she had bene taken at that present time by hir aduersaries.

And although fortune was so favourable to hir, yet hir companie with stormie blasts was driven on the shore before Banburgh castell, where they set their ships on fire, and fled to an Island called holie Island, where they were so assailed by the ballard Ogile, and an esquier called John Hanners, with other of king Edward friends, that manie of them were slaine, and almost foure hundred taken prisoners: but their coronell Peter Bessie, otherwise called monseigneur de Warrene, happened upon a fisher man, and so came to Berwikke unto quene Margaret, who made him captaine of the castell of Alnewike, which he with his Frenchmen kept, till they were rescued.

Shortlie after, quene Margaret obtained a great companie of Scots, and other of hir friends, and so bringing hir husband with hir, and leaving hir sonne called prince Edward in the towne of Berwikke, entered Northumberland, took the castell of Banburgh, and stufed it with Scottishmen, and made thereof captaine sir Rafe Greie, and came forward toward the bishoprike of Durham. When the duke of Summerfet heard these newes, he without delaye resoulded from king Edward, and fled to king Henrie. So likewise did sir Rafe Persie, and manie other of the kings friends. But manie more followed king Henrie, in hope to get by the spoile: for his armie spoiled and burned townes, and destroyed fields where soever he came. King Edward advertised of all these things, prepared an armie both by sea and land.

Some of his ships were rigged and vittelled at Lin, and some at Hull, and well furnished with soldiers were herewith sent forth to the sea. Also the lord Montacute was sent into Northumberland, there to raise the people to withstand his enemies. And after this, the king in his proper person, accompanied with his brethren, and a great part of the nobilitie of his realme, came to the citie of Poike, furnished with a mightie armie, sending a great part thereof to the aid of the lord Montacute, least peradventure he giuing too much confidence to the men of the bishoprike and Northumberland, might through them be deceived.

The Lord Montacute then hauing such wish with him as he might trust, marched forth towards his enemies, and by the waie was encountered with the lord Hungerford, the lord Roos, sir Rafe Persie, and diuerse other, at a place called Hegellie more, where suddenlie the said lords, in maner without stroke striking, fled; and onclie sir Rafe Persie abode, and was there manfully slaine, with diuerse other, saying then he was dying, I haue saved the bird in my bolosome: meaning that he had kept his promise and

The lord  
Montacute.

Hegellie  
more.

Sir Rafe  
Persie.

oth made to king Henrie: forgetting (belike) that he in king Henries most necessitie abandoned him, and submitted him to king Edward, as before you haue heard.

The lord Montacute, seeing fortune thus prosperous lie leading his saile, advanced forward; & learning by espials, that king Henrie with his host was incamped in a faire plaine called Liuels, on the water of Dowill in Gramshire, hastened thither, and manfully set on his enemies in their owne campe, which like desperate persons with no small courage received him. There was a foie foughten field, and long per either part could haue anye aduantage of the other: but at length the victorie fell to the lord Montacute, who by fine force entered the battell of his enemies, and constrained them to flie, as despairing of all succours. In which sight and chase were taken Henrie duke of Summerfet, which before was reconciled to king Edward, the lord Roos, the lord Spolins, the lord Hungerford, sir Thomas Wentworth, sir Thomas Hulleie, sir John Ffinderne, and manie other.

King Henrie was a good horseman that day, for he rode so fast apace that no man might overtake him; and yet he was so nere pursued, that certeine of his henchmen were taken, their horses trapped in blue velvet, and one of them had on his head the said king Henries helmet, or rather (as may be thought, & as some say) his high cap of estate, called Abacot, garnished with two rich crownes, which was presented to king Edward at Poike the fourth day of Maie. The duke of Summerfet was incontinentlie beheaded at Erham; the other lords and knights were had to Bewcastle, and there (after a little respite) were likewise put to death. Beside these, diuerse other, to the number of five and twentie, were executed at Poike, and in other places.

Sir Humfrie Penill, and William Tailbois, calling himselfe earle of Raine, sir Rafe Greie, and Richard Tunstall, with diuerse other, which escaped from this battell, hid themselves in secret places: but yet they kept not themselves so close, but that they were espied and taken. The earle of Raine was apprehended in Kibblesdale, and brought to Bewcastle, and there beheaded. Sir humfrie Penill was taken in Holdernesse, and at Poike lost his head. After this battell called Erham field, king Edward came to the citie of Durham, and sent from thence into Northumberland the earle of Warlike, the lord Montacute, the lords Fauconbridge & Scrope, to recover such castels as his enemies there held, and with force defended.

They first besieged the castell of Alnewike, which sir Peter Bessie and the Frenchmen kept, and in no wise would yield, sending for aid to the Scots. Whereupon sir George Douglas erle of Angus, with thirtene thousand chosen men, in the day time came and rescued the Frenchmen out of the castell; the Englishmen looking on, which thought it much better to haue the castell without losse of their men, than to lose both the castell and their men, considering the great power of the Scots, & their owne small number: and so they entered the castell and manned it. After this, they tooke the castell of Dunstanburgh by force, and likewise the castell of Banburgh. John Cois, seruant to the duke of Summerfet, being taken within Dunstanburgh, was brought to Poike, and there beheaded.

Sir Rafe Greie being taken in Banburgh, for that he had swoorne to be true to king Edward, was disgraced of the high order of knightthod at Down castle, by cutting off his gilt spurs, renting his cote of armes, and breaking his sword over his head: and finally, he was there beheaded for his manifest perjury. After this, king Edward returned to Poike, where

Erham field.

The duke of  
Summerfet  
taken.

King Henrie  
fled.

The duke of  
Summerfet  
beheaded.

The earle of  
Raine, others  
toke Angus,  
beheaded.

Alnewike  
first besieged.

1464  
Anno Reg. 4.

King Henrie  
taken.

Ab. Fl. ex L.S.  
pag. 717.

The earle of  
Northpote.

Ab. Flem.

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where (in despite of the earle of Northumberland, who then kept himselfe in the realme of Scotland) he created sir John Peuill, lord Montacute earle of Northumberland; and in reproofe of Jasper earle of Penbrooke, he created William lord Herbert earle of the same place. But after, when by mediation of friends, the earle of Northumberland was reconciled to his fauour, he restored him to his possessions, name, and dignitie; and preferred the lord Montacute to the title of marques Montacute; so that in degree, he was aboue his elder brother the earle of Mar-  
10 wilke; but in power, policie, & possessions, far menier.

King Edward, though all things might seeme now to rest in good case, yet he was not negligent, in making necessarie provision against all attempts of his aduersarie king Henrie, and his partakers; and therefore raised bulwarks, and builded fortresses on eche side of his realme, where any danger was suspected for the landing of any armie. He caused also castles to be laid upon the marches, for against Scotland, that no person should go out of the realme to king Henrie and his companie, which then sojourned in Scotland. But all the doubts of trouble that might insue by the means of king Henries being at libertie, were shortly taken away and ended: for he himselfe, whether he was past all feare; or that he was not well established in his wits and perfect mind; or for that he could not long keepe himselfe secret, in disguised attire boldlie entred into England.

He was no sooner entred, but he was knowen and taken of one Cantlow, and brought toward the king, whom the earle of Marlowe met on the way by the kings commandement, and brought him through London to the Tower, & there he was laid in sure hold. ¶ But it is worthy the noting, which I haue obserued in a late chronographers report touching this matter; namely, that king Henrie was taken in Cletherwood, beside Bungeleie Hippingston in Lancashire, by Thomas Talbot sonne and heire to sir Edward Talbot of Basshall, and John Talbot his cousin of Colebyrie, which deceived him being at his dinner at Waddington hall, and brought him toward London, with his legs bound to the stirrups, where he was met by the earle of Marlowe, and arrested at Guildon; doctor Spanning deane of Windsor, doctor Bedle, and young Ellerton being in his companie, with their feet bound vnder the horse bellies were brought also to the Tower of London.]

Quene Margaret, hearing of the captiuitie of her husband, mistrusting the chance of her sonne, all delicate and comfortable departed out of Scotland, and passed into France, where she remained with her father duke Reiner, till she returned into England to her harne, as after ye shall heare. The new duke of Summer set, and his brother John, sailed into France, where they also lived in great miserie; till duke Charles, because he was of their kin, as descended of the house of Lancaster by his mother, succoured them with a small pension, which was to them a great comfort. The earle of Penbrooke went from countrie to countrie, not alwaies at his hearts ease, nor in safetie of life. [As for his dignitie and reputation, it was the more obscured, for that he had lost the title of his hono, and left at his wits end, doubtful and vncertaine in contrarie factions (as manie more) what to say or do for his best securitie. Fewer the lesse he concealed his inward discontentment, and as opportunitye of time ministered matter, so he grew in courage, and fell to practises of force (with other complices) thereby to accomplish the cloudie conceits of his troubled mind, being perswaded, that temporal misfortunes are, if not bitterlie auoidable, yet mansuallie to be withstood, or at least with audacitie & courage to be suffered, as the poet propriety saith:

*Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito.*

King Edward being thus in more suertie of his life than before, distributed the possessions of such as took part with king Henrie the first, to his souldiers and capteins, which he thought had well deserved: and besides this, he left no other point of liberalitie vnshewed, whereby he might allure to him the benevolent minds and louing hearts of his people. And moreover, to haue the loue of all men, he shewed him selfe more familiar both with the nobilitie and commonaltie, than (as some men thought) was conuenient, either for his estate, or for his hono: notwithstanding the same liberalitie he euer after vied. The lawes of the realme, in part he reformed, and in part he newlie augmented. The coine both of gold and siluer (which yet at this day is) he newlie deuised, and diuided; for the gold he named roials and nobles, and the siluer he called grotes and halfe grotes.

¶ In Michelmasse terme were made sergeants at law, Thomas Pong, Nicholas Geneie, Richard Peale, Thomas Brian, Richard Wigot, John Greenfield, John Catesbie, and Gwie Fairfar, which held their feast in the bishop of Elies place in Holbozne. To the which feast the maiors of London, with the aldermen, thriffes, and commons of diuers crafts being bidden, repaired. But when the maior looked to be set to keepe the state in the hall, as it had bene used in all places of the citie and liberties, out of the kings presence (unknowne to the sergeants and against their wils, as they said) the lord Grate of Rye then then tresuroz of England was there placed, whereupon the maiors, aldermen, and commons departed home, and the maior made all the aldermen to dine with him. Holobett he and all the citizens were greatlie displeased that he was so dealt with, and the new sergeants and others were right soie therefore, and had rather than much good it had not so hapened. This was then (as my record reporteth more at large) registred to be a president in time to come.]

After that king Edward had reduced the state of the publike affaires vnto his liking; to purchase himselfe a good opinion and fauourable iudgement among the commons, he made proclamations, that all persons, which were adherents to his aduersaries part, & would leaue their armour, and submit themselves wholie to his grace and mercie, should be clerelie pardoned and forgiven. By this kind of courteous dealing he wan him such fauour of the people, that euer after, in all his warres, he was (thorough their aid and support) a victor and conqueror. When his realme was thus brought into a good & quiet estate, it was thought meet by him and those of his counsell, that a marriage were pouldred for him in some conuenient place; and therefore was the earle of Marlowe sent ouer into France, to demand the ladie Bona, daughter to Lewis duke of Sanoie, and sister to the ladie Carlot, then quene of France; which Bona was at that time in the French court.

The earle of Marlowe, comming to the French king, then lieng at Tours, was of him honourable receiued, and right courteously interteined. His message was so well liked, and his request thought so honourable for the aduancement of the ladie Bona, that his sister quene Carlot obtained both the good will of the king her husband, and also of his sister the foresaid ladie: so that the matrimonie on that side was clerelie assented to, and the erle of Dampmartine appointed (with others) to saile into England, for the full finishing of the same. But here consider the old prouerbe to be true, which saith, that marriage goeth by destinie. For, during the time that the earle of Marlowe was thus in France, and (according to his instructions) brought the effect of his

Arr. ij. com.

Exham field.

The Duke of  
Summer set  
taken.

King Henrie  
led.

The Duke of  
Summer set  
beheaded.

The earle of  
Marlowe, other-  
wise Angus,  
beheaded.

The earle of  
Marlowe  
beheaded.

1464  
An. Reg. 4.

King Henrie  
taken.

An. Fl. ex. I. S.  
pag. 717.

The earle of  
Penbrooke.

An. Fl. com.

New coine  
stamped.

Abr. Fl. ex. I. S.  
pag. 716.  
Sergeants  
feast.  
Register of  
maiors.

The maiors of  
London de-  
parteth from  
the sergeant  
feast.

The earle of  
Marlowe sent  
into France  
about a mar-  
riage.



The ladie Elizabeth Graie.

commission to passe, the king being on hunting in the forest of Wiltchwood besides Stonestratford, came for his recreation to the manor of Grafton, where the duchesse of Bedford then sojourned, wife to sir Richard Woodville lord Rivers, on whom was then attendant a daughter of hers, called the ladie Elizabeth Graie, widow of sir John Graie knight, slaine at the last battell of saint Albons, as before ye haue heard.

This widow, having a sute to the king for such lands as hir husband had given hir in iointure, so kindled the kings affection towards hir, that he not onelie fauoured hir sute, but moze hir person; for she was a woman of a moze foymall countenance than of excellent beantie; and yet both of such beantie and fauour, that with hir sober demeanour, swete looks, and comelie smiling (neither too wanton, nor too bashfull) besides hir pleasant tong and trim wit, she so allured and made subiect vnto hir the heart of that great prince, that after she had dented him to be his paramour, with so good maner, and words so well set as better could not be deuised; he finally resolved with himselfe to marrie hir, not asking counsell of a nie man, till they might perceiue it was no botie to aduise him to the contrarie of that his concluded purpose; sith he was so farre gone that he was not renocable, and therefore had fixed his heart vpon the last resolution: namelie, to applie an holesome, honest, and honourable remedie to his affections fiered with the flames of loue, and not to permit his heart to the thraldome of vnlawfull lust: which purpose was both princelie and profitable; as the poet saith:

Quid, de rem.  
an. lib. 1.

*Prile propositum est sacus extinguere flammam,  
Nec seruum vitij pectus habere suum.*

But yet the duchesse of Bozke his mother letted this match as much as in hir laie: when all would not serue, she caused a precontract to be alleged, made by him with the ladie Elizabeth Lucie. But all doubts resolved, all things made clere, and all cauellations auoided, yllullie in a morning he married the said ladie Elizabeth Graie at Grafton before said, where he first began to fannle hir. And in the next yere after the was with great solemnitie crowned queene at Westminster. Hir father also was created earle Rivers, and made high constable of England: hir brother lord Anthonie was married to the sole heire of Thomas lord Scales: sir Thomas Graie sonne to sir John Graie the queenes first husband, was created marques Dorset, and married to Cicelie heire to the lord Bonuille. The French king was not well pleased to be thus dallied with; but he shortly (to appeare the gréefe of his wife and hir sister the ladie Bonna) married the said ladie Bonna to the duke of Millan.

The earle of Warwike offended with the kings marriage.

Now when the earle of Warwike had knowledge by letters sent to him out of England from his true friends, that king Edward had gotten him a new wife, he was not a little troubled in his mind, for that he toke it his credence thereby was greatly diminished, and his honour much stained, namelie in the court of France: for that it might be iudged he came rather like an espiall, to moue a thing neuer minded, and to treat a marriage determined before not to take effect. Suerlie he thought himselfe euill used, that when he had brought the matter to his purposed intent and wished conclusion, then to haue it quaille on his part; so as all men might thinke at the least wife, that his prince made small account of him, to send him on such a sleuelesse errand.

All men for the most part agré, that this marriage was the onlie cause, why the earle of Warwike conceived an hatred against king Edward, whome he so much before fauoured. Other affirme other causes, and one speciallie, for that king Edward did at-

tempt a thing once in the earles house, which was much against the earles honestie (whether he would haue defouled his daughter or his niece, the certentie was not for both their honours openlie reuealed) for suerlie, such a thing was attempted by king Edward; which loned well both to behold and also to see faire damfels. But whether the iniurie that the earle thought he receiued at the kings hands, or the disdain of authoritie that the earle had vnder the king, was the cause of the breach of amitie betwixt them: truth it is, that the priuie intentions of their hearts brake into so manie small peeces, that England, France, and Flanders, could neuer ioine them againe, during their naturall liues.

But though the earle of Warwike was earnestlie inflamed against the king, for that he had thus married himselfe without his knowledge, having regard onelie to the satisfieng of his wanton appetite, moze than to his honour or suertie of his estate; yet did he so much dissemble the matter at his returne into England, as though he had not vnderstood anie thing thereof: but onelie declared what he had done, with such reuerence, and shew of frendlie countenance, as he had bene accustomed. And when he had taried in the court a certeine space, he obtained licence of the king to depart to his castell of Warwike, meaning (when time serued) to vtter to the world, that which he then kept secret, that is to saie, his inward grudge, which he bare towards the king, with desire of reuenge, to the vttermost of his power. Nevertheless, at that time he departed (to the outward shew) so farre in the kings fauour, that manie gentlemen of the court for honours sake gladlie accompanied him into his countrie.

This yere it was proclaimed in England, that the beakes or pikes of shoes and boots should not passe two inches, vpon paine of cursing by the cleargie, and for setting twentie shillings, to be paid one noble to the king, an other to the cordwainers of London, and the third to the chamber of London; and for other cities and towne the like order was taken. Before this time, and since the yere of our Lord 1382, the pikes of shoes and boots were of such length, that they were faine to be tied vp vnto the knees with chaines of siluer and gilt, or at the least with silken laces.]

In this yere also, the kings daughter, the ladie Elizabeth, after wife to king Vencie the seauenth, was bozne; king Edward concluded an amitie and league with Vencie king of Castile, and John king of Aragon; at the concluding thereof, he granted licence for certeine Cottehold shepe, to be transported into the countie of Spaine (as people report) which haue there so multiplied and increased, that it hath turned the commoditie of England much to the Spanissh profit. Beside this, to haue an amitie with his next neighbour the king of Scots, he winked at the losse of Berwike, and was contented to take a truce for fiftene yeres. Thus king Edward, though for refusall of the French kings sister in law he wan him enemies in France; yet in other places he procured him friends: but those friends had stow him in small stead, if fortune had not holpe him to an other, even at his elbow.

This was Charles earle of Charolois, the sonne and heire apparent vnto Phillip duke of Burgognie, which Charles being then a widower, was counselled to be suter vnto king Edward, for to haue in marriage the ladie Margaret, sister to the said king, a ladie of excellent beantie, and indured with so manie worthie gifts of nature, grace, and fortune, that she was thought not vnworthie to match with the greatest prince of the world. The lord Anthonie d'Arde brother to the said earle Charolois, commorlie called

An. Reg  
The barbard  
Burgognie  
ambassador  
into England.

Just betwixt  
the barbard of  
Burgognie &  
the lord  
Scales.

Abt. Fl. ex. 1.  
pag. 717.  
Long pike  
shoes & boots  
then.

1466.  
Anno Reg.  
Cottelhold  
shepe trans-  
ported into  
Spaine.

Truce betw  
Scots.

The law of  
armes.

1467  
Anno Reg.  
The death of  
the duke of  
Burgognie.

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The barbard  
of Burgognie  
ambassador  
into England.

called the barbard of Burgognie, a man of great wit, courage, and valiantnesse, was appointed by his father duke Philip, to go into England in ambassage, about this tute; who being furnished of plate and apparell, necessarie for his estate, hauing in his companie gentlemen, and other expert in all feats of chualtrie and martiall prowesse, to the number of foure hundred horses, toke his ship, and arriued in England, where he was of the king & nobles honorable receiued.

This message being declared, ye may be sure the same was tollie heard of the king and his counsell; the which by that affinitie, saw how they might be assured of a buckler against France. But yet the earle of Marlowe, bearing his heartie fauour vnto the french king, did as much as in him late by euill reports to hinder this marriage: but this notwithstanding, at length, the king granted to the barbard request; and the said barbard openlie in the kings great chamber contracted the said ladie Margarete, for, and in the name of his brother the said earle of Charolois. After this marriage thus concluded, the barbard challenged the lord Scales, brother to the queene, a man both equall in hart and valiantnesse with the barbard, to fight with him both on horsebacke, and on foot: which demand the lord Scales gladiie accepted.

The king causing lists to be prepared in Westsmithfield for these champions, and verie faire and coslie galleries for the ladies, was present at this martiall enterprize himselfe. The first daie they ran together diuerse courses with sharpe speares, and departed with equall honoz. The next day they turned on horsebacke. The lord Scales horse had on his chafron a long sharpe pike of Steele, and as the two champions coped together, the same horse (whether thorough custome or by chance) thrust his pike into the nosegills of the barbard's horse; so that for verie paine he mounted so high, that he fell on the one side with his maister, and the lord Scales rode round about him with his sword in his hand, vntill the king commanded the marshall to helpe vp the barbard, which openlie said; I can not hold me by the clouds, for though my horse faileth me, fuerlie I will not faile my contercompanion. The king would not suffer them to doe anie more that daie.

The morow after, the two noblemen came into the field on foot, with two polares, and fought ballantlie; but at the last, the point of the polar of the lord Scales happened to enter into the sight of the barbard's helme, and by fine force might haue plucked him on his knees: the king suddenlie cast downe his warder, and then the marshalls them seuered. The barbard not content with this chance, and trusting on the cunning which he had at the polar, required the king of iustice, that he might performe his enterprize. The lord Scales refused it not, but the king said, he would aske counsell: and so calling to him the constable, and the marshall, with the officers of armes, after consultation had, and the lawes of armes rehearsed, it was declared for a sentence definitive, by the duke of Clarence, then constable of England, and the duke of Norfolk, then marshall; that if he would go forward with his attempted challenge, he must by the law of armes be deliuered to his aduerarie, in the same state and like condition as he stood when he was taken from him.

The barbard hearing this iudgement, doubted the sequels of the matter; and so relinquished his challenge. Other challenges were done, and valiantlie atchieued by the Englishmen, which I passe ouer. Shortly after came sorrowfull tidings to the barbard, that his father duke Philip was dead, who there-

upon taking his leaue of king Edward, and of his sister the new duchesse of Burgognie, liberallie rewarded with plate and iewels, with all speed returned to his brother the new duke, who was not a little glad of the contract made for him with the said ladie, as after well appeared. In this same yeare, king Edward, more for the loue of the marques Montacute, than for anie fauour he bare to the earle of Marlowe, promoted George Penill their brother to the archbishopricke of Yorke.

George Penill  
archbishop  
of Yorke.

Charles duke of Burgognie, reioysing that he had so well sped, for conclusion of marriage with king Edwards sister, was verie desirous to see hir, of whome he had heard so great praise, & wrote to king Edward, requiring him to send his sister ouer vnto him, according to the conenants passed betwixt them. King Edward being not slacke in this matter, appointed the dukes of Excester and Suffolke, with their wiues, being both sisters to the ladie Margarete, to attend hir, till she came to hir husband. And so after that ships, and all other necessarie provisions were readie, they being accompanied with a great sort of lords and ladies, and others, to the number of fine hundred horses, in the beginning of June departed out of London to Douer, and so sailed to Sluis, and from thence was conueied to Bruges, where the marriage was solemnized betwixt the duke and hir, with great triumphs, & princelie feastings. Touching the pompe had and bled at the setting forward of this ladie on hir voiage it is a note worth the reading; and therefore necessarilie here interlaced for honours sake.

1468.  
Anno Reg. 8.

The ladie  
Margaret  
sister to king  
Edward,  
sent ouer to  
the duke of  
Burgognie.

On the eighteenth of June, Margarete sister to king Edward the fourth began hir iornie from the Wardrobe in London, toward hir marriage with Charles duke of Burgognie: first she offered in the church of saint Paule, and then rode thorough the citie, the earle of Marlowe riding before hir, with earles and barons a great number; the duchesse of Norfolk, with other ladies and gentlewomen in great number. And at hir entrie into Cheape, the maiors of London and his brethren the aldermen presented hir with a palis of rich balons, & in them an hundred pounds of gold, and that night she lodged at the abbrie of Stratford, where the king then late: from thence she toke hir iornie to Canturburie.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S.  
pag. 719, 720.  
in Quart.

The king riding after to see hir shipping, on the first of Iulie, she toke the sea at Margate, and there toke leaue of the king hir brother, and departed. Where returned backe againe with the king, the duke of Clarence, the duke of Gloucester, the earles of Marlowe, Shrewsburie, and Northumberland. And there abode with hir in the ship, the lord Scales, the lord Dacres hir chamberlaine, sir John Mowbray, sir John Holward, and manie other famous knights and esquires. She was shipped in the new Ellen of London, and in hir nauie the John of Newcastle, the Marie of Salisburie, and manie other roiall ships, and on the morrow landed at Sluis in Flanders. Now as soone as hir ship & companie of ships were entered into the haven, there receiued hir sir Simon de Alein and the water bailiffe, in diuerse boats and barks apparelled readie for hir landing.

The first estate that receiued hir was the bishop of Etricht well accompanied, and the countesse of Shorne barbard daughter to duke Philip of Burgognie, and with hir manie ladies and gentlewomen; and so proceeding in at the gate of the towne, the same towne was presented to hir, she to be loue reigne ladie thereof: also they gaue to hir twelue marks of gold Troie weight, the which was two hundred pounds of English monie; and so proceeded thorough the towne to hir lodging, cuertie householder standing

Ar. iiij.

standing

The earle of  
Warwicke  
keepeth his  
great secret.

The barbard  
of Burgognie  
ambassador  
into England.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S.  
pag. 717.

Long piked  
shores for  
bore.

1466.  
Anno Reg. 6.

Cottelbush  
shope trans-  
ported into  
Spain.

Trace with  
scots.

The lawe of  
armes.

1467  
Anno Reg. 7.

The barbard  
of Burgognie

standing in the street with a torch in his hand burning. On the morrow the old duchesse of Burgognie came to hir, accompanied with manie great estates. On the third of Julie came the duke of Burgognie to Sluis, with twentie persons secretlie, and was there openlie affianced to the ladie Margaret, by the bishop of Salisburie and the lord Scales, in presence of the lord Dacres, the duchesse of Norfolk, the ladie Scales, and all the knights & esquiers; gentlewomen inuironing the chamber.

On the 8 of Julie (being saturday) by the duke of Burgognies appointment, the lady Margaret removed by water to the Dame. And on the Sunday in the morning betweene five and six of the clocke, the marriage was solemnized betwixt them, by the bishops of Salisburie and of Carneie; there being present the old duchesse of Burgognie, the lord Scales, the lord Dacres, with the knights, esquiers, ladies & gentlewomen that came out of England. The great triumphs, feasting, shewes of pageants, with other strange deuises, and iustings, were such as I haue not read the like, and would be ouer long in this place to set downe.

¶ Of this alliance with other more mention is honorable made in the declaration of the causes that moued the Quene of England to giue aid to the defense of the people afflicted & oppressed in the low countries, by the Spaniards, namely for the maintenance of perpetuall amitie. Which declaration is so set forth in this booke, as the same in the seven and twentieth yeare of hir maiesties reigne was published: vnto which yeare I remit the reader (for the further search thereof) for that it containeth much memorable matter, touching the manifest causes of concord to be continued betwene them of the low countries and vs English.]

Sir Thomas Coke late maior of London, was by one named Watkins appeached of treason, for the which he was sent to the Tower, and his place within London seized by the lord Rivers, and his wife and seruants clerelie put out therof. The cause was this. The forenamed Watkins came vpon a season vnto the said sir Thomas, requesting him to lend a thousand markes vpon good suretie, wherevnto he answered, that first he would know for whome it should be and for what intent.

At length, vnderstanding it should be for the vse of quene Margaret, he answered he had no currant wares thereof anie gifts might be made without too much losse: and therefore required Watkins to moue him no farther in that matter, for he intended not to deale withall: yet the said Watkins exhorted him to remember, what benefits he had receiued by hir when she was in prosperitie, as by making him hir wardrober, and customer of Hampton, &c.

But by no meanes the said Coke would grant goods nor monie, although at last the said Watkins required but an hundred pounds, he was faine to depart without the value of a penie, and neuer came againe to moue him, which so rested two or three years after, till the said Watkins was cast in the Tower, and at length brought to the stake, called the duke of Breckers daughter, by meanes of which paine he shewed manie things, amongst the which the motion was one that he had made to sir Thomas Coke, and accused himselfe so farre, that he was put to death.

By meane of which confession, the said sir Thomas was troubled (as before is shewed) when the said sir Thomas had laine in the Tower from Whitsuntide till about Michaelmas, in the which season manie inquiries were made to find him guiltie, and euer quit, till one turtie (by meanes of sir John Fog) indicted him of treason, after which an aier and termier was kept at the Cusshall, in which sat with the maior the

duke of Clarence, the earle of Warwicke, the lord Rivers, sir John Fog, with other of the kings council.

To the which place the said Thomas was brought, and there arraigned vpon life and death, where he was acquitted of the said indictment, and had to the counter in Breadstreet, and from thence to the kings bench. After a certeine time that he was thus acquitted, his wife got againe the possession of hir house, the which she found in an euill plight; for such seruants of the lord Rivers and sir John Fog, as were assigned to keepe it, made haucke of what they listed.

Also at his place in Essex named Giddishall, were set an other sort to keepe that place, the which destroyed his deere in his parke, his comes, and his fish, without reason, and spared not byssle, petwoer, bedding, & all that they might carie, for the which might neuer one penie be gotten in recompence, yet could not sir Thomas Coke be deliuered, till he had paid eight thousand pounds to the king, and eight hundred pounds to the quene.]

In this meane time, the earle of Warwicke bearing a continuall grudge in his hart toward king Edward, since his last returne out of France, persuaded so with his two brethren, the archbishop, and the marques, that they agreed to ioine with him in anie attempt which he should take in hand against the said king. The archbishop was easilie allured to the earles purpose, but the marques could by no meanes be reduced to take anie part against king Edward of a long time, till the earle had both promised him great rewards and promotions, and also assured him of the aid and power of the greatest princes of the realme. And euen as the marques was loth to consent to his unhappie conspiracie, so with a faint hart he shewed himselfe an enimie vnto king Edward, which double dissimulation was both the destruction of him and his brethren. ¶ And that they were persuasions of no small force, which the earle of Warwicke used to the archbishop and marques, I haue thought good here to interlace, as I find remembred by Edward Hall in forme following.

### The persuasions of the earle of Warwicke vnto his two brethren against king Edward the fourth.

**M**y deere and welbeloued brethren, the incredible faithfulness, the secret sobernesse, and the politike prudence that I haue euer by long continuance of time experimented in you both, doth not onelie encourage my heart, yea and setteth me in great hope of obtaining my purpose, but also putteth me out of all dread and mistrust, firmelie beleauing, and surerlie iudging, that you both will with tooth and naile endeavour your selues, to the vttermost of your power, to bring to effect and purpose the thing that I now shall declare vnto you. Surerlie, I would in no wise that you should thinke, that that which I shall speake to you of king Edward and king Henrie, should rise of any highnesse or phantasie of my mind, or anie trifeling toie latelie fallen in my imagination; but the true experience and iust iudgement that I haue of them both, their qualities and conditions, in manner compell and constrain me to saie as I say, and to do as I do.

For

Abr. Fl.

\* Given at Richmond on the first of October, An. Dom. 1385. & Anno Reg. 27.

Fabian. 497.  
Sir Thomas Coke.

Abr. Flax.  
Edw. Hall. 2.  
Edw. 4. fol.  
ccxviii. &c.

for suerlie, king Henrie is a godlie, good, and a vertuous person, neither forgetting his friends, nor putting in obliuion anie benefit by him of a meane person receiued, nor yet anie paine for his causes susteined, hath he left unrewarded: to whome God hath sent a sonne, called prince Edward, borne to be of great worthinesse & praise, of much bountifullnesse and liberalitie, of whome men may manie laudable things coniecture, considering the paine, labour, and trauell, that he taketh to helpe his father out of captiuitie and thraldome. King Edward on the contrarie side, is a man contumelious, opprobrious, and an iniurious person: to them that deserue kindnesse he sheweth unkindnesse, and them that loue him he deadly hateth, now detesting to take anie paine for the preferment or maintenance of the publike wealth of this realme, but all giuen to pastime, pleasure, and daliance; soner preferring to high estate men descended of low bloud and base degree, than men of old and vndeiled houses, which haue both supported him and the commonwealth of his realme.

So that I now perceiue, that it is euen come to this point, that he will destroe all the nobilitie: or else the nobilitie must shortly of verte necessitie destroe and confound him. But reason would, that we that were first hurt, should first reuenge our cause: for it is not vnknownen to you both, how that he, immediatlie after he had obtained the crowne, began first secretlie, & then openlie to enuie, disdain, and impugne the fame, glorie, and renowne of our house and familie; as who said, that all the honor, preferment, and authoritie that we haue, we had onelie receiued at his hands, and that we had neither obtained dignitie nor rule by our great labour, aid and trauell. Which to all men may seeme untrue, that consider that our name, chiefe title, and principall authoritie, was to vs giuen by king Henrie the first, and not by him. But if euerie man will remember, who first toke part with his father, when he claimed the crowne (who at that time, for that cause was in great iopardie, and almost slaine by the kings meniall seruants, and who neuer left this man in prosperitie nor aduersitie, till he had the garland, and the realme in quietnesse) shall manifestlie perceive, that we and our bloud haue shewed our selues more like fathers to him, than he like a friend to vs.

If we haue receiued any benefits of him, suerlie they be not so much as we haue deserved, nor so much as we looked for: and yet they be much more than he would we should know, as ye both well perceiue and know. Let these things ouerpasse, and speake of the vngentle, untrue, and vnprincipall handling of me in the last ambassage, being sent to the French king for to treat a marriage for him, hauing full authoritie to bind and to lole, to contract and conclude. Which thing when I had finished & accomplished:

how lightlie his mind changed, how priuile he bowed, and how secretlie he married, both you know better than I. So that by this meanes, I was almost out of all credence in the court of France, both with the king and quene, as though I had come thither like an elptall, to moue a thing neuer minded; or to treat of a marriage determined before neuer to take effect. Whereby the fame of all our estimation, which all kings and princes haue conceived in vs (partlie obtained by the vertue & proouesse of our noble ancestors, and partlie atchiued by our owne paines & forward acts) shall now be obfuscate, vtterlie extinguished, and nothing set by.

What woyme is touched, and will not once turne againe: What beast is stricken, that will not roze or sound: What innocent child is hurt that will not crie: If the poore and vnreasonable beasts, if the selie babes that doe lacke discretion, grone against harme to them proffered: how ought an honest man to be angrie, when things that touch his honestie be daillie against him attempted: But if a meane person in that case be angrie: how much more ought a noble man to fume & stirre coales, when the high type of his honour is touched, his fame in maner brought to infamie, and his honour almost blemished & appalled, without his offense or desert: All this brethren you know to be true, the dishonor of one is the dishonor of vs all, and the hurt of one is the hurt of all: wherefore, rather than I will liue unreuenged; or suffer him to reigne, which hath sought my decarie and dishonor, I will suerlie spend my life, lands, and goods, in setting by that iust and good man king Henrie the first: and in deposing this untrue, vnfaithfull, and unkind prince (by our onelie means) called king Edward the fourth.

Before all this, the earle of Marlowe, being a far casting prince, perceiued somewhat in the duke of Clarence, whereby he iudged that he bare no great good will towards the king his brother; and thereby on, feeling his mind by such talke as he of purpose ministered, vnderstood how he was bent, and so won him to his purpose: and for better assurance of his faithfull friendship, he offered him his eldest daughter in marriage; with the whole halfe deale of his wines inheritance. And hereupon, after consultation had of their weightie businesse and dangerous affaires, they sailed ouer to Calis, of the which towne the earle was capitaine, where his wife & two daughters then sojourned, whome the duke (being in love with his person) had great desire to visit.

But the earle, hauing in continuall remembrance his purposed enterprize, appointed his brethren, the archbishop and the marquess, that they should by some meanes in his absence stirre up some new rebellion in the countie of Norke, and other places adjoining, so that this ciuill warre should seeme to all men to haue bene begun without his assent or knowledge, being on the further side of the seas. The duke of Clarence being come to Calis with the earle of Marlowe, after he had swozne on the sacrament to keepe his promise and pact made with the said earle whole and inuiolate, he married the ladie Isabel, eldest daughter.

A commotion  
in Yorkeshire.

Saint Leonards hospitall  
in York.

A rebellion.

Robert Hildborne  
captaine of the rebels  
taken and beheaded.

Sir John Coniers.

The earle of  
Penbroke.

daughter to the earle, in our ladies church there. Shortly after, according as had bene aforehand devised, a commotion was begun in Yorkeshire, to the great disquieting of that countrey. The same chanced by this means.

There was in the citie of Yorke an old and rich hospitall, dedicated to saint Leonard, for the harbouring and relieving of poore people. Certaine euill disposed persons of the earle of Marwikes faction, intending to set a boile in the countrey, perswaded the husbandmen to refuse to giue anie thing to the said hospitall, affirming that the corne giuen to that good intent, came not to the vse of the poore; but was conuerted to the behoofe of the master of the hospitall, and the preests, whereby they grew to be rich, and the poore people wanted their due succour and reliefe. And not content with these sayings, they fell to doings: for when the proctors of the hospitall, according to their vsage, went about the countrey to gather the accustomed corne, they were soe beaten, wounded, and euill intreated.

Shortly after, the conspiracie of the euill disposed people grew to an open rebellion, so that there assembled to the number of sixtene thousand men, euen readie bent to set on the citie of Yorke. But the lord marquisse Montacute, gouernour and president of that countrey for the king, taking speedie counsell in the matter, with a small number of men, but well chosen, incountred the rebels before the gates of Yorke: where (after a long conflict) he took Robert Hildborne their captaine, and before them commanded his head to be stricken off, and then (because it was a darke euening) he caused his souldiers to enter in to Yorke, and there to refresh them. Here manie men haue marvelled, why the marquisse thus put to death the captaine of those people, which had procured this their rebellious enterpryse.

Some saie he did it, to the intent to seme innocent and faultlesse of his brothers doings. But other iudge, that he did it, for that contrarie to his promise made to his brother, he was determined to take part with king Edward, with whom (as it shall after appeare) he in small space entered into grace and fauour. The rebels being nothing dismayed with the death of their captaine, but rather the more bent on mischief, by faire meanes and craftie persuations got to them Henric, sonne to the lord Fitz Hugh, and sir Henrie Percill sonne and heire to the lord Latimer, the one being nephue and the other cousine germane to the erle of Marwike. Although these young gentlemen bare the names of captains, yet they had a gouernour that was sir John Coniers, a man of such courage & valiantnesse, as few were to be found in his daies within the north parts.

After they saw that they could not get Yorke, because they wanted ordinance, they determined with all speed to march toward London, intending to raise such a toie in the peoples minds, that they should thinke king Edward neither to be a lawfull prince, nor yet profitable to the common-wealth. King Edward hauing perfect knowledge of all the doings of the earle of Marwike, and of his brother the duke of Clarence, was by diuerse letters certified of the great armie of the northerne men, with all speed coming toward London; and therefore in great hast he sent to William lord Herbert, whom (as yee haue heard) he had created earle of Penbroke; requiring him without delate to raise his power, and incounter with the northerne men.

The earle of Penbroke, commondie called the lord Herbert, both readie to obeie the kings commandement, according to his dutie, and also desirous to reuenge the malice which he bare to the earle of Marwike, for that he knew how he had bene the onelie

let why he obtained not the wardship of the lord Bonneuilles daughter and heire for his eldest sonne, accompanied with his brother sir Richard Herbert, a valiant knight, and aboue six or seauen thousand Welshmen, well furnished, marched forward to incounter with the northerne men. And to assist him with archers, was appointed Humfrie lord Stafford of Southwike, named but not created earle of Deuonshire by the king, in hope that he would serue as valiantlie in that iourne: he had with him eight hundred archers.

When these two lords were met at Cotesfold, they heard how the northerne men were going toward Northampton: whereupon the lord Stafford, and sir Richard Herbert, with two thousand well provided Welshmen, rode forth afore the maine armie, to see the demeanour of the northerne men: and at length, vnder a woods side, they conertlie espied them passing forward, and suddenlie set on the rearward: but the northerne men with such nimblenesse turned about, that in a moment the Welshmen were discomfited, and manie taken, the remnant returned to the armie with small gaine. The northerne men well cooled with this small victorie, went no further southwards, but toke their waie toward Marwike, looking for aid of the earle, which was latelie come from Calles, with his sonne in law the duke of Clarence, and was raising men to aid his friends and kinsfolke.

The king likewise assembled people to aid the erle of Penbroke, but before either part received succour from his friend or partaker, both the armies met by chance in a faire plaine, nere to a towne called Hedgocote, foure miles distant from Banberie, where there are three hilles, not in equal quantitie, but lieng in manner (although not fullie) triangle. The Welshmen got first the west hill, hoping to haue recovered the east hill also, which if they might haue obtained, the victorie had bene theirs, as their foolish prophesiers told them before. These northerne men incamped on the south hill: the earle of Penbroke and the lord Stafford of Southwike were lodged in Banberie, the daie before the fielde, which was saint James daie, and there the earle of Penbroke put the lord Stafford out of an inn, wherein he delighted much to be, for the loue of a damosell that dwelled in the house: and yet it was agreed betwixt them, that which of them sooner obtained first a lodging, should not be displaced.

The lord Stafford in great despite departed with his whole band of archers, leauing the earle of Penbroke almost desolate in the towne, who with all diligence returned to his host, lieng in the fielde vnpurueied of archers. Sir Henrie Percill, sonne to the lord Latimer, toke with him certaine light horsemen, and skirmished with the Welshmen in the euening, iust before their campe, where doing right valiantlie, but a little too hardlie aduenturing himselfe, was taken and yelded, and yet cruellie slaine. Which very mercifull act the Welshmen soe rued the next day per night: for the northerne men soe displeased for the death of this noble man, in the next morning valiantlie set on the Welshmen, and by force of archers caused them quicklie to descend the hill, into the valley, where both the hostis fought.

The earle of Penbroke did right valiantlie, and so likewise did his brother sir Richard Herbert, in so much that with his polar in his hand, he twice by fine force passed thorough the battell of his aduersaries, and without anie hurt or mortall wound returned: but see the hap, euen as the Welshmen were at point to haue obtained the victorie, John Clapam esquier, seruant to the earle of Marwike, mounted by the side of the east hill, accompanied

The we  
men slain

Abt. Flem

Robin of  
Medbourne  
the erle  
mers and  
sonne be-  
hed.

The lord  
Stafford  
Southwike  
beheaded.

Discomfited  
it by arches

John Clapam  
took  
the  
captaine.

John Clapam



An. Reg. 10.

oncle with five hundred men, gathered of the rascals of the towne of Southampton, and other villages about, having bozre before them the standard of the earle of Marlowe, with the white beare, crying; A Marlowe, a Marlowe.

The Welshmen, thinking that the earle of Marlowe had come on them with all his puissance, suddenly as men amazed, fled: the northerne men them pursued, and five without mercie, so that there died of the Welshmen that date, above five thousand, besides them that fled and were taken. The earle of Denbroke, and his brother sir Richard Herbert, with diuerse gentlemen, were taken and brought to Banberie, where the earle with his brother, and other gentlemen, to the number of ten, that were likewise taken, lost their heads. But great mone was made for that noble and hardie gentleman, sir Richard Herbert, being able for his goodlie personage and high balliance, to haue serued the greatest prince in christendome. [But what policie or puissance can either prevent or impugn the force of fate, whose law as it standeth vpon an inevitable necessitie; so was it not to be dispensed withall; and therefore destine hauing preordained the manner of his deeth, it was patientlie to be suffered, sith puissance it could not be auoided, nor politike prevented, nor violentlie resisted: for

*— sua queng, dies ad funera raptat. ]*

The Southamptonshire men, with diuerse of the northerne men by them procured, in this furie made them a capteine, called Robert Willard, but they named him Robin of Reddesdale, and suddenly came to Crasson, where they toke the earle Rivers, father to the quene, and his son sir John Modulle, whome they brought to Southampton, and there beheaded them both without iudgement. The king aduertised of these mishances, wrote to the shiriffes of Summerfetshire, and Denonshire, that if they might by any means take the lord Stafford of Southwiche, they should without delaie put him to death. Whereupon search was made for him, till at length he was found in a village within Brentmarsh, and after brought to Bridgewater where he was beheaded.

After the battell was thus fought at Wedgecote commonlie called Banberie field, the northerne men rested toward Marlowe, where the earle had gathered a great multitude of people, which earle received the northerne men with great gladnes, thanking sir John Coniers, and other their capteins for their paines taken in his cause. The king in this meane time had assembled his power, and was comming toward the earle, who being aduertised thereof, sent to the duke of Clarence, requiring him to come and some with him. The duke being not farre off, with all speed repaired to the earle, and so they joined their powers together, and vpon secret knowledge had, that the king (because they were entered into termes by waie of communication to haue a peace) toke small heed to himselfe, nothing doubting any outward attempt of his enemies.

The earle of Marlowe, intending not to lose such opportunitie of aduantage, in the dead of the night, with an elect companie of men of warre (as secretlie as was possible) set on the kings field, killing them that kept the watch, and per the king was ware (for he thought of nothing lesse than of that which then hapned) at a place called Molnie, foure miles from Marlowe, he was taken prisoner and brought to the castell of Marlowe. And to the intent his friends should not know what was become of him, the earle caused him by secret iournies in the night to be conueied to Middleham castell in Yorkeshire, and there to be kept vnder the custodie of the archbishop of York, and other his friends in those parties. King Edward being thus in captiuitie, spake euer faire to

the archbishop, and to his other keepers, so that he had leaue diuerse daies to go hunt. [Which exercise he vfed, as it should seme, not so much for regard of his recreation, as for the recouerie of his libertie; which men esteeme better than gold, and being counted a diuine thing, both passe all the wealth, pleasure, and treasure of the world; according to the old saing:

*Non bene pro suluo libertas venditur auro,*

*Hoc celeste bonum preterit orbis opes.]*

So on a daie vpon a plaine where he was thus abode, there met with him sir William Stanley, sir Thomas a Bozough, and diuers other of his friends, with such a great band of men, that neither his keepers would, nor once durst moue him to returne vnto prison againe. Some haue thought that his keepers were corrupted with monie, or faire promises, and therefore suffered him thus to scape out of danger. After that he was once at libertie, he came to York, where he was iustlie receiued, and taried there two daies: but when he perceiued he could get no armie together in that countrie to attend him to London, he turned from York to Lancaster, where he found his chamberleine the lord Hastings well accompanied, by whose aid and such others as were to him, being well furnished, he came safelie to the citie of London.

When the earle of Marlowe, and the duke of Clarence had knowledge how king Edward by the treason or negligence of them (whome they had put in trust) was escaped their hands, they were in a wonderfull chafe: but sith the chance was past, they began effsones to prouide for the warre, which the king was like to insue; and found much comfort, in that a great number of men, desiring more in discord than in concord, offered themselves to aid their side. But other good men desirous of common quiet, and lamenting the miserable state of the realme, to repress such mischief as appeared to be at hand by these tumults, toke paine, and road betwene the king, the earle, and the duke, to reconcile them eche to other.

Their charitable motion and causes allegeded, because they were of the chiefest of the nobilitie, and therefore caried both credit and authoritie with them, so alluaged the moods both of the king, the duke, and the earle; that eche gaue faith to other to come and go safelie without leopordis. In which promise both the duke and earle putting perfect confidence, came both to London. At Westminster, the king, the duke, and the earle, had long communication together, so to haue come to an agreement: but they fell at such great words vpon reherfall of old matters, that in great furie without any conclusion they departed, the king to Canturburie, and the duke and the earle to Marlowe, where the earle procured a new armie to be raised in Lincolneshire, and made capteine thereof sir Robert Welles, sonne to Richard lord Welles, a man of great experience in warre.

The king aduertised hereof, without delaie prepared an armie, and out of hand he sent to Richard lord Welles, willing him vpon the sight of his letters, to repaire vnto him: which to doe he had oftentimes refused, excusing himselfe by sicknesse and feblenesse of bodie. But when that excuse serued not, he thinking to purge himselfe sufficientlie of all offense and blame before the kings presence, toke with him sir Thomas Dimmocke, who had married his sister, and so came to London. And when he was come, by being admonished by his friends that the king was greatlie with him displeased, he with his brother in law toke the sanctuarie at Westminster.

But king Edward, trusting to pacifie all this little tumult without any further bloodshed, promised both those persons their pardons, causing them vpon his promise to come out of sanctuarie to his presence,

Abr. Flem.

Sir William Stanley, is Edward is deliuered out of captiuitie.

The cometh to London.

The king and the duke and the earle, had long communication together, so to haue come to an agreement: but they fell at such great words vpon reherfall of old matters, that in great furie without any conclusion they departed, the king to Canturburie, and the duke and the earle to Marlowe, where the earle procured a new armie to be raised in Lincolneshire, and made capteine thereof sir Robert Welles, sonne to Richard lord Welles, a man of great experience in warre.

The king aduertised hereof, without delaie prepared an armie, and out of hand he sent to Richard lord Welles, willing him vpon the sight of his letters, to repaire vnto him: which to doe he had oftentimes refused, excusing himselfe by sicknesse and feblenesse of bodie.

Sir Thomas Dimmocke.

m. 1469.

The lord Stafford.

The Welshmen discouered.

Wedgecote, Banberie field.

Discord wher it by rebell.

The battell namd of sir Richard Herbert.

John Clapman.

Anno Reg. 10.

The lord Welles and Thomas Dimmoche beheaded.

Loscote field

The faithfulness of the lord Stanleie.

The duke of Clarence and the earle of Warwike take the sea.

The earle of Warwike kept out of Calis.

Monsieur de Claulere made deputie of Calis.

sence, and calling to him the lord Welles, willed him to write to his sonne to leaue off the warre, and in the meane season he with his armie went forward, hauing with him the lord Welles, and sir Thomas Dimmoche. And bring not past two daies iournie from Stamford, where his enemies had pitched their field, and hearing that sir Robert Welles, not regarding his fathers letters, kept his campe still, he caused the lord Welles, father to the said sir Robert, and sir Thomas Dimmoche to be beheaded, contrarie to his promise.

Sir Robert Welles, hearing that the king approached, and that his father and sir Thomas Dimmoche were beheaded, though he was somewhat doubtfull to fight, before the earle of Warwike were with his power assembled, yet hauing a yong and lustie courage, manfully set on his enemies. The battell was sore fought on both sides, and manie a man slaine; till sir Robert, perceiving his people at point to die, was busied in hand to exhort them to farie, and in the meane time compassed about with enemies was there taken; with him sir Thomas de Land knight, and manie more. After the taking of their captaine, the Lincolnshire men amazed, threw awaie their coats the lighter to run awaie, and fled amaine, and therefore this battell is called there yet vnto this daie, Loscote field.

The king reioicing at this victorie, caused sir Robert Welles, and diuerse other to be put to execution in the same place. The same went that at this battell were slaine ten thousand men at the least. The earle of Warwike laie at the same time at his castell of Warwike, and meant to haue set forward the next daie toward his armie in Lincolnshire. But when he heard that the same was ouerthrowne, he took new counsell, and with all diligence imagined how to compass Thomas lord Stanleie, which had married his sister; that he might be one of the conspiracie. Which thing when he could not bring to passe, for the lord Stanleie had answered him, that he would neuer make warre against king Edward; he thought no longer to spend time in wast; and mistrusting he was not able to meet with his enemies, he with his sonne in law the duke of Clarence departed to Calis, and there tarling a few daies, determined to saile into France, to purchase aid of king Lewes.

Now resting vpon this point, he hired ships at Dartmouth; and when the same were readie trimmed and decked, the duke and the earle with their suites, and a great number of seruants imbarked themselves, and first took their course towards Calis, whereof the earle was captaine, thinking there to haue left his wife and daughters, till he had returned out of France. But when they were come before the towne of Calis, they could not be suffered to enter; for the lord Claulere a Gascoigne, being the earles deputie in that towne, whether he did it by dissimulation, or bearing good will to king Edward (as by the sequels it may be doubted whether he did or no) in stead of receiuing his master with triumph, he bent and discharged against him diuerse pieces of ordinance, sending him word he should not there take land.

This nauie lieng thus before Calis at anchor, the duchesse of Clarence was there deliuered of a faire sonne, which child the earles deputie would scarce suffer to be distressed within the towne; nor without great intreatie would permit two flagons of wine to be conueied aboard to the ladies lieng in the hauen. The king of England aduersified of the refusal made by monsieur de Claulere to the earle of Warwike, was so much pleased therewith, that incontinentlie he made him chiefe captaine of the towne of Calis by his letters patents, which he sent

to him out of hand, and thereof discharged the earle as a traitor and rebell. Thus was the one in respect of his accepted seruice honorable advanced; and the other, in regard of his disloyaltie shamefullie disgraced; whereof as the one took occasion of inward delight; so the other could not be void of grudging conceits.

The duke of Burgognie (vnto whom king Edward had written, that in no wise he should receiue the earle of Warwike, nor anie of his friends within his countries) was so well pleased with the doings of monsieur de Claulere, that he sent to him his seruant Philip de Cumins, and gaue him yere lie a thousand crownes in pension, praiesing and requiring him to continue in truth and fidelitie toward king Edward, as he had shewed and begun. But although monsieur de Claulere swore in the said Philips presence, trulie to take king Edwards part; yet he sent priuilie to the earle of Warwike lieng at Whitlanbaite, that if he landed, he should be taken and lost: for all England (as he said) took part against him; the duke of Burgognie, and all the inhabitants of the towne, with the lord Duras the kings marshall, and all the retinue of the garrison were his enemies.

The earle, hauing this aduertisement from his feigned enimie, with his nauie sailed toward Normandie, and by the waie spoiled and took manie ships of the duke of Burgognies subiects, and at the last (with all his nauie and spoiles) he took land at Diepe in Normandie, where the gouernor of the countrie friendlie welcomed him, and aduertised king Lewes of his arriual. The French king, desirous of nothing more than to haue occasion to pleasure the erle of Warwike, of whom the his resolution caused all men to haue him in admiration, sent by to him, requiring both him and his sonne in law the duke of Clarence, to come vnto his castell of Ambois, where he then sojourned. The duke of Burgognie, hearing that the duke and earle were thus receiued in France, sent a post with letters vnto king Lewes, partly by waie of request, and partly by way of menacing, to dissuade him from aiding of his aduersaries, the said duke and earle.

But the French king little regarded this sale of the duke of Burgognie, and therefore answered, that he might and would succour his friends, and yet breake no league with him at all. In the meane time, king Edward made inquirie for such as were knowne to be aiders of the earle of Warwike within his realme, of whom some he apprehended as gullie, and some (doubting themselves) fled to sanctuary, and other tending to the kings pardon, submitted themselves, as John marques Montacute, whom he controulie receiued. When queene Margaret that sojourned with duke Kethner his father, heard tell that the earle of Warwike was come to the French court, with all diligence she came to Ambois to see him, with her onelie sonne prince Edward.

With hir also came Jasper earle of Penbrooke and John earle of Arfoz, which after diuerse imprisonments lastlie escaped, fled out of England into France, and came by fortune to this assemble. These persons, after inquitie had of their affaires, determined by means of the French king to conclude a league and amitie betweene them. And first to begin withall, for the sure foundation of their new intreafie, Edward prince of Wales wedded Anne second daughter to the earle of Warwike, which ladie came with hir mother into France. After which marriage, the duke and the earles took a solemne oth, that they should neuer leaue the warre, till either king Henrie the first, or his sonne prince Edward, were restored to the crowne; and that the queene and the prince should

The promise of the duke of Clarence.

The double dealing of monsieur de Claulere. The lord Duras was a Gascoigne also.

The erle of Warwike was a Duke.

Subold.

The loue which the people bare to the earle of Warwike.

A proclama- tion.

The earle of Penbrooke and John earle of Arfoz.

A league.

The prince of Wales was with them.

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should depuſe and appoint the duke and the earle to be governors & conſervatoꝝ of the common wealth, till time the prince were come to eſtate. Many other conditions were agreed, as both reaſon & the weighti-  
tineſſe of ſo great buſineſſe required.

Whilſt theſe things were thus in doing in the French court, there landed a damſell, belonging to the duchelle of Clarence; as ſhe ſaid: which made monſieur de Clauclere beleeve, that ſhe was ſent from king Edward to the duke of Clarence and the earle of Warwicke with a plaine overture and declaration of peace. Of the which tidings Clauclere was verie glad for the earles ſake. But this damſell comming to the duke, perſuaded him ſo much to leave off the purſute of his conceiued diſpleaſure towards his brother king Edward, that he promiſed at his returne into England, not to be ſo extreme enemie againſt his brother as he was taken to be: and this promiſe afterward he did keepe. With this anſwer the damſell returned into England, the earle of Warwicke being thereof clearely ignorant.

The French king lent both ſhips, men, and monie unto queene Margaret, and to her partakers, and appointed the baſſard of Bourbon, admerall of France, with a great nauie to defend them againſt the nauie of the duke of Burgognie, which he laid at the mouth of the river Saine, readie to encounter them, being of greater force than both the French nauie and the Engliſh fleet. And yet king Reiner did alſo helpe his daughter with men and munition of warre. When their ſhips and men were come together to Harflue, the erle of Warwicke thought not to linger time: becauſe he was certified by letters from his friends out of England, that alſone as he had taken land, there would be readie manie thouſands to do him what ſeruice and pleaſure they could or might. And beſide this, diuerſe noble men wrote that they would helpe him with men, armor, monie, and all things neceſſarie for the warre, and further to aduenture their owne bodies in his quarell.

Suerly his preſence was ſo much deſired of all the people, that almoſt all men were readie in armour, looking for his arriuall: for they iudged that the verie ſunne was taken from the world when hee was abſent. When he had receiued ſuch letters of comfort, he determined with the duke, and the earles of Worſtre and Penbroke (becauſe queene Margaret and her ſonne were not yet ſullie furniſhed for the tourne) to go before with part of the nauie, and part of the armie. And euen as fortune would, the nauie of the duke of Burgognie at the ſame time by a tempeſt was ſcattered, & driven beſide the coaſt of Normandie: ſo that the earle of Warwicke in hope of a bounte boiage, cauſed ſailes to be halſed vp, and with good ſpeed landed at Dartmouth in Deuonſhire, from whence almoſt fix months paſſed he took his tourne toward France (as before ye haue heard.) When the earle had taken land, he made proclamation in the name of king Henrie the firſt, vpon high paines commanding and charging all men able to beare armor, to prepare themſelues to fight againſt Edward duke of Boike, which contrarie to right had ſuſtained the crowne. It is almoſt not to be beleeued, how manie thouſands men of warre at the firſt tidings of the earles landing reſorted vnto him.

King Edward awakened with the newes of the earles landing, and the great repaire of people that came flocking in vnto him, ſent forth letters into all parts of his realme to raiſe an armie: but of them that were ſent for, few came, and yet of thoſe few the more part came with no great good willes. Which when he perceived, he began to doubt the matter, and therefore being accompanied with the duke of Gloceſter his brother, the lord Haſtings his cham-

berlaine, which had married the earles ſiſter, and yet was euer true to the king his maſter, and the lord Scales brother to the queene, he departed into Lincolnſhire. And becauſe he underſtood that all the realme was vp againſt him, and ſome part of the earle of Warwicks power was within halfe a daies tourne of him, following the aduiſe of his counſell, with all haſt poſſible he paſſed the Waſhes in great ſeopardie, & comming to Lin found there an Engliſh ſhip, and two hulkes of Holland readie (as fortune would) to make ſaile.

Wherevpon he with his brother the duke of Gloceſter, the lord Scales, and diuerſe other his truſtie friends, entered into the ſhip. The lord Haſtings taried a while after, exhorting all his acquaintance, that of neceſſitie ſhould tarie behind, to ſet themſelues openlie as friends to king Henrie for their owne ſafegard, but hartlie required them in ſecret to continue faithfull to king Edward. This perſuaſion declared, he entered the ſhip with the other, and ſo they departed, being in number in that one ſhip and two hulkes, about ſeuene or eight hundred perſons, hauing no furniture of apparell or other neceſſarie things with them, ſauing apparell for warre. [For it was no taking of leaſure to prouide their coppozall neceſſaries (though the want of them could hardlie be borne) in a caſe of preſent danger; conſidering that they were made againſt by the contrarie faction with ſuch ſwift purſute. And it had bene a point of extreme follie, to be carefull for the accidents, permitting in the meane time the ſubſtance vnto the ſpoile.]

As king Edward with ſaile and oar was thus making courſe towards the duke of Burgognies countrie (whether he determined at the firſt to go) it chanced that ſeuene or eight gallant ſhips of Caſſerlings, open enemies both to England and France, were abrode on thoſe ſeas, and eſpieng the kings beſſels, began to chaſe him. The kings ſhip was god of ſaile, and ſo much gat of the Caſſerlings, that he came on the coaſt of Holland, and ſo deſcended lower before a towne in the countrie called Alquemare, and there caſt anchor as nere the towne as was poſſible, becauſe they could not enter the hauen at an ebbing water. The Caſſerlings alſo approached the Engliſh ſhip, as nere as their great ſhips ſhould come at the low water, intending at the flood to haue their prize: as they were verie like to haue attained it in deed, if the lord Cronture, gouernor of that countrie for the duke of Burgognie, had not by chance bene at the ſame time in that towne.

This lord (vpon knowledge had of king Edwards arriuall there in the hauen, and in what danger he ſtood by reaſon of the Caſſerlings) commanded them not to be ſo hardie as once to meddle with any Engliſhmen, being both the dukes friends and allies. When did king Edward & all his companie come on land. Who after they had bene well reſreſhed & gentlely comforted by the lord Cronture, they were by him brought to the Haghe, a rich towne in Holland, where they remained a while, hauing all things neceſſarie miniſtered to them by order of the duke of Burgognie, ſent vnto the lord Cronture, immediatlie vpon certifiſſat from the ſaid lord Cronture of king Edwards arriuall. [Here we ſee in what perplexities king Edward and his retinue were, partly by enemies at home in his owne countrie, whoſe hands he was conſtrained to ſie from by the helpe of the ſea; partly alſo by aduerſaries abroad, ſeeking opportunitie to offer him not the encounter onelie, but the overthrow. And ſuerly, had not god fortune fauoured him, in preparing readie meanes for him to avoid thoſe imminent dangers; he had doubtleſſe fallen among the weapons of his owne countymen, and ſo neuer

King Edward cometh to Lin and taketh ſhip to paſſe ouer ſeas.

The lord Haſtings.

The number that paſſed ouer with king Edward, Abr. Fl.

King Edward arrived at Alquemare

The lord Cronture.

The double dealing of monſieur de Clauclere. The lord Warwicke was a Calcoigne alſo.

The earle of Warwicke was dead at Harflue.

Emboid.

Chelone which the people bare to the earle of Warwicke.

John marquis of Monmouth.

The earles of Penbroke & Dorſet.

Legion.

Edward prince of Wales married.

neuer haue feared forren force: but in escaping both the one and the other, even with shift of so speedie expedition, it is a note (if it be well looked into) of happiness, if anie happiness may be in preservation from ruine and reproch.]

Edw. Hall.  
fol. ccix.

Now let all Englishmen (saith Edward Hall) consider (as before is rehearsed) what profit, what commodities, and what helpe in distresse, the mariage of the ladie Margaret, king Edwards sister to the duke Charles, did to him in his extreame necessitie; and but by that meane incurable extremitie: for his allies and confederats in Castile and Arragon were too far from him, either speedie to sie to, or thortlie to come fro with anie aid or armie. The French king was his extreme enemie, and frend to king Henrie, for whose cause in the king of Scots (for all the leage betwene them) he did put little confidence and lesse trust. The States and all Castile were with him at open war, and yet by this mariage, God provided him a place to sie to, both for refuge and reliefe.

Abr. Flein.

But for the further and clearer explanation of these stratagems, or rather ciuill tumults, it shall not be amisse to insert in this place (sith I cannot hit by on one more convenient) a verie good note or addition receiued from the hands of maister Iohn Hooker chamberlaine of Excester; the contents whereof are of such qualitie, that they cannot stand in concurrence with anie matter introduced within the compass of the ninth yeare of this kings reigne (as he had quoted it) and therefore I thought it meet to transfer the same to this tenth yeare; considering that some part of the matter by him largelie touched, is byiesle in the premisses already remembred.]

Iohn Hooker,  
alias Vowell.

This yeare (saith he) was verie troublefome, and full of ciuill wars and great discords. For after that king Edward the fourth was escaped out of prison, at Wolneite besides Warwike, he mustered and prepared a new armie. Whereupon the earle of Warwike and the duke of Clarence, mistrusting themselves, prepared to passe the seas ouer to Calis, and first of all sent awaite the duchesse of Clarence daughter to the said earle, who was then great with child, and she being accompanied with the lord Fitz Warren, the lord Dingham, and the baron of Carew, and a thousand fighting men came to this cite of Excester the righteenth daie of March, and was lodged in the bishops palace. Sir Hugh, or (as some saie) sir William Courtneie, who then fauoured the partie of king Edward the fourth, assembled a great trope and armie of all the frends he could make, and intironing the cite, besieged the same; he pulled downe all the bridges, ramped by all the waies, and stopped all the passages, so that no vittels at all could be brought to this cite for twelue daies together, which being done vpon a sudden and vnlooked for, vittels wared short and scant within the cite, and by reason of so great a multitude within the same, the people for want of fod began to murmur and mutter.

Lord Dintah,  
and baron  
Carew, with  
their power  
come to Ex-  
cester.

The duchesse and the lords of hir companie, mistrusting what might and would be the sequele hereof, began to deale with the maior, and required to haue the keies of the gates to be deliuered into their hands and that they would undertake the safe custodie of the cite. Likewise sir William Courtneie did send his messenger to the maior, and required the gates to be opened and to giue him entrance: or els he would with sword and fier despoile the same. The maior and his brethren being in great perplexities, and hauing to answer not onelie the lords within and the knight without, but most of all doubting the common people within, who being impatient of penurie, were deafe to all persuasions and listen to any counsels: did so order and handle the matter, as that by good speeches and courtesous vsages, euerie partie

was stopped and staied, untill by means and mediations of certeine good and godlie men, an intreatie was made, the matter was compounded and the siege raised, and euerie man set at libertie.

The next daie after which conclusion, the gates being opened, to wit, the third of Aprill 1470, the earle of Warwike and the duke of Clarence came to this cite, and here rested, and sojourned themselves untill sufficient shipping was provided for their passage ouer the seas, and then they all imbarked themselves, and passed ouer to Calis. The king in this meane time mustered his armie, and prepared with all speed all things necessarie to follow and pursue his said aduersaries, and came to this cite, thinking to find them here the fourteenth of Aprill being saturday 1470, with forty thousand fighting men; but the birds were fled awaite before his comming. Peruertheless the king came and entred into the cite, being accompanied with sundrie noble men; namely, the bishop of Elie then lord treasurer, the duke of Norfolk earle marshall, the duke of Suffolke, the earle of Arundell, the earle of Wiltshire sonne to the duke of Buckingham, the earle of Worcester constable of England, the earle of Shrewsburie, the earle Kiurers, the lord Hastings, the lord Graie of Codnor, the lord Audelie, the lord Saie, the lord Sturton, the lord Dacres, the lord Pontioie, the lord Stanleie, the lord Ferris, and the baron of Dupleie.

Before whose comming, the maior being aduertised thereof, toke order, and gaue commandement to euerie citizen and inhabitant, being of abilitie, to provide and prepare for himselfe a gowne of the cities liuerie, which was then red colour, and to be in a readinesse for receiuing of the king, which was accordingly done. And when the king was come nere to the cite, the maior being verie well attended with foure hundred persons well and seemelie apparelled in the cities liuerie, went to the south gate, and with out the same attended the kings comming. Who when he was come, the maior did his most humble obeisance, and therewith Thomas Wolwith then recorder of the cite made vnto his grace an humble oration, congratulating his comming to the cite: which ended, the maior deliuered vnto the king the keies of the gates and the maces of his office, and therewith a purse of one hundred nobles in gold, which his grace toke verie thankfullie. The monie he kept, but the keies and the maces he deliuered backe to the maior; and then the maior toke the mace and did beare it through the cite bare-headed before the king, untill he came to his lodging.

The next daie following, being Palmesundate, the king in most princelie and roiall maner came to the cathedrall church of saint Peters, to heare the diuine seruice, where he followed and went in procession after the maner as was then vsed, round about the churchyard, to the great ioy and comfort of all the people: he continued in the cite three daies untill the tuesday then following; who when he had dined toke his horse and departed backe towards London, and gaue to the maior great god thanks for his intertainment. About foure moneths after this, in August, the duke of Clarence and the erle of Warwike returned againe from Calis, with all their retinue, and landed some at Plimmonth, some at Dartmouth, and some at Exmouth; but all met in this cite, and from hence they all passed towards London, and at euerie place they proclaimed king Henrie the first, which when king Edward heard, he was very much troubled therewith: and not able then to withstand their force, he passed the seas to his brother in law the duke of Burgognie.

This yeare also, being verie troublefome, and the gouerne

The lord  
Clarence  
the earle  
of Warwike  
came to Ex-  
cester, and  
the king.

The king  
received  
charge of the  
city as  
maister  
the  
recorder of  
the city.

The king  
received  
honourable  
to the citie  
Excester.

The keeper  
deliuered  
his  
maister  
the  
keyes  
with  
an arrow.

The citie  
benefited  
to the king.

How long  
the king  
remained  
in the  
cite.

The duke  
of Clarence  
the earle  
of Warwike  
came to the  
English  
coast.

The practice  
of a knight  
being chiefe  
maister at the  
city to rid  
the city of  
the king.

The king  
received  
charge of the  
city as  
maister  
the  
recorder of  
the city.

The keeper  
deliuered  
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an arrow.

Abr. Flein.

Arvid, 5.

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An. Reg. 10.

The duke of Clarence and the earle of Warwicke were at Excester and were pursuing of the king.

The king is received into the citie of Excester.

The king is received into the citie of Excester.

The king is received into the citie of Excester.

How long the king continued in the citie.

The duke of Clarence and the earle of Warwicke were at Excester and were pursuing of the king.

How long the king continued in the citie.

gouernement vncerteine, men were in great perplexities, & wist not what to do. And among manie there was one speciallie to be remembred, who to rid himselfe out of these troubles, did devise this practise: his name was sir William Haukeford knight, a man verie well learned in the lawes of the realme, and one of the chiefe iustices at the law: he dwelled at Annoie in Devonshire, a gentleman of great possessions, and hauing neuer a sonne, the lord Fitz Warren, sir John Sentleger, & sir William Bulleine, who married his daughters, were his heires. This man being one of the chiefe lawiers in the land, was daile sought to and his counsell asked: and he considering that when the sword ruled, law had a small course, and finding by experience what fruits insue such counsell as doth not best like the parties, was verie heauie, sorrowfull, and in great agonies.

Hereupon suddentlie he called vnto him the keeper of his parke, with whom he fell out and quareled, because (as he said) he was slouthfull and careless, and did not walke in the nights about the parke, but suffered his game to be spoiled and his deere to be stolen, wherefore he willed him to be more vigilant and careful of his charge: and also commanded him that if he met anie man in his circuit and walke in the night time, and would not stand nor speake vnto him, he should not spare to kill him what so euer he were. This knight, hauing laid this foundation, and minding to performe what he had purposed for the ending of his dolefull daies, did in a certeine darke night secretlie conueie himselfe out of his house, and walked alone in his parke. When the keeper in his night walke hearing one stirring and coming towards him, asked who was there: but no answer was made at all.

Then the keeper willed him to stand, which when he would not do, the keeper nocked his arrow and shot vnto him, and killed him: who when he perceived that it was his maister, then he called to remembrance his maisters former commandement. And so this knight, otherwile learned and wise, being affraid to displease man, did displease God, and verie disorderlie ended his life. It is inrolled amongst the records of this citie, of a commission directed to John earle of Devonshire, & from him sent to the maior of the citie of Excester to be proclaimed. The words be these: *Decimo quarto die Aprilis, v. l. in vigilia Pasche, An. 49. Hen. 6. commissio domini regis directa Johanni comiti Devon. missi est maiori ut proclamaretur. And likewise in an other place: Quatuor marca sunt soluta Johanni comiti Devon. ex assensu maioris.* Howbeit, certeine it is there was no such earle of that name, onelie there was John Holland then living duke of Excester, wherefore something is mistaken herein.

But was this a practise (thinke you) beseming a man of worship, learning, and iudgement, to make auaie himselfe, because he saw a temporall interruption of his prosperitie: Suerlie how much learning so euer he had in the lawes of the land, little at all or none (as appeareth) had he in suffering the forces of aduersitie, whom the feare of it did so terrifie, that it droue him to his end. Wile therefore is the counsell of the comedie-writer, and worthie of imitation, that a man, when he is in best case and highest degre of welfare, should euen then meditate with himselfe how to auaie with hardnesse, with penurie, perils, losse, banishment, and other afflictions: for so shall he prepare himselfe to beare them with patience when they happen: as souldiers trained by in militarie exercises at home, are so much the forwarder for the field, & fitter to incounter their foes (with lesse dread of danger) when they come abroad to be tried: and therefore it is wiselike (& to the purpose) said of Virgil: *superando omnis fortuna ferendo est.*

But to returne to the princes affaires. When the same was once spread abroad that King Edward was fled the realme, an innumerable number of people resorted to the earle of Warwicke to take his part, but all King Edwards trustie friends went to diuerse sanctuaries, and amongst other his wife quene Elizabeth toke sanctuary at Westminster, and there in great penurie forsaken of all hir friends, was deliuered of a faire son called Edward, which was with small pompe like a poore mans child christened, the godfathers being the abbat and prior of Westminster, and the godmother the ladie Scrope. [But what might be the heauinesse of this ladies hart (thinke we) upon consideration of so manie counterblasts of unhappinesse inwardlie conceiued: Her husband had taken flight, his adherents and hir friends sought to shroud themselves vnder the couert of a new protector, the diuine in distresse forsooke not that simple refuge which hir hard hap forced vpon hir; and (a kings wife) wanted in hir necessitie such things as meane mens wiues had in superfluitie, & (a cozistue to a noble mind) a prince of renowned parentage was (by constraint of unkind fortune) not vouchsafed the solemnities of christendome due and decent for so honorable a personage.]

The Kentishmen in this season (whose minds be euer moueable at the change of princes) came to the suburbs of London, spoiled mansions, robbed heres houses, and by the counsell of sir Cestrie Gates and other sanctuarie men, they brake by the kings Bench and deliuered prisoners, and fell at Kitchesse, Limehouse, & St. Katharins, to burning of houses, slaughtering of people, and rauishing of women. Which small sparkle had growne to a greater flame, if the earle of Warwicke with a great power had not suddentlie quenched it, and punished the offenders: which benefit by him done, caused him much more to be esteemed and liked amongst the commons than he was before. When he had settled all things at his pleasure, vpon the twelue daie of October he rode to the Tower of London, and there deliuered king Henrie out of the ward, where he before was kept, and brought him to the kings lodging, where he was serued according to his degre.

On the five and twentieth day of the said moneth, the duke of Clarence accompanied with the earles of Warwicke and Shrewesburie, the lord Strange, and other lords and gentlemen, some for feare, and some for loue, and some onelie to gaze at the wauncering world, went to the Tower, and from thence brought king Henrie apparelled in a long gowne of blew velvet, through London to the church of saint Paule, the people on euerie side the streets reioicing and crieng; God saue the king: as though ech thing had succeeded as they would haue had it: and when he had offered (as kings vse to do) he was conueied to the bishops palace, where he kept his household like a king. [Thus was the principallitie passed ouer sometimes to Henrie, sometimes to Edward; according to the swaie of the partie preuailling: ambition and disdaine still casting fagots on the fire, whereby the heat of hatred gathered the greater force to the consumption of the peeres and the destruction of the people. In the meane time, neither part could securelie possesse the regalitie, when they obtained it, which highmindednesse was in the end the overthrow of both principals and accessaries, according to the nature thereof noted in this distichon by the poet: *Fastus habet lites, offensifastus abundat, Fastus ad interitum precipitare solet.*]

When king Henrie had thus readopted and establisht his regall power and authoritie, he called his high court of parlement to begin the six and twentieth day of Nouember, at Westminster; in the

King Edwards friends take sanctuary.

Quene Elizabeth deliuered of a prince

Ab. Flam.

The Kentishmen make an hurlic burlic.

King Henrie fetched out of the Tower & restored to his kinglie gouernement.

A parliament.

Ed. 4. which



Is. Edward  
adjudged an  
usurper.

which king Edward was adjudged a traitor to the countrie, and an usurper of the realme. His goods were confiscat and forfeited. The like sentence was given against all his partakers and friends. And besides this it was enacted, that such as for his sake were apprehended, and were either in captiuitie or at large upon suerties, should be extremelie punished according to their demerits, amongst whome was the lord Tiptoft earle of Worcester lieutenant for king Edward in Ireland, exercising there more extreme crueltie than princelie pietie, and namelie on two infants being sonnes to the earle of Desmond.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S.  
pag. 725.  
The earle  
Tiptoft be-  
headed.

[His earle of Worcester, being found in the top of an high thre, in the Forrest of Warbridge, in the countie of Huntingdon, was brought to London, and either for treason to him laid, or malice against him conceived, was attainted, and beheaded at the Tower hill, and after buried at the Blacke friers.] Moreover, all statutes made by king Edward were clearlie reuoked, and the crownes of the realmes of England and France were by authoritie of the same parlement intailed to king Henrie the first, and to his heires male; and for default of such heires, to remaine to George duke of Clarence, & to his heires male: and further, the said duke was enabled to be next heire to his father Richard duke of Yorke, and to take from him all his landes and dignities, as though he had bene his eldest sonne at the time of his death. Jasper earle of Penbroke, and John earle of Arford, with diuerse other by king Edward attainted, were restored to their old names, possessions, and ancient dignities.

The crowne  
intailed.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S.  
pag. 722, 723.  
The earle of  
Warwicke his  
housekeeping.  
Fabian.

Beside this, the earle of Marwicke, as one to whom the common-wealth was much bounden [and euer had in great fauour of the commons of this land, by reason of the exceeding household which he daile kept in all countreies where euer he sojourned or laie: and when he came to London, he held such an house, that six oxen were eaten at a breakfast, and euerie tauerne was full of his meat, for who that had any acquaintance in that house, he should haue had as much sod and rost as he might carrie vpon a long dagger] he [I saie] was made gouernour of the realme, with whom as fellow was associat George duke of Clarence. And thus was the state of the realme quite altered. To this parlement came the marquesse Montacute, excusing himselfe, that for feare of death he declined to take king Edwards part, which excuse was accepted. When quene Margaret vnderstood by hir husbands letters, that the victorie was gotten by their friends, she with hir sonne prince Edward and hir traine entered their ships, to take their voyage into England: but the winter was so sharpe, the weather so stormie, and the wind so contrarie, that she was faine to take land againe, and to deferre hir iournie till another season.

The earle of  
Warwicke in-  
stituted go-  
uernour of the  
realme.

About the same season, Jasper earle of Penbroke went into Wales, to visit his lands in Penbroke-shire, where he found lord Henrie sonne to his brother Edmund earle of Richmond, hauing not full ten yeares of age; he being kept in maner like a captiue, but honorable brought vp by the ladie Herbert, late wife to William earle of Penbroke, beheaded at Banburie (as ye before haue heard.) This Henrie was borne of Margaret the onelie daughter and heire of John the first duke of Summertset, then not being full ten yeares of age, the which ladie though she were after ioined in marriage with lord Henrie sonne to Humfreie duke of Buckingham, and after to Thomas Stanleie earle of Derby, both being young and apt for generation, yet he had neuer any more children, as though she had done hir part to bring forth a man child, and the same to be a king (as he after was indeed) intituled by the name of Henrie

Margaret  
countesse of  
Richmond  
and Derby.

the seventh (as after ye shall heare.)

The earle of Penbroke took this child, being his nephew, out of the custodie of the ladie Herbert, and at his returne brought the child with him to London to king Henrie the first, whome when the king had a good while beheld, he said to such princes as were with him: Lo, suerlie this is he, to whom both we and our aduersaries leauing the possession of all things shall hereafter giue roun and place. So this holie man shewed before the chance that should happen, that this earle Henrie so ordeined by God, should in time to come (as he did indeed) haue and inioy the kingdome and whole rule of this realme of England. So that it might seme probable by the coherence of holie Henries predictions with the issue falling out in truth with the same; that for the time he was indowed with a propheticall spirit. And suerlie the epithet of title of holie is not for naught attributed vnto him, for it is to be read in writers, that he was by nature giuen to peaceablenesse, abhorring blood and slaughter, detesting ciuill tumults, addicted to deuotion, verie frequent in prayer, and not eschewing so bright of courtlie gallantnesse as stood with the dignitie of a prince. In consideration wherof, he procured against himselfe an apostasie of his people both native and forren; who revolted and fell from fealtie. And whiche The reason is rendred by the same writer, namelie:

*Quod tales homines populus scelerator odit,  
Fastidit, desestatur: non conuenit inter  
Virtutem & vitium, lucem fugere tenebra.*

The earle of Marwicke, vnderstanding that his enemy the duke of Burgognie had receiued king Edward, and meant to aid him for recouerie of the kingdome, he first sent ouer to Calis foure hundred archers on horsebacke to make warre on the dukes countreies; and further, prepared foure thousand balliant men to go ouer shortly, that the duke might haue his hands euen full of trouble at home. And where ye haue heard that the erle of Marwicke was kept out of Calis at his fleeing out of England into France, ye shall note that within a quarter of an houre after it was knowne that he was returned into England; and had chased king Edward out of the realme; not onelie monsieur de Clauclere, but also all other of the garrison & towne shewed themselves to be his friends; so that the ragged staffe was taken vp and woene in euerie mans cap, some wore it of gold enameled, some of silver; and he that could haue it neither of gold nor silver, had it of whitish silke or cloth: such wauering minds haue the common people, bending like a red with euerie wind that bloweth.

The duke of Burgognie, hauing an armie ready at the same time to invade the frontiers of France, to recouer the townes of saint Quintines and Amiens, latelie by the French king taken from him, doubted to be hindered greatly by the Englishmen, if he should be constrained to haue warre with them: for the duke of Burgognie held not onlie at that season Flanders, but also Bulleine, and Bellennois, and all Artois, so that he was thereby in danger to receiue harme out of Calis on each side. Wherefore he sent ambassadoers thither, which did so much with the counsell there, that the league was newlie confirmed betwixt the realme of England and the dukes countreies; onelie the name of Henrie put in the writing in stead of Edward. This matter hindered soe the sute of king Edward, daile suing to the duke for aid at his hands, the more earnestlie indeed, because of such promises as by letters were made vnto him out of England, from his assured friends there.

But duke Charles would not consent openlie to aid king Edward; but yet secretlie vnder hand by others he lent vnto him fiftie thousand florens of the

The earle  
of Penbroke  
the first, at  
Richmond  
after king  
Henrie the  
fourth.

Ab. Flom

W. Fleetwood.

He arrieth  
on the coast of  
Folke.

Anno Reg. 11.  
The earle of  
Arford.

He arrieth at  
the head of  
Shumber.

He landeth at  
Kilmainpurgh

The duke of  
Burgognie  
sends two  
ambassadoers  
to Calis.

1471  
The earle of  
Richmond  
and Derby  
crossed  
the hand.

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Ab. Flema

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cross of St. Andrew, and further caused foure great ships to be appointed for him in the haven of de Clare, otherwile called Campshire in Zelano, which in those daies was free for all men to come unto, and the duke hired for him foureteene ships of the Casters kings well appointed, & for the more suertie took a bond of them to serue him trulie, till he were landed in England, and fiftene daies after. The Casters kings were glad of this iournie, trusting if he got againe the possession of England, they should the sooner come to a peace, and obtaine restitution of their liberties and franchises, which they claimed of so mer time to haue within this realme. The duke of Burgogne cared not much, on whose side the victorie fell, saving for payment of his monie: for he would not saie, that he was friend to both parties, and either part was friendlie to him.

In deed, as he was brother in law to the one, so was he of kin to the other, as by his grandmother being daughter to John of Gant duke of Lancaster. When therefore all king Edwards furniture and provision for his iournie were once readie, having now with him about two thousand able men of warre, beside mariners, he entered into the ships with them, in the haven before fflishing in Zelano, vpon the second day of March: and because the wind fell not good for his purpose, he taried still aboord for the space of nine daies, before it turned meet for his iournie. But after that the wind once came about (as he wished) the sails were hoisted up on the 11 of March being monday, & forward they sailed, directing their course straight ouer towards the coast of Dorsetholke. On the next day being tuesday, & the twelfth of March, toward the evening, they rood before Cromer, where the king sent to land sir Robert Chamberleine, with sir Gilbert Debenham knights, and diuerse other, to the end they might discouer the countrie, and vnderstand how the people within the land were bent towards him, especially those countreies there next adioining.

Upon their returne, he vnderstood that there was no suertie for him to land in those parties, by reason of the good order which the earle of Warwicke, and the earle of Oxford spectallie had taken in that countrie to resist him: for not onelie the duke of Dorsetholke, but all other the gentlemen (whome the earle of Warwicke had in anie suspicion) were by letters of priuie seale sent for, and either committed to safe keeping about London, or else enforced to find suertie for their loiall demeanour towards king Henrie: yet those knights and other that were thus sent forth to make inquirie, were well receiued of their friends, and had good cheare. But after the king perceiued by their report, how things stood thereabouts, he caused his ships to make course towards the north parts.

The same night folowing, a great storme of winds and weather rose, soe troubling the seas, and continued till the fourteenth day of that moneth being thursday, on the which day with great danger, by reason of the tempestuous rage and torment of the troubled seas, he arrived at the head of Humber, where the other ships were scattered from him, each one secured from other: so that of necessitie they were driven to land in sunder where they best might, for doubt to be cast awate in that perillous tempest. The king with the lord Hastings his chamberleine, and other to the number of fise hundred men being in one ship, landed within Humber on Holderness side, at a place called Raenishpurgh, even in the same place where Henrie erle of Derby, after called king Henrie the fourth landed, when he came to depriue king Richard the second of the crowne, and to usurpe it to himselfe.

Richard duke of Glocester, and three hundred men

in his companie, took land in another place foure miles distant from thence, where his brother king Edward did land. The earle Rivers, and with him two hundred men, landed at a place called Pole, fourteene miles from the haven where the king came on land. The residue of his people landed some here some there, in place where for their suerties they thought best. On the morrow, being the fiftenth of March, now that the tempest ceased, and euerie man being got to land, they drew from euerie of their landing places towards the king, who for the first night was lodged in a poore village, two miles from the place where he first set foot on land. [As for his traine, though the season of the yeere was naturallie cold, & therefore required competent refection by warmth, it is to be supposed, that all their lodgings were hard enough, with the principals provision was soeie enough. But what of that? Better (in cases of extremities) an hard shift than none at all.]

Touching the folks of the countrie, there came few or none to him. For by the incensing of such as had bin sent into those parts from the erle of Warwicke, and other his aduersaries, the people were therwile induced to stand against him. But yet, in respect of the good will that manie of them had borne to his father, they could haue bene content, that he should haue inioied his right to his due inheritance of the duchie of Yorke, but in no wise to the title of the crowne. And herebyon they suffered him to passe, not seeking to annoie him, till they might vnderstand more of his purposed meaning. The king, perceiuing how the people were bent, noised abroad that he came to make none other chalenge but to his inheritance of the duchie of Yorke: and withall ment to passe first into the citie of Yorke, and so forward towards London, to incounter with his aduersaries that were in the south parts.

For although his nearest waite had bene through Lincolnehire: yet because in taking that waite he must haue gone againe to the water, in passing ouer Humber; he doubted least it would haue bin thought that he had withdrawne himselfe to the sea for feare. And to auoid the rumors that might haue bene spread thereof, to the hinderance of his whole cause, he refused that waite, and took this other, still yusing it (as before we said) that his coming was not to chalenge the crowne, but onelie to be restored vnto his fathers right and inheritance of the duchie of Yorke, which was descended to him from his father. And here it seemed that the colour of iustice hath euer such a force in it selfe amongst all men, that where before few or none of the commons could be found that would offer themselves to take his part: yet now that he did (as they thought) claime nothing but that which was his right, they began straight to haue a liking of his cause.

And where there were gathered to the number of six or seven thousand men in diuerse places, vnder the leading chieftie of a priest and of a gentleman called Martine de la Mare, in purpose to haue stoped his passage: now the same persons took occasion to assist him. And when he perceiued mens minds to be well qualified with this feined deuise, he marched forth till he came to Wenerleie, which stood in his direct waite as he passed toward Yorke. He sent also to Kingston vpon Hull, distant from thence six miles, willing that he might be there receiued: but the inhabitants, who had bene laboured by his aduersaries, refused in anie wise to grant therevnto.

The earle of Warwicke aduertised by messengers of king Edwards arrivall, and of his turning toward Yorke, with all hast wrote to his brother the marquesse Montacute, who had laine at the castell of Donifret all the last winter with a great number

Martine de la Mare or Martine of the sea.

He passeth toward Yorke.

See before  
page 664.

Ed. Edward  
without inter-  
ruption pas-  
sed forward  
to York.

Thomas Co-  
nters recorder  
of York.

Ed. Edward  
commeth to  
York.

He receiveth  
an oth.

of soldiers, willing him to consider in what case their affairs stood, and thereupon with all speed to set upon king Edward, or else to keepe the passages, and to staie him from comming anie further forward, till he himselfe as then being in Warwicke shire busie to assemble an armie, might come to his aid with the same. [Thus laboured the earle of Warwicke by policie and puissance, as well of his owne as others power, to further his owne purpose, hauing sworne in heart a due performance of that, which he had solemnlie vowed and promised before.]

But this notwithstanding, although there were great companies of people of the countries there abouts assembled, yet they came not in sight of the king, but suffered him quietly to passe; either because they were perswaded that he went (as he in outward words pretended) not to claime anie title to the crowne, but onelie his right to the duchie of Yorke; or else for that they doubted to set upon him, although his number were farre vnquall to theirs; knowing that not onelie he himselfe, but also his companie were minded to sell their liues dearlie, before they would shinke an inch from anie that was to encounter them. It maie be that diuerse of the capitaine also were corrupted: and although outwardlie they shewed to be against him, yet in heart they bare him right good will, and in no wise minded to hinder him. So forward he marched, till he came to Yorke, on a monday being the eighteenth day of March.

Before he came to the citie by the space of thre miles, the recorder of Yorke, whose name was Thomas Conters (one knowne in deed not to beare him anie faithfull good will) came vnto him; & gaue him to vnderstand, that it stood in no wise with his swerthe, to presume to appoche the citie: for either hee should be kept out by force, or if he did enter, he shuld be in danger to be cast away by his aduersaries that were within. King Edward neuertheless, sith he was come thus farre forward, knew well enough there was no going backe for him, but manfullie to proceed forward with his begun iournie, and therefore kept on his way. And shortly after there came to him out of the citie, Robert Clifford, and Richard Burgh, who assured him that in the quarrell which he pretended to pursue, to wit, for the obtaining of his right to the duchie of Yorke, he should not faile but be receiued into the citie.

But immediatlie after came the said Conters againe, with the like tale and information as he had brought before. And thus king Edward one while put in comfort, and another while discouraged, marched forth till he came to the gates of the citie, where his people staied; whilst he and about sixteen or seuentene other such as he thought meetest, went forth and entered the citie with the said Clifford & Burgh. And (as some write) there was a priest readie to saie masse, in which masse time the king receiued the sacrament of the communion, & there solemnlie swore to keepe and obserue two speciall articles: although it was farre unlike that he minded to obserue either of them: the one was that he should vse the citizens after a gentle and courteous maner: and the other, that he should be faithfull and obedient vnto king Henries commandements.

For this wilfull perurie (as hath bene thought) the issue of this king suffered (for the fathers offense) the deprivation not onelie of lands and worldly possessions, but also of their naturall liues, by their cruell uncle R. Richard the third. [And it may well be. For it is not likelie that God, in whose hands is the bestowing of all soueraintie, will suffer such an indignitie to be done to his sacred maiestie, and will suffer the same to passe with impunitie, And surely, if an oth among priuate men is religi-

ouslie to be kept, sith in the same is an exact triall of faith and honestie; doubtlesse of princes it is verie nicelie and perfectlie to be obserued: yea they should rather susteine a blemish and disgrace in their realtie, than presume to go against their oth and promise, speciallie if the same stand vpon conditions of equalitie: other wise they proue themselves to be impugnors of fidelitie, which is a iewel surpassing gold in price and estimation, as the poet prudentlie saith:

*Charior est auro non simulata fides.*

When king Edward had thus gotten into the citie of Yorke, he made such meanes among the citizens, that he got of them a certeine summe of monie; and leauing a garison within the citie contrarie to his oth, for feare least the citizens after his departure, might happilie moue some rebellion against him, he set forward the next day toward Doncaster, a towne ten miles from thence, belonging to the earle of Northumberland. The next day he took his waie toward Wakefield and Sendall, a castell and lordship belonging to the inheritance of the dukes of Yorke, leauing the castell of Pomfret vpon his left hand, where the marques Montacute with his armie laie, and did not once offer to stop him.

Whether the marques suffered him to passe by so, with his good will or no, diuerse haue diuersely conjectured. Some thinke that it lay not in the power of the marques greatlie to annoie him, both for that the king was well beloued in those parties; & againe, all the lords & commons there for the most part were towards the earle of Northumberland, and without him or his commandement they were not willing to stirre. And therefore the earle in sitting still and not moving to and fro, was thought to do king Edward as good seruice as if he had come to him, and raised people to assist him; for diuerse happilie that should haue come with him, remembryng displeasures past, would not haue bene so faithfull as the earle himselfe, if it had come to the sumpe of anie hazard of battell.

About Wakefield and the parts there adioining, some companie of his frends came to him, whereby his power was increased; but nothing in such numbers as he looked for. From Wakefield he crossed on the left hand, to come againe into the high waie, and came to Doncaster, and from thence vnto Nottingham. Here came to him sir William Barre, and sir James Harrington, with six hundred men well armed and appointed: also there came to him sir Thomas Burgh, & sir Thomas Montgomerie with their aids, which caused him at their first comming to make proclamation in his owne name, to wit, of R. Edward the fourth, boldlie affirming to him, that they would serue no man but a king.

Whilst he remained at Nottingham, and also before he came there, he sent abroad diuerse of his auant contrers to discourge the countrie, and to vnderstand if there were anie power gathered against him. Some of them that were thus sent, approached to Peterwarke, and vnderstood that within the towne there, the duke of Excester, the earle of Drenford, the lord Warbolse, and other were lodged with a great power to the number of foure thousand men, which they had assembled in Essex, Northfolke, Suffolke, and in the shires of Cambridge, Huntingdon, and Lincoln. The duke of Excester, and the earle of Drenford, with other the chiefe capitaine, aduertised that king Edwards foreriders had bene afore the towne in the evening, supposed hereof that he and his whole armie were comming towards them.

Whereupon, they not thinking it good to abide longer there, determined with all speed to dislodge, and so about two of the clocke after midnight they departed from Peterwarke, leauing some of their pro-

Ed. Edward  
commeth to  
Doncaster.

The earle of  
Warwicke in  
Courtier.

Ed. Edward  
approacheth the  
gate of War-  
wicke to fight.

Ed. Edward  
commeth to  
Peterwarke.

Ed. Edward  
commeth to  
Peterwarke.

The duke of  
Excester and  
the earle of  
Drenford.

in. Reg. II.

Dom. 1471.

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The marquess  
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ple behind, which either shal awake from them, and  
started of purpose, or could not get awake so soon as  
their fellows. In deed the foreriders that so discou-  
red them within the towne of Tewkesburie, advertised  
the king thereof in all post hast, who incontintlie  
assembled his people, and forthwith marched to-  
wards them; but before he came within three miles of  
the towne, he had knowledge that they were fled  
and gone from Tewkesburie. Whereupon he returned a-  
gain to Nottingham, intending to keepe on his na-  
rest waie towards the earle of Warwicke, whom he  
understood to be departed from London, and to be  
come into Warwicke shire, where in the countreies  
adjoining he was busied in leviesing an armie, with  
the which he purposed to distress him.

The king then from Nottingham came to Lei-  
cester, where three thousand able men, and well furni-  
shed for the warre came unto him. These were such  
as he knew would live and die in his quarrell, the  
most part of them belonging unto the lord Hastings  
the kings chamberlaine. And thus he, being more  
stronglie accompanied than before, departed from  
Leicester, and came before the walls of the citie of  
Coventrie, the nine and twentieth daie of March. The  
earle of Warwicke was withdrawne into this citie,  
keeping himselfe inclosed therein with his people,  
being in number six or seven thousand men. The  
king sent to him, and willed him to come forth into  
the field, and there to make an end of the quarell in  
plaine battell: but the earle at that present refused  
to do so.

For although, under pretense of king Henries  
authority, he was reputed the kings generall lieute-  
nant of the whole realme, whereby he had got such  
power together, as was thought able enough to  
match with the king for number; yet because he doub-  
ted how they were bent in his favour, he durst not  
commit the matter unto the doubtfull chance of  
battell, till he had more of his trustie friends about  
him. The king therefore three daies together prou-  
oked him to come forth, but when he saw it would not  
be, he removed to Warwicke an eight miles from  
Coventrie, where he was received as king, and so  
made his proclamations from that time forth in all  
places where he came, under his accustomed name  
and title of king.

He lodged here at Warwicke, the rather (as was  
thought) to provoke the earle to issue forth of Co-  
ventrie to give him battell, howbeit that denie nothing  
availed. But yet there came daile diverse persons  
on the earls behalfe to treat with the king about a  
peace, that some good composition might have bene  
concluded; & the king for the advancement of peace  
and tranquillitie within the realme, offered large  
conditions; as a free pardon of life to the earle, and  
all his people, with manie other beneficiall articles  
on their behalves, which to manie seemed verie reason-  
able, considering their heinous offenses. But the  
earle would not accept any offers; except he might  
have compounded so as it pleased himselfe, as was  
thought in no wise to stand with the kings honour,  
and libertie of his estate.

In this meane while, the earle of Warwicke still  
looked for the duke of Clarence, who by the said earls  
appointment had assembled a power of men of war  
about London: but when the earle perceived that the  
duke lingered forth the time, and did not use such di-  
ligence as was requisite, as one that had bene in  
doubt of warre or peace, he began to suspect that the  
duke was of his brother corrupted, and therein he  
was nothing deceived. For true it is, that whilest the  
king was as yet beyond the seas, in the dominion of  
the duke of Burgognie, the duke of Clarence began  
to weie with himselfe the great inconvenience into

the which as well his brother king Edward, as him-  
selfe and his yonger brother the duke of Gloucester  
were fallen, through the dissention betwixt them:  
(which had bene compassed and brought to passe by  
the politike working of the earle of Warwicke and  
his complices.)

As first the dissenting of them all from their right  
full title to the crowne; secondlie the mortall and de-  
testable war that could not but ensue betwixt them,  
to such mischance, that to whether part the victorie in-  
clined, the victor should remaine in no more libertie  
of his owne person or estate after the typer hand got,  
than before; and thirdlie he well perceived alreadye,  
that he was had in great suspicion, and not heartilie  
beloued of anye the lords and rulers that were as-  
sured partakers with king Henrie and the Lancastrian  
faction: inso much they sticked not daile to go a-  
bout to breake and make void the appointments, ar-  
ticles, and covenants, made and promised to him,  
and of likelihood would daile more and more intend  
thereto: for in truth he saw, that they purposed no-  
thing so much as the destruction both of him and all  
his blood.

All which things throughlie considered, with ma-  
nie other as they were laid afoze him by right wise  
and circumspect persons, which in this behalfe had  
conference with him, he consented that by some se-  
cret waies and meanes a reconciliation might be  
had betwixt him and his brethren, the king and the  
duke of Gloucester. The which to bring to some good  
and full effect, these honorable personages following  
became dealers therein. First of all the duchess of  
Bordeigne their mother, the duchess of Excester, and the  
duches of Suffolke their sisters; the lord cardinal of  
Canturburie, the bishop of Bath, the earle of Ar-  
burie; but most speciallie the duchess of Burgognie their  
sister also, and diverse other right wise and prudent  
personages, who wrought by mediation of certeine  
persons, and others, such as they bled for messengers  
betwixt them.

Finallie, by the earnest travell and diligence shew-  
ed by the said duchess of Burgognie (who incessantlie  
sent to and fro such hir trustie messengers now to the  
king being on that side the seas, and then to the duke  
remaining here in England) at length they were  
made friends, and a perfect agreement concluded  
and ratified, with assurance betwixt them so strong-  
lie as might be. To the furthering whereof the kings  
chamberlaine the lord Hastings failed not to do his  
best, so as by his good diligence, it was thought the  
king was the sooner induced to wish to soine ef-  
fones in true friendship with his said brother of  
Clarence. And as it well appeared, the duke of Cla-  
rence acquitted himselfe faithfullie therein.

For hearing now that his brother king Edward  
was landed and coming forth towards London,  
he gathered his people, outwardlie pretending  
to passe with them to the aid of the earle of War-  
wicke against his brother: although inwardlie he  
meant the contrarie, and so accompanied with about  
four thousand men, he marched forth towards the  
place where he thought to find his brother. King Ed-  
ward being then at Warwicke, and understanding  
that his brother of Clarence approached, in an after-  
none issued forth of that towne with all his forces,  
and passed on till he came into a faire large field three  
miles distant from Warwicke towards Banbury,  
where he might behold his brother of Clarence in  
good arrate of battell, comming towards him.

When they were now within halfe a mile appro-  
ched together, the king placed his people in order of  
battell under their banners, and so left them standing  
still, and appointed them to keepe their ground, whilest  
he taking with him his brother of Gloucester, the lord  
Buckingham, and his brother of Clarence, the lord

Edward  
came with  
him.

Clarence  
was with  
him.

Edward  
was with  
him.

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These bled  
for private  
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Edward  
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ther of Cla-  
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The dissen-  
sion of the  
duke of Cla-  
rence,

So they  
Rivers,

The brethren  
meet lovingly  
together.

Buchan, in  
p. 4133.

Rivers, the lord Hastings, & a few other, went forth to meet his brother of Clarence: and in like sort the duke of Clarence took with him a few of the nobilitie that were about him, and leaving his armie in god order, departed from them to meet the king, and so they met betwixt both the hoasts, with so sweet salutations, loving demeanour, and good countenances, as better might not be devised betwixt brethren of so high and noble estate. What a hearts joy was this to the people, to see such an accord and mutuall attonement betwixt these peres! It was the onelie pleasure in the world, to the which all other compared are but counterfet, and that doth the psalmist testifie,

*Nil charitate mutua fratrum, nihil  
Incundum concordia.*

Besides this, the like friendly intertainment, and courteous demeanour appeared in the salutations of other noble men that were on them attendant; whereof all such as saw it, and loved them, greatly rejoiced; giving God thanks for that so full meeting, brittle, and concord, appearing thus manifestly betwixt them: and herewith the trumpets and other instruments sounded, & the king withall brought the duke unto his armie, whom he saluting in most courteous wise, welcomed them into the land; and they humbly thanking him, did to him such reverence as appertained to the honour of such a worthy personage. This was a goodly and a gracious reconcilement, beneficiall to the princes, profitable to the peres, and pleasurable to the people, whose part had bene depeet in dangers and losse, if discord had not bene discontinued.

This done, the king leaving his hoast againe, keeping their ground with the same few persons which he took with him before, went with his brother of Clarence unto his armie, and saluting them with sweete and courteous words, was so fullie of them welcomed: and so after this, they all came together joining in one. And either part shewing themselves glad thus to meet as friends with the other, they went lovingly together unto Warwicke with the king, where and in the countie thereabouts they lodged, as they thought good most with their ease and safeties. Herewith the duke of Clarence desired above all things to procure some good and perfect accord betwixt his brother the king, and the earle of Warwicke.

The duke of  
Clarence see-  
keth to make  
peace betwixt  
the king and  
the earle of  
Warwicke.

In this was he the more studious, because he saw that such an accord should bring great quietnesse to the land, and deliver the common-wealth of manie dangers that might insue by reason of such numbers of partakers, as well lords as other that were confederat with the earle. The said duke treated with the king present, and sent messengers unto Countreie to the earle, moving as well the one as the other most instantlie to frame their minds unto a pacification. The king at the instance of his brother was contented to offer large conditions, and perie beneficiall for the earle and his partakers: if they would have accepted them.

But the earle, whether utterly despairing of his owne safeties, if he should agree to any peace; or else happlie for that he thought it stood with his honour to stand unto such promises and covenants as he had made with the French king, and with the queene Margaret, and his sonne prince Edward (to whom he was bound by oath not to shew any favour from the same) he refused all manner of such conditions as were offered. In much that when the duke had sent to him, both to excuse himselfe of the which he had done, and also to require him to take some good waie with king Edward, now while he might, the earle after he had patientlie heard the dukes message, he seemed greatly to abhorre his unfaithfull dealing, in

turning thus from his confederats and allies, contrary to his oath and fidelitie.

To the messengers (as some write) he gave none other answer but this, that he had rather be like himselfe, than like a false and perfured duke; and that he was fullie determined neuer to leave warre, till he had either lost his owne life, or utterly subdued his enemies. As it was thought, the earle of Devonshires persuasion wanted not, to make him the more stie lie to hold out; and rather to trie the bittermost hazard of warre, than to agree to acknowledge king Edward for his lawfull sovereigne lord and king. Whereupon no appointment nor any agreement at all could be brought to passe; and so all that treatie, which the duke of Clarence had procured, brake off & toke none effect. There came to the earle of Warwicke, while he lay thus at Countreie (besides the earle of Devonshires) the duke of Excester, and the lord marquisse Montacute, by whose coming that side was greatly strengthened, and the number much increased.

The king, upon consideration hereof, and perceiving he could not get the earle to come forth of Countreie, departed from Warwicke, and escones the loving himselfe with his people before the citie of Countreie, desired the earle and his power to come forth into the fields, that they might end their quarrell by battell: which the earle and the other lords with him utterly refused as then to do. This was the first of April being fridaie. The king hereupon was resolved to march towards London, where his principall adversary king Henrie remained, using his kingly authority by diversely such of the nobilitie as were about him, whereby king Edward was barred and dis-appointed of manie aids and assistants, which he was sure to have, if he could once breake that force of the royal authority, that was still thus exercised against him in king Hentries name.

Wherefore (by the aduise of his brethren and others of his counsell) accordingly as it had bene ordained before this his last setting forth from Warwicke, he kept on his waie towards London, coming to Dantrie on the saturday at night: & on the morrow being Palmesunday, he heard service in the church there, & after rode to Portsmouth, where he was so fullie received. From thence he took the next way towards London, leaving continually behind him (as he passed forth) a competent band of speares and archers, to heat backe such of the earle of Warwicks people, as peradventure he might send abroad to trouble him and his armie by the waie. Which providence and foresight he thought it not unnecessary to use; for that he knew well enough, that the heart of an enemy, friend in the fire of hateful hostility, will pretermitt no opportunitie, either of time or place to lay in wait for his destruction, against whom he beareth an inward grudge, with a desire of vengeance to the death.

In this meane while, that things passed in manner (as before we have heard) Edmund duke of Summerset, & his brother John marquisse Dorset, Thomas Courtneie earle of Devonshires, and others being at London, had knowledge by advancements out of France, that queene Margaret with her sonne prince Edward, the countesse of Warwicke, the pils of St. Johns, the lord Wenlocke, and divers other their adherents and partakers, with all that they might make, were ready at the sea side, purposing with all speed to sail away into England, and to arrive in the west countie. Whereupon they departed forth of London, and with all hast possible drew westward, there to raise that forces they could, to come with those their friends, immediately after they should once come on land, and so to assist them against king Edward.



Edward and his partakers.

True it is, that the quene with hir sonne, and the other persons before mentioned, toke their ships, the foure and twentieth daie of March, continuing on the seas before they could land (thorough tempests and contrarie winds) by the space of twentie daies, that is, till the thirtieth of Aprill: on which daie, or rather on the fourteenth, they landed at Westmouth, as after shall appeare. But now touching king Edwards proceeding forward on his iourne toward London, ye haue to vnderstand, that vpon the tuesday the ninth of Aprill he came to saint Albons, from whence he sent comfortable aduertisements to the quene his wife remaining within the sanctuarie at Westminster, and to others his faithfull friends in and about London, to vnderstand by couert meanes how to deale to obtaine the fauour of the citizens, so as he might be of them receiued.

The earle of Warwicke, vnderstanding all his doings and purposes, wrote to the Londoners, willing & charging them in arie wise to keepe king Edward out of their citie, and in no condition to permit him to enter: and withall he sent to his brother the archbishop of Yorke, willing him by all meanes possible to perswade the Londoners not to receiue him; but to defend the citie against him for the space of two or thre daies at the least: promising not to faile but to come after him, and to be readie to assaile him on the backe, not doubting but wholie to distresse his power and to bring him to utter confusion. The archbishop hereupon, on the ninth of Aprill, called vnto him at Paules, all such lordes, knights, and gentlemen, with others that were partakers on that side, to the number in all of six or seauen thousand men in armour.

Herewith also he caused king Henrie to mount on horsebacke, and to ride from Paules thorough Cheape downe to Watpork, & so to fetch a compass (as the custome was when they made their generall processions) returning backe againe to Paules vnto the bishops palace, where at that time he was lodged. The archbishop supposed, that shewing the king thus riding thorough the streets, he should haue allured the citizens to assist his part. True it is, the mayor & aldermen had caused the gates to be kept with watch and ward: but now they well perceived that king Henries power was too weake, as by that they it had well appeared, to make full resistance against king Edward, and so not for them to trust vnto, if king Edward came forward, and should attempt to enter the citie by force: for it was not unknowne vnto them, that manie of the worshipfull citizens, and others of the commons in great numbers, were flicke bent to aid king Edward, in all that they might, as occasion serued.

Thus, that thorough lone that manie bare to king Edward, and what thorough feare that diuerse stood in, least the citie being taken by force might happlie haue bene put to the sacke, with the losse of manie an innocent mans life, the mayor, aldermen, and others the worshipfull of the citie fell at a point among themselves, to keepe the citie to king Edwards use, so as he might haue free passage and entrie into the same at his pleasure. The archbishop of Yorke, perceiving the affections of the people, and how the most part of them were now bent in fauour of king Edward vpon the said kings approach toward the citie, he sent forth secretly a messenger to him, beseeching him to receiue him againe into his fauour, promising to be faithfull to him in time to come, and to acquit this good turne hereafter with some singular benefit and pleasure.

The king, vpon good causes and considerations shew vnto him moving, was contented to receiue him againe into his fauour. The archbishop hereof

assured, reioiced greatly, well & trulie acquitting him concerning his promise made to the king in that behalf. The same night following was the Tower of London recovered to king Edwards use. And on the morowe being thursdaie, and the eleuenth of Aprill, king Edward quietly made his entrie into the citie with his power, hauing five hundred noble gunners marching foremost, being strangers, of such as he had brought ouer with him. He first rode vnto Paules church, & from thence he went to the bishops palace, where the archbishop of Yorke presented himselfe vnto him, and hauing king Henrie by the hand, deliuered him vnto king Edward, who being seized of his person, and diuerse other his aduersaries, he went from Paules to Westminster, where he made his deuout prayers, giuing God most heartie thanks for his safe returne thither againe.

This done, he went to the quene to comfort hir, who with great patience had abidden there a long time, as a sanctuarie woman, for doubt of hir enemies; and in the meane season was deliuered of a young prince, whome she now presented vnto him, for his great hearts reioicing & comfort. From Westminster the king returned that night vnto London againe, hauing the quene with him, and lodged in the house of the duchesse his mother. On the morowe being good fridaie, he toke aduise with the lordes of his blood, and other of his counsell, for such businesse as he had in hand; namelie, how to subdue his enemies as sought his destruction. Thus with consultation preventing his actions, he obtained fortunate successe, wherewith his hart was the more aduanced to some issue with his aduersaries, whome (rather than they should triumph ouer him) he was resolute minded to vanquish, if his proceedings might proue prosperous as his present good lucke.

The earle of Warwicke, calling himselfe lieutenant of England, vnder the pretended authoritie of king Henrie, hoping that king Edward should haue much ado to enter into London, marched forth from Couentrie with all his puissance, following the king by Northampton, in hope to haue some great advantage to assaile him, speciallie if the Londoners kept him out of their citie, as he trusted they would; for then he accounted himselfe sure of the upper hand: or if he were of them rescued, yet he hoped to find him vnprepared in celebrating the feast of Easter, and so by setting vpon him on the sudden, he doubted not by that meanes to distresse him. But king Edward, hauing intelligence of the earles intention, provided all things necessarie for battell, & hearing that the earle of Warwicke was now come vnto saint Albons with his armie, he determined to march forth to encounter him before he should approach nere the citie.

The earle of Warwicke, accompanied with John duke of Gloucester, Edmund duke of Summertset, John earle of Oxford, and John Russell marquisse Montacute his brother, vnderstanding that king Edward was not onelie receiued vnto London, but also had got king Henrie into his hands, perceived that the trial of the matter must needs be committed to the hazard of battell, and therefore being come to the towne of saint Albons, he rested there a while, partly to refresh his soldiers, and partly to take counsell how to proceed in his enterprise. At length, although he knew that his brother the marquisse Montacute was not fully well perswaded with himselfe, to like of this quarrell which they had in hand, yet the brotherlie affection betwixt them toke auaile all suspicion from the earle, and so he utterly resolved to giue battell, meaning to trie thereto all this tumult would grow, and counting it a blemish to his hono, not to prosecute that with the sword, which he had so

The Tower recovered to king Edwards use. Edward entered into London.

King Henrie is deliuered to him.

The earle of Warwicke followed the king.

Edw. Hall.

kennellie bolued to down his wood.]

Herupon remoued they towards Barnet, a towne standing in the midwaite betwixt London and saint Albons aloft on a hill; at the end whereof towards saint Albons there is a faire plaine for two armies to meet vpon, named Gladmoze heath. On the further side of which plaine towards saint Albons the earle pight his campe. King Edward on the other part, being furnished with a mightie armie (hauing ioined to that power which he brought with him certaine new supplies) vpon Easter euen the thirtieth of Aprill in the after none marched forth, hauing his said armie diuided into foure battells. He toke with him king Henrie, and came that euening into Barnet, ten small miles distant from London; in which towne his foreriders finding certaine of the earle of Marwickes foreriders, beat them out, & chased them somewhat further than halfe a mile from the towne, where, by an hedge side they found readie assembled a great number of the earle of Marwickes people.

The king after this comming to Barnet, would not suffer a man to remaine in the towne (that were of his host) but commanded them all to the field, and with them drew toward his enemies, and lodged with his armie more nere to them than he was aware of, by reason it was darke, so as he could not well discern where they were incamped, fortifying the field the best he could for feare of some sudden irruption. He toke his ground not so euen afore them as he would haue done, if he might haue discovered the place where they had lien; and by reason thereof he incamped somewhat afooe slips of them, causing his people to keepe as much silence as was possible, [least making any noise with the buseling of their armour and weapons or otherwise with their tongues, the enemy might haue come to some knowledge of the kings private purpose, and so by preuention haue disappointed his policie by some ppointed deuise; which because they wanted for the present time, it turned to their disadvantage; after the old proverbe:

*Nescit prodere qui nescit prouideri esse.]*

They had great artillerie on both parts, but the earle was better furnished therewith than the king, and therefore in the night time they shot off from his campe in manner continually; but doing little hurt to the kings people, still ouershotting them, by reason they late much nurer than the earle or any of his men did esteem. And such silence was kept in the kings campe, that no noise betrayed them where they late. For at the end it should not be knowne to the enemies, how nere the king with his armie was lodged unto them, the king would not suffer any of his gunnes to all that night to be shot off, least thereby they might haue guessed the ground, and so leuelled their artillerie to his annoyance.

Carrells on the next morning betwixt foure and five of the clocke, notwithstanding there was a great mist that letted the sight of both parts to discover the fields, the king aduanted his banners, and caused his trumpets to sound to the battell. On the other part, the earle of Marwick, at the becke of the day, had likewise set his men in order of battell in this manner. In the right wing he placed the marquisse Montacute, and the earle of Arford with certaine horsemen, and he with the duke of Gloucester toke the left wing. And in the middell betwene both, he set archers, appointing the duke of Summerville to guide them as their chiefeine. King Edward had set the duke of Gloucester in the foreward. The middleward he himselfe with the duke of Clarence, hauing with them king Henrie, his sole & gouerne. The lord Hastings led the reerward, and beside these three battells, he kept a compaignie of fresh men in store, which did him great pleasure before the end of

the battell.

Here is to be remembred, that aswell the king on his part, as the earle of Marwick on his, used manie comfortable words to encourage their people, not forgetting to set forth their quarrels as iust and lawfull; the king naming his aduersaries traitors and rebels, & the earle accounting him a tyrant, & an infamous usurper. But when the time came that they once got sight either of other, the battell began verie sharpe and cruell, first with shot, and after by joining at hand blowes. Yet at the first they toined not front to front, as they should haue done, by reason of the mist that toke awaie the sight of either armie, and suffered the one not to discern perfectly the order of the other; insomuch that the one end of the earle of Marwickes armie ouerrought the contrarie end of the kings battell which stood westward, and by reason thereof (through the balliance of the earle of Arford which led the earles toward) the kings people on that part were ouermatched, so that manie of them fled towards Barnet, and so to London, bringing newes that the earle of Marwick had towne the field.

[Which report happlie might haue bene iustified and fallen out to be true, had not preposterous fortune happened to the earle of Arford and his men, who had a sharre with streames on their lueries; as king Edwards men had the sunne with streames on their lueries: whereupon the earle of Marwickes men, by reason of the mist not well discerning the badges so like, shot at the earle of Arfords men that were on their owne part, and then the earle of Arford and his men cried treason, and fled with eight hundred men.]

But touching the kings people which were pursued in the chase as they fled, and were put to the worst, manie were wounded, and manie slaine outright. But the residue of those that fought in other parts could not perceiue this distress of the kings people, because the thicke mist would not suffer them to see any space farre off, but onelie at hand; and so the kings battell that saw not any thing what was done beside them, was nothing discouraged. For (as a few excepted that stood next to that part) there was not any one that lost of that discomfiture; and the other of the earle of Marwickes men, that fought in other places somewhat distant from them, were nothing the more encouraged by this prosperous successe of their fellows, for they perceived it not. And in like sort as at the west end the earles battell ouer-reached the kings, so at the east end the kings over-reached the earle; and with like successe put the earles people in that place to the worst.

At length after long fight, and greater slaughter made on both sides, king Edward hauing the greater number of men (as some write, though other ascribe the contrarie) began somewhat to preuaile; but the earle on the other side rememb'ring his ancient fame and renowne, manfully stucke to it, and encouraged his people, still supplying with new succours in places where he saw expedient, and so the fight remained more cruell, fiercer, & bloodie than before, insomuch that the bloodie remained still doubtfull, though they had fought from morning till it was now far in the date. King Edward therefore willing to make a rend of so long a contest, caused new power of fresh men (which he had for this purpose kept in store) to set on his enemies.

The earle of Marwick was nothing abashed herewith, but understanding that this was all the residue of king Edwards power, comforted his men to beare out this last brunt, and in so doing the bloodie was late on their side, and the battell at an end; but king Edward so manfully and balliantly assailed his aduersaries, in the middle and strongest part of

Gladmoze  
heath.

The ordering  
of the kings  
armie.

Ed. Edward  
lodged before  
his enemies.

Artillerie.

A good policie.

Edw. Hall.

The order of  
the battell of  
both sides.

An.

The earle  
of Marwick  
saine.

The mar-  
quisse Mont-  
acute slaine  
Ab. Flem.

The balliance  
of the earle of  
Arford.

Ab. Flem. 13.  
pag. 77.

Ab. Fl. ex  
pag. 77.

The num-  
ber of the  
men slaine.

The manie  
courage of the  
earle of Mar-  
wick.

The duke  
of Summerville  
and the earle  
of Arford.

The duke  
of Gloucester.

Ab. Flem.

in. Reg. II.

of their battell, that with great violence he bare  
downe all that stood in his waie; for he was followed  
and assisted by a number of most hardie and faithfull  
men of warre, that shewed notable pwise of tried  
manhood in that instant necessitie. The earle of  
Warwicke (when his souldiers all wearied with long  
fight, and soe weakened with woundes and hurts re-  
ceived in the battell) gave little heed to his wordes (be-  
ing a man of an invincible stomach) rushed into the  
middell of his enemies, whereas he (adventuring so  
farre from his companie, to kill and slea his aduersa-  
ries, that he could not be rescued) was amongst the  
pceale of his enemies stricken downe and slaine.

The marquesse Montacute, thinking to succour  
his brother, was likewise overthrowne and slaine,  
with manie other of good calling, as knights and es-  
quiers, beside other gentlemen. [But some saie that  
the said marquesse, having agreed priuile with king  
Edward, did weare his luerie, whome one of his  
brother the earle of Warwicks men espieing, fell vpon  
him and killed him outright.] Some write that  
this battell was so giuen to the uttermost point, that  
king Edward was constrained to fight in his owne  
person, and that the earle of Warwicke, which was  
wont euer to ride on horsebacke from place to place,  
and from ranke to ranke, comforting his men, was  
now aduised by the marquesse his brother, to leaue  
his horse, and to trie the extremitie by hand strokes,  
[which may be probable & likelie. But by the report of  
some it seemeth that he was not slaine in the heat of  
the conflict, among the rout of the fighting men, but  
afterwards in this sort. For when he saw the kings  
power puerile and his owne soe impaired and past  
hope of good speed, with the slaughter of his adhe-  
rents (gentlemen of name) and himselfe in the berie  
mouth of the enimie in possibilitie to be denoured, he  
lept vpon a horse to fle, and comming into a wood  
there was no passage, one of king Edwards men  
came to him, killed him, and spoiled him to the naked  
skin. Sir William Tirrell knight was killed on the  
earle of Warwicks part.]

On both parties were slaine (as Ed. Hall saith) ten  
thousand at the least, where Fabian saith but fiftene  
hundred and somewhat aboue. Other write that there  
died in all about thre thousand. Upon the kings part  
were slaine, the lord Cromwell, the lord Saxe, the  
lord Montois sonne and heire, Sir Humfre Bour-  
cher sonne to the lord Berners, and diuerse other  
knights, esquiers, and gentlemen. The battell indur-  
ed the space of thre hours verie doubtfull by reason  
of the mist, and in skermishing and fighting, now in  
this place, now in that, but finallie the victorie fell on  
the kings side; and yet it could not be esteemed that  
his whole armie passed nine thousand fighting men  
(as some write) where his aduersaries (as by the same  
writers appeareth) were farre aboue that number.  
But because those that so write, same altogether to  
saue king Edward, we maie beleue as well list.

The duke of Summerfet, and the earle of Orford  
sleed in companie of certeine northerne men, which  
had bene at the battell; and (as some write) the earle  
of Orford kept forth with them, and retired after in-  
to Scotland. But yet as well the duke of Summer-  
fet, as the said earle of Orford, in fleeing toward  
Scotland, changed their purpose vpon the waie, and  
turned into Wales to Jasper earle of Penbrok.  
The duke of Excester being stricken downe and sore  
wounded, was left for dead in the field, amongst o-  
ther the dead bodie, because he was not knowne,  
and by reason the reof comming to himselfe, got vp,  
and in great danger escaped vnto Westminster, and  
there toke sanctuarie. [But some say, that after hee  
had lien in the field, spoiled, wounded, and (to see to)  
weld of life, from seven of the clocke in the morning,

till foure at after none, he was caried to a seruants  
house of his there by (named Ruthland) whers (after  
his woundes were searched and dressed by a surgian)  
he was conueied into Westminster sanctuarie.]

King Edward having got this victorie, refreshing  
himselfe and his people a while at Barnet, returned  
the same date vnto London, like a triumphant con-  
queror, leading with him king Henrie as a captiue  
prisoner: & so making a solemne entrie at the church  
of saint Paule, offered his standard. The dead bodie  
of the earle and marques were brought to London  
in a coffin, & before they were buried, by the space of  
thre daies late open visaged in the cathedrall church  
of S. Paule, to the intent that all men might easilie  
perceiue, that they unfeinedlie were dead. The com-  
mon brute ran, that the king was not so ialous of the  
erles death, as sorrowfull for the losse of the marques,  
whom he full well knew (and no lesse was evident to  
other) to be his faithfull friend and well-willer; for  
whose onelie sake, he caused both their bodie to be  
buried with their ancestors in the priorie of William.

On the tuesday in Easter weeke came know-  
ledge to king Edward, that queene Margaret the  
wife of king Henrie, with hir sonne prince Edward  
was landed vpon Easter day at Weimouth in Dor-  
setshire, accompanied with John Longstrother prior  
of saint Johns, commonlie called lord tresuroz  
of England, who went ouer into France to fetch them:  
also the lord Wenlocke, a man made onelie by king  
Edward, beside diuerse other knights and esquiers,  
of whome part had bene long forth of the realme,  
and part newlie gone ouer thither to them, in com-  
panie of the lord tresuroz. They toke their ships at  
Hundie, the foure and twentieth of March (as before  
you haue heard) but through contrarie winds and  
tempests, they were driuen backe, and constrained to  
abide for conuenient wind.

Now, although it came sometimes about fit  
for their purpose, yet it continued not long in that  
end; so as if thereupon they toke the sea at anie time,  
they were forced to returne backe againe to land yer  
they could passe halfe the way ouer. And thus being  
diuerse times vnder faile, in hope to passe the seas hi-  
ther into England, they were still driuen backe a-  
gaine, till the thirtenth of Aprill being Easter euen;  
on which day the wind comming fauorable about,  
they toke the seas, and sailed forward toward this  
land. The countesse of Warwicke, hauing a ship of ad-  
uantage, arriued before the other at Dorsetmouth,  
and from thence she went to Southhampton, mea-  
ning to haue gone to Weimouth, where she under-  
stood that the queene was landed: but here had she  
knowledge of the losse of Barnet field, and that hir  
husband was there slaine. Whereupon she went no  
further towards the queene, but secretlie got hir ouer  
the water into the new forest, and toke sanctuarie  
within the abbey of Beaulieu.

Queene Margaret, and hir sonne prince Edward,  
with the other that landed at Weimouth, went from  
thence to an abbey nere by called Cerne. Thither  
came vnto them Edmund duke of Summerfet, and  
Thomas Courtneie earle of Denonshire, with o-  
thers, and welcommed them into England, comfort-  
ing the queene in the best maner they could, and wil-  
led hir not to despaire of good successe; for albeit they  
had lost one field (whereof the queene had knowledge  
the same day being mondate in easter weeke, the fif-  
teenth of Aprill, and was therefore right sorrowfull)  
yet they doubted not but to assemble such a puissance  
(and that verie shortly) forth of diuerse parts of the  
realme, as being faithfull, and wholie bent to spend  
their liues, and shed the best blond in their bodie for  
hir sake, & hir sonnes, it should be hard for king Ed-  
ward to resist them with all the power he had or  
could

Edw. Hall.

Queene Mar-  
garet landeth  
with a power  
out of France

The countesse  
of Warwicke  
taketh sanctu-  
arie.

The duke of  
Summerfet,  
and the earle  
of Denonshire  
comfort queene  
Margaret.

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The earle of  
Warwicke

The mar-  
quesse of  
Montacute

Ed. Hall

December  
came at Car-  
marth

The duke of  
Summerfet  
and the earle  
of Denonshire

The duke of  
Excester

Ed. Hall

The battell  
of the earle of  
Warwicke

Ab. Fl. ex. 1. S.  
pag. 727.

The manly  
courage of the  
earle of War-  
wicke,

Edw. Hall.

The ferre  
which quene  
Margaret  
had for hir  
sonne.

could make.

The presence of these noble men greatlie comforted hir, and relieved hir of the sorowes that in manner overwhelmed hir penfive heart: for she doubted for the end of all these proceedings, the which they concluded to follow upon the advancement of hir and hers. Speciallie it misgaue hir, that some evil should chance to hir sonne prince Edward, for she greatlie loved not of hir owne perill (as she hir selfe confessed) and therefore she would gladlie have had them either to have deferred the battell till a more convenient time: or else that hir sonne might have bene conveyed over into France againe, there to have remained in safetie, till the chance of the next battell were tried: but they being of a contrarie mind, and namelie the duke of Summerfet, she at length consented unto that which they were resolved upon.

Thus euerie man being bent to battell, gathered his power by himselfe, first in Summerfetshire, Dorsetshire, and part of Wiltshire, and after in Devonshire and Cornewall. For the better incouraging of which countries to loine with them in their quarrell, they repaired to Excester. Here they sent for sir John Arundell, and sir Hugh Courtenie, and manie other in whom they had anie confidence. To be short, they wrought so, that they raised the whole powers of Cornewall and Devonshire, and with a great armie departing forth of Excester, they toke the right waie to Glasfenburie, and from thence to Bath, raising the people in all parts where they came: for those countries had bene so laboured, first by the earle of Marwick, and after by the duke of Summerfet, and the earle of Devonshire (which two noble men were reckoned as old inheritors of the same countries) that the people seemed there greatlie inclined to the fauor of king Henrie.

Edward  
feareth for-  
ward against  
his enemies.

King Edward, being at London, was dailie advertised by faithfull espials of all the doings of his aduersaries, and was in no small agonie, because he could not learne what waie his enemies ment to take: for he purposed to incounter them in one place or other, before they should approach nere to London. And upon such resolution, with such an armie as he had got about London, furnished with all artillerye and other provisions necessarie, he set forward the nineteenth of Aprill, and came to Windesore, where he staid a season, as well to celebrate the feast of saint George, as to abide the coming of such hands as he had appointed to repaire thither unto him, making there his generall assemble.

The enemies to mask him the more, sent forth their foreriders unto sundrie townes, both a well to raise people in the countries about, as to make the king beleue that their purpose was to passe those waies, where they ment not once to come. And hereupon when they departed from Excester, they sent first their foreriders straight to Shasseburie, and after to Salisburie, and then they toke the straight waie to Taunton, Glasfenburie, and after to Wils, where howering about in the countrie, they sent another time their foreriders to a towne called Puell, and to Wuton, as if their meaning had bene to draw towards Reading, and so through Warkeshire, and Dorsetshire to have marched straight to London, or else to have set upon the king at some aduantage, if it were offered.

But king Edward, considering aduisedlie of the matter, perceived well that they being in an angle of the realme, if they ment to go to London, they must either hold the straight waie forth by Salisburie, or else drawing by to the sea side, passe alongst through Hampshire, Suffer and Kent; or happilie if they mistrusted their owne strengths, as not able to

match with his puissance, they would then slip on the left hand, and draw towards Cheshire, and Lancashire, there to increase their forces, and peradventure by the waie to ioine with a power of Welshmen, under the leading of Jasper earle of Penbroke, who had bene sent into Wales long agoe, to frame and put in a readines the people there to assist king Henries friends at their coming thitherwards. And such was there purpose in deed, for they had great confidence in such aid, as they trusted to haue of the Cheshire and Lancashire men.

King Edward, meaning to approach nere unto them, that he might the sooner make waie to stop them of their passage, on which hand soeuer they drew, departed from Windesore the morrow after saint Georges day, being the foure and twentieth day of Aprill, keeping forth his iournie, till on saturdaye the twentieth and seventh of Aprill he came to Abington, where he laie sundae all daie. On mondaie he marched forward to Chichester, where he had sure advertisement, that they intended to be at Bath the next daie being tuesday, and on wednesday to come forward to giue him battell. Whereupon king Edward, desirous to see his people in order of battell, drew them forth of the towne, and incamped in the field thre miles distant from thence, still busying himselfe about his necessarie affaires, allowing no time to idlenesse or loitering: for he knew that there was no waie more expedite and readie to fire him in trauell, than to be giuen to negligence and sloth, the two wearers of well doing, as the old saying is:

*Desidia pressus erit in studio ciuissis.*

On the morrow, hearing no certaintie of their coming forward, he marched to Spalmeburie, still seeking to incounter them: but here he had knowledge, that they hauing changed their purpose, meant not to giue him battell; and therefore were turned aside, and gone to Wyke, where they were receiued, relieved, and well refreshed by such as fauoured their cause, as well with vittells, men, and monie, as good stoe of artillerye. Whereupon they were so incouraged, that the thursdaie after they toke the field againe, purposing to giue king Edward battell indeed; and for the same intent had sent their foreriders to a towne, distant from Wyke nine miles, called Sudburie, appointing a ground for their field, a mile from the same towne, toward the kings campe, called Sudburie hill.

The king thereof advertised, the same thursdaie, being the first of Maie, with his armie faire ranged in order of battell, came towards the place by them appointed for their field: but they came not there. For hearing that king Edward did thus approach, upon a new change of resolution, they left that waie: albeit some of their herbingers were come as farre as Sudburie towne, and there surprised five or six of the kings partie, which were rashlie entred that towne, attending onelie to prouide lodgings for their masters. The lords thus hauing espies changed their purpose, not meaning as yet to fight with the king, directed their waie straight towards Warkeshire, trauelling all that night. From Warkeshire they marched forward towards Gloucester.

The king in the meane time, on the thursdaie in the after none, came to the same ground called Sudburie hill, and there staid a certaine space, sending forth scoutiers, to hearken what they might discover of the enemies, whome he toke to be some where at hand. But when he could not heare anie certaintie of them, he advanced forward, leading his vanguard in a ballie beyond the hill, towards the towne of Sudburie, and laie himselfe (with the residue of his people) at the same place, called Sudburie hill. About thre of the cloke after midnigh, he was

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Gloucester,  
where it was  
not assaulted.

Sudburie  
hill.

The prince  
where the lords  
incamped.

advertised, that his enemies had taken their waie by Berkeley, towards Gloucester. Whereupon, taking aduise of his counsell what was best to do, he was counselled to send some of his seruants with all speed vnto Gloucester, to Richard Beauchampe, sonne and heire to the lord Beauchampe of Powicke, to whome he had (before this present) committed the rule and custodie of the towne and castell of Gloucester.

The king sent therefore with all speed vnto him, commanding him to do his best to defend the towne and castell against his enemies, if they came to assault the same, as it was supposed they intended: and if they so did, he promised to come with his whole armie presentlie to the rescue. The messengers did their diligence, and so being sofallie receiued into Gloucester the towne and castell, by the vigilant regard of the said Richard Beauchampe, was put in safe keeping. And this message was done in good time, for true it is, there were diuerse in the towne, that could haue bene well contented that the quene, and the lords with hir, should haue bene receiued there, and would haue aduentured to haue brought it to passe, if they had not bene thus prevented.

Again, the quene and the lords with hir had good intelligence, with diuerse in the towne, so as they were put in great hope to haue entred the same: whereupon they trauelled their people right soe all that night and morning, conning before the towne of Gloucester vpon the fridaie about ten of the clocke. And when they perceiued that they were disappointed of their purpose, and their entrie flatlie denied, they were highlie therewith displeased; for they knew verie well, that diuerse within the towne bare their good willes towards them: but after they had vied certaine menacing braueries, and made a shew as if they had meant to assault the gates and walles, & so to haue entred by force, they departed their waies, marching with all speed possible towards Tenkeburie.

It might be maruelled at, whie they attempted not the winning of Gloucester indeed, considering the frends which they knew they had within it. But the cause which moued them chafie to forbeare, was, for that as well they without, as the other within the towne, knew that king Edward approached at hand, and was readie to set vpon them on the backes, if they had once begun to haue assaulted the towne; and so, neither they within the towne that were the kings frends doubted the enemies forces, nor the enemy indeed durst attempt anie such enterprise against them. About foure of the clocke in the afternone, they came to Tenkeburie, hauing trauelled that night last past, and that daie, six and thirtie long miles, in a foule countrie, all in lanes and stonie waies, betwixt woods, without anie good refreshing, so that as well the men as the horses were right wearie.

And where the more part of their armie consisted of footmen, the capitaines could not haue gone anie further, except they would haue left their footmen behind them, and so of necessitie they were driuen to staie there, determining to abide the aduenture that God would send them. For well they knew that the king followed them verie nere at hand, so as if they should haue gone further, and left the most part of their companie behind, as it could not otherwise haue chanced, he would haue bene readie to haue taken the aduantage whole, so to distresse them. Whereupon they pight their field in a close, euen hard at the townes end, hauing the towne and the abbeye at their backes; and direalie before them, and vpon each side of them, they were defended with cumbersome lanes, deepe ditches, and manie hedges, beside hills and dales, so as the place seemed as noisome as

might be to approach vnto.

The king on this fridaie, verie erlie in the morning, aduanced his standards, and in good order of battell hauing diuided his armie into thre wards, marched through the plaines of Cotteswold. The daie was verie hot, and hauing in his armie about thre thousand footmen, he travelled with them and the residue thirtie miles and more. By all which waie, they could find neither horsemeat, nor mans meat, no not so much as water for their horses, except one little brooke, of the which they receiued no great reliefe; for what with the horses and carriages that passed thorough it, the water became so troubled, that it serued them to no vse: and still all that daie king Edward with his armie was within five or six miles of his enemies, he in the plaine countrie, and they among the woods.

King Edward had euer good espials, to aduertise him still what his enemies did, and which waie they toke. At length he came with all his armie vnto a village called Chiltonham, like a five miles distant from Tenkeburie, where he had certaine knowledge that his enemies were already come to Tenkeburie, and were incamped there, purposing to abide him in that place, and to deliuer him battell. King Edward thereupon made no long delaie, but toke a little refection himselfe, and caused his people to do the like, with such prouision of vittells as he had appointed to be conueied forth with him for the reliefe of himselfe and his armie. This done, he set forward towards his enemies, and lodged that night in a field not past thre miles distant from them.

On the morrow being saturday, and fourth of Maie, he drew towards his enemies, and marshalled his armie, diuided into thre battells in this sort. He put his brother the duke of Gloucester in the foreward, and himselfe in the middle-ward. The lord Sparques, and the lord Hastings led the reer-ward. Where with he approached the enemies campe, which was right hard to be assailed, by reason of the deepe ditches, hedges, trees, bushes, and cumbersome lanes, wherewith the same was fenced, both a front, and on the sides, so as the king could not well approach them to anie aduantage: and to be the better in a readinesse to beat backe the kings power, when he should come to assault them, they were imbattelled in this order.

The duke of Summerfet, and his brother the lord John of Summerfet led the fore-ward. The middle-ward was gouerned by the prince, vnder the conduct of the lord of saint John, and the lord Wenloche (whome king Edward had aduanced to the degree of a baron.) The reer-ward was appointed to the rule of the earle of Deuonshire. Thus may yee perceiue, that king Edward was put to his shifts, how (to anie aduantage) to assault his enemies. Nevertheless, he being well furnished with great artillerie, the same was aptlie lodged to annoie the enemies, that they receiued great damage thereby; and the duke of Gloucester, who lacked no policie, galled them greuouslie with the shot of arrowes: and they rewarded their aduersaries home againe with like payment, both with shot of arrowes, and great artillerie, although they had not the like plentie of guns as the king had. The passages were so cumbersome, that it was not possible to come vpon anie euen hand, to ioine at handblowes.

The duke of Gloucester, vpon a politike purpose (as some haue written) reculed backe with all his companie, which when the duke of Summerfet perceived, either moued therewith; or else because he was too sore annoied with the shot in that place where he and his fore-ward stood, like a knight more courageous than circumspect, came out of his strength with his whole battell, and aduanced himselfe somewhat

The painfull march of king Edward with his armie.

Chiltonham

The ordering of king Edwards battell.

The ordering of the lords host.

The duke of Gloucester.

Tenkeburie field.

The duke of Summerfet.

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Gloucester,  
where it was  
not assaulted.

A long march.

The place  
where the lords  
encamped.



what aside slips the kings bowward, and by certeine passages afoze hand, and for that purpose prouided (to the kings part, although unknowen) he passed a lane, and came into a faire open close right before the king, where he was imbattelled, not doubting but the prince and the lord Wenlocke, with the middle-ward, had followed tust at his backe. But whether the lord Wenlocke dissembled the matter for king Edwards sake, or whether his hart serued him not, still he stood, and gaue the looking on.

Edw. Hall.

The king, (as other haue) the duke of Glocester, taking the aduantage that he aduentured for, turned againe face to face vnto the duke of Summerfet his battell, and winning the hedge and ditch of him, entered the close, and with great violence put him and his people by towards the hill from whence they were descended. Here is to be noted, that when the king was come before his enemies, per he gaue the onset, he perceived that vpon the right hand of their campe there was a parke, and much stoe of wood growing therein; and doubting least his aduersaries had laid an ambush within that wood, he chose forth of his companies two hundred speares, commanding them to keepe a file, like a quarter of a mile from the field, to attend vpon that corner of the wood out of the which the ambush, if anie were, was to issue, and to incounter with them, as occasion serued: but if they perceived that there was no ambush at all, then to imploie their seruice as they should see it expedient and behoouefull for the time.

The politike foresight of the king.

This politike prouision for danger that might haue ensued (although there was none that waile forth) serued yet before the end of the battell, to great god purpose. For when those speares perfectlie vnderstood that there was no ambush within the wood, and withall saw convenient time to imploie themselves, they came and brake with full randon vpon the duke of Summerfet and his bowward a flanke, in so violent wise vpon the sudden, that where they had before enough to doe with those with whom they were first matched, now with this new charge giuen on them by those two hundred speares, they were not a little dismayed; and to conclude, so discouraged, that straightwaie they toke them to flight. Some fled into the parke, other into the meadow there at hand, some into the lanes, & some hid them in ditches, each one making what shift he could, by the which he hoped best to escape: but manie neuerthelesse were beaten downe, slaine, and taken prisoners.

The battard of the lords distressed.

The duke of Summerfet seeing this vnforsunate chance, as some write, turned to the middle-ward, and there finding the lord Wenlocke standing still, after he had reuiled him, and called him traitor, with his ar he stroke the bzaines out of his head. The duke of Glocester pursuing after them that fled with the duke of Summerfet to their campe, where the rest of their armie stood, entered the trench, and after him the king, where he bare himselfe so knightlie, that therevpon the quenes part went to worcke, and was put to flight; the king and other falling in chase after them, so that manie were slaine, but especiallie at a mill in the meadow fast by the towne a great sort were drowned. Manie ran towards the towne, some to the church, and diuerse to the abbey, and other to other places, where they thought best to saue themselves. [This was the last fought field or night battell tried betwene the potentats of this land in king Edward the fourths daies (which chanced on the fourth of Maie, being saturday, in the eleauenth yeare of his reigne, and in the yeare of our Lord, 1471) as *Anglorum praelia affirmeth*, saieing: *ultima postrema locus est Tewkesburia pugnae.*]

Abr. Flem.

Edw. Hall, Prince Edward taken.

In the winning of the campe, such as stood to it were slaine out of hand Prince Edward was taken

as he fled towards the towne, by sir Richard Cross, and kept close. In the field and chase were slaine, the lord John of Summerfet, called marquisse Dorset, Thomas Courtenie earle of Denonshire, sir John Delues, sir Edward Hampden, sir Robert Whittingham, and sir John Leukener, with three thousand others. After the field was ended, proclamation was made, that whosoever could bring forth prince Edward alieue or dead, should haue an annuite of a hundred pounds during his life, and the princes life to be saued, if he were brought forth alieue. Sir Richard Cross, nothing mistrusting the kings promise, brought forth his prisoner prince Edward, being a faire and well proportioned young gentleman; whom when king Edward had well aduised, he demanded of him, how he durst so presumptuously enter into his realme with banner displayed.

Sir Richard Cross who brought the prince to light that his life should haue bene saved.

Wherevnto the prince boldly answered, saieing; To recouer my fathers kingdom & heritage, from his father and grandfather to him, and from him after him to me lineallie descended. At which words king Edward said nothing, but with his hand thrust him from him, or (as some saie) stroke him with his gantlet; whom incontinentlie, George duke of Clarence, Richard duke of Glocester, Thomas Greie marquisse Dorset, and William lord Hastings that stood by, suddenlie murdered: for the which cruel act, the more part of the doers in their latter daies dranke of the like cup, by the righteous iustice and due punishment of God. His bodie was homelie interred with the other simple corpses, in the church of the monasterie of blacke monks in Tewkesburie.

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After the victorie was thus achieved, the king repaired to the abbey church there, to giue God thanks for that good successe, which it had pleased him to blesse him with; and there finding a great number of his enemies, that were fled thither to saue themselves, he gaue them all his free pardon; albeit there was no franchise there for rebels, but that he might haue commanded them to haue bene drawn forth without breach of anie liberties of that church. He granted also that the dead bodies, as well of the lords as other, slaine in that battell, might be buried in the same church, or else where it pleased their friends or seruants, without anie quartering & hanging, or setting vp the heads or quarters in any publicke places. [The patience and clemencie of this good king, who (besides the putting vp of wrongs done to him by violence of foes without vengeance) straight forgave the offenders, and did so honorable temper his affections.]

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There were found in the abbey and other places of the towne, Edmund duke of Summerfet, John Lonsrother lord priore of St. John, sir Thomas Arlesham, sir Gernets Clifton, and diuerse other knights and esquiers, which were apprehended, and all of them being brought before the duke of Glocester, sitting as constable of England, and the duke of Northfolke, as marshall in the middell of the towne, they were arreigned, condemned, and iudged to die; and so vpon the tuesday, being the seventh of Maie, the said duke and the lord priore, with the two forenamed knights, and twelue other knights, were on a scaffold, set vp in the middle of the towne for that purpose, beheaded, and permitted to be buried, without anie other dismembryng, or setting vp of their heads in anie one place or other.

The bodies of the duke of Northham-berland.

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The same tuesday, the king departed from Tewkesburie towards Worcester, and by the waie had knowledge that quene Margaret was found in a poore house of religion, not far from thence, into the which she was withdrawen for safegard of hir selfe, on saturday in the morning, being the daie of the battell. She was after brought to London as prisoner,

The bodies of the duke of Northham-berland.

The bodies of the duke of Northham-berland.

ner, great the el not al said dome tis of ser, parts in acc where to C his pr ward of P refel rie fir to cer While friend comm was I well a subou the pe loke huml to: to was t the hi beie h confir moud king, where shauk either cution god t B no: ret came the lo: Thom teine lie bet witke, diuerl bread betwi furthe mark traitt of the tries to too Ar ning! bent ther t thou pyffe. receit before land, spoile affir were to aid that b

m. 1471.

Problems Name

An. Reg. 11.

ner, and so kept, till his father ransomed him with great summes of monie, which he borrowed of Lewis the eleventh king of France. And because he was not able to make repayment thereof, he sold unto the said Lewis (as the French writers affirme) the kingdomes of Naples, and both the Sicils, with the countie of Provence. King Edward being at Worcester, had advertisements brought forth of the north parts, that the people there were about to assemble in armour against him, in favour of king Henrie: whereupon he left the right way to London, and rode to Coventrie, meaning to increase the number of his people, and so with a puissant armie to go northwards.

Whereupon, comming to Coventrie the eleventh of Maie, and remaining there three daies, he well refreshed such as had bene with him at Leakeburie field. Whither was brought to him queene Margarete, from whence she was conveyed to London, there to remaine in safe keeping (as before you have heard.) Whylest he was busie in sending abroad unto his friends to leaue an armie, he was advertised that the commotion in the north was pacified. For after it was knowne abroad, how he obtained the victorie, as well at Leakeburie, as at Barnet, and in manner subdued all his enemies, the captains that had stirred the people to that rebellion, began to quail, and forsooke their companies.

Diverse of them made sute to the earle of Northumberland, that it might please him to be a mediator to the king for their pardon; so that now, there was no rebellion in all the north parts, but that as well the citie of York, as all other places, were at the kings commandement, ready in all things to obey him as true and loiall subiects. And this was confirmed by the earle of Northumberlands owne mouth, who on the fourteenth of Maie came to the king, as yet remaining at Coventrie: by reason whereof it was not thought needfull, that the king should trauell any further northward at that time, either about the pacifying of the people, or to see execution done upon the offenders, sith all was there in good tranquillitie and quiet.

But now when all things seemed to be at rest, and no rebellion after so happy victories doubted, newes came to him before his coming to Coventrie, from the lords of his blood, abiding at London, that one Thomas Beull, bastard sonne to that valiant captaine the lord Thomas Fauconbridge (who had lately before bene sent to the sea by the earle of Warwick, and after fallen to practise piracie) had spoiled diverse merchants ships, Portugals and others, in breach of the ancient amitie that long had continued betwixt the realms of England and Portugall; and furthermore, had now got to him a great number of maisters, out of all parts of the land, and many traitors and misgoverned people from each quarter of the realme, beside diverse also forth of other countries that delighted in theft and robberies, meaning to worke some exploit against the king.

And verelie, his puissance increased daily, for having bene at Calis, and brought from thence into Kent many euill disposed persons, he began to gather his power in that countie, meaning (as was thought) to attempt some great and wicked enterprise. After the kings comming to Coventrie, he received advertisements, that this bastard was come before London, with many thousands of men by land, and also in ships by water, purposing to rob and spoile the citie. Many Kentishmen were willing to assist him in this mischievous enterprise, and other were forced against their wills to go with him, or else to aid him with their substance and monie, inasmuch that within a short time, he had got together sixtene

or seventene thousand men, as they accompanied themselves.

With these he came before the citie of London the twelfth of Maie, in the quarrell (as he pretended) of king Henrie, whom he also meant to haue out of the Tower, & to restore him againe unto his crowne & roiall dignitie. And for that intent, he required to enter the citie with his people, that receiving king Henrie forth of the Tower, they might passe with him through the citie, and so to march straight towards king Edward, whose destruction they vowed to pursue, with all their bittermost endeavors. But the maiors and aldermen of the citie would not in any wise agree to satisfie their request herein, utterlie refusing to receiue him or any of his companie into the citie.

King Edward from time to time by posts was informed of all these doings, & by aduise of his council, the fourteenth of Maie, sent to the succours of the maiors and aldermen sixtene hundred of the choicest souldiers he had about him, that they might helpe to resist the enemies, till he had got such an armie together as was thought necessarie, meaning with all convenient speed to come therewith to the rescue of the citie, and preservation of the queene, prince, and his daughters, that were within the Tower, not in verie good safeguard, considering the euill dispositions of many within the citie of London, that for the favour they had borne to the earle of Warwick, and desire to be partakers of the spoile, cared not if the bastard might haue attained to his full purpose and wished intent.

On the sixteenth of Maie, king Edward set forth of Coventrie towards London. But here ye haue to vnderstand, that when the bastard could not be receiued into the citie, neither by gentle persuasions, nor greivous threatnings, he made semblance to passe ouer the Thames at Kingston bridge, ten miles from London, and thitherwards he drew with his whole power by land, leaving his ships afore saint Katharines and thereabouts. His pretense was, to spoile and destroy Westminster, and the suburbs of the citie on that side, and after to assault the citie itselfe, to trie if he might enter by force, and so to be renewed of the citizens that had refused to receiue him. [Notwithstanding all which stirring of coles & proud port, with haughtinesse of hart & violence of hand thinking to beare downe the people, as an inundation or flowing of water streams doth all before it: yet he came short of his purpose, & pulled vpon his owne pate small destruction: though he thought himselfe a man ordeined to glorie, & was tickled with the like flattering persuasion that one had in his hart, who said:

*Magnum iter ascendo, sed dat mihi gloria vires.*

Now as he was on wards vpon his toynie, he was advertised, that king Edward was preparing to come forthwards against him, assisted in manner with all the great lords of the realme, and others in great number, more than he had bene at any time before. By reason whereof, doubting what might follow, if passing the river he should fortune so to be inclosed, that he should be diuinen thereto to encounter with the kings power at such odds, he thought it best to alter his purpose; and so returning, came backe againe before London, & mustered his people in St. Georges field, ranged and placed in one entier battell.

And to the intent they might worke their purpose best, before the kings comming to the rescue, they resolved with all their forces to assault the citie, and to enter it if they could by plaine strength, that putting it to the sacke, they might conuene the riches to their ships, which lay in the river betwixt saint Katharines and Blackwall, nere to Ratcliffe. Whereupon having brought certaine peeces of artillerie forth

Succours sent to the citie of London.

The bastards purpose to spoile the suburbs of London.

Prop. lib. 4.

The bastard altereth his purpose.

Sir Richard Crofts believeth the prince in hope that his life should have bene saved.

»

» Prince Edward murthered.

Rebellion in the north parts.

Character of Northumberland.

Thomas Beull, bastard sonne to the lord Thomas Fauconbridge.

The duke of Summerville & others a before.

The bastard's purpose before London.

Queene Margaret taken.

The nine and  
twentieth of  
June.

The bastard  
meaneth to  
enter the citie  
by force.

### Bigate and Bishops gate assaulted.

Heales burnt  
on the bridge.

The ballancic  
of Robert  
Basset alder-  
man.

of their ships, they planted the same alongst the wa-  
ter side, right ouer against the citie, and shot off lusti-  
lic, to annoyce the murther in so much as was possible.

But the citizens on the other side lodged their great artillerie against their aduersaries, and with violent shot therof so galled them, that they durst not abide in any place alongst the water side, but were driven euen from their owne ordinance. Yet the barbar not meaning to leaue any waie vnassailed that might aduance his purpose, appointed a great number of his retinue to set fire on the bridge, so to open the passage, and to enter into the citie that way forth; and withall, he caused about three thousand other to passe by ships ouer the Thames; giuing order, that when they were got ouer, they should diuide themselves into two battels, the one to assault Algate, and the other Withopps gate, which order accordingly was executed.

For they did their best at both places to force the gates, not sparing to bend and discharge such guns as they had brought with them against the same, nor reallising with arrowes to annoie those that there stood at defense: whereby much hurt was done, as well at the one place as the other, fire being set on both the gates, in purpose to haue burnt them by, and so to haue entered. The fire which they had kindled on the bridge little auailed them, although they burnt there to the number of a thousand boules. For the citizens had laid such peeces of ordinance directly in their waie, that although the passage had bene wholly open, they should haue had hard entering that waie forth. The maiors, aldermen, and other worthifull citizens were in good arrate, and each man appointed and bestowed where was thought needfull.

The earle of Essex, and manie knights, esquires, and gentlemen, with their friends and seruants, came to aid the citizens, taking great paine to place them in order, for defense of the gates and walles: and furthermore, denied how and in what sort they might make a sallie forth vpon the enimies to distresse them: and suerlie, by the intermingling of such gentlemen and lordes seruants in euerie part with the citizens, they were greatlie incouraged to withstand their enimies. Yet the rebels, vnder the leading of one Spissing, bare themselves so stoutlie at Algate, that they wane the bulwarkes there, and browe the citizens backe within the portcullise, & entered with them, to the number of sir 20 eight: but some of them were slaine with the fall of the portcullise that was let downe vpon them, to keepe the residue out, and those that were entered within the gate were suddenlie dispatched.

Herewith they lashed frellie the one part at the other with guns and bowes, although no great hurt was done with that; till at length Robert Bassett alderman (that was appointed to the keeping of this gate, with the most part of the citizens) and the recorder, named Wreslowke, either of the m being well armed in strong iackes, commanded the portcullise to be drawen vp, and maintenanilie rushed forth vp on their enemies, putting them backe vnto saint Bartholmes church. At the same instant, the earle Kiuers, hauing got together a foure or five hundred men, well chosen and apparelled for the warre, issued forth at the posterne by the Tower, and assailing the Gentilmen, euen vpon the point as they were thus put backe, mightilie laid vpon them.

And first he played them with the swift and thicke flight of his arrowes, and after joining with them at handshrokes, slue and toke manie of their prisoners; so that the rebels were fullie put to flight, and followed first to Spile-end, and from thence some into Poplar, some to Stratford, and Stepnith, and in manner each waite forth about that part of the ci-

There were a seauen hundred of them that fled from Algate, and other places; Raine outright, beside the prisoners. And yet there were fiers burning all at once at Algate, Bishops gate, & on the bridge, and manie houses consumed with the same fiers. But now the bassard, under whome that compaignie was directed that had set fire on the bridge, when he saw that he might not preuaile, and vnderston the euill successe of those which he had set ouer the wharves, he withdrew also, and left the bridge. Here the barrie manhood of Rafe Joffestialderman is not to be passed with silence; who (after he had balliantlie resisted the bassard & his band that assaulted the bridge) vpon their retire sallied forth vpon them, and following them in chase alongst the water side, till they came beyond Katcliffe, slue and toke verie manie of them.

The bassard notwithstanding gathered his companies together, and with such as were willing to remaine with him incamped on Blackheath, by the space of thre daies next ensuing, to wit, the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth of Maye, vtterlie despairing of his wished preie, sith he had bene repelled from London, to his vtter confusion. And now to conclude, hearing that king Edward was coming with a right puissant armie, the said bassard and his people durst no longer abide; but brake up and dispersed themselves, some one waie, and some an other. They of Calis got them thither againe with all speed, and such as were of other countries repaired likewise to their homes, and manie of the Kentishmen went also to their houses. The bassard with his mariners, and such riotous rebels, robbers, and wicked persons, as fought nothing but spoile, got them to shipbord, and with all their vessels yeto downe to the coast.

King Edward, hauing assembled an armie of thirtie thousand men (as some write) and accompanied in maner with all the great lords of England, came to London the one and twentieth of Maie, being tuesday, where he was honourable receiued by the maior, aldermen, and other worshipfull citizens: where euen vpon their first meeting with him he dubbed diuerse of them knights; as the maior, the recorder, & other aldermen, and worshipfull commoners of the citie, which had manfullie and ballantlie acquit themselves against the bastard Fauconbridge & his wicked companie of rebels. Moreover, here is to be remembered, that poore king Henrie the first, a little before depeined (as ye haue heard) of his realme and imperiall crowne, was now in the Towre spoiled of his life, by Richard duke of Gloucester (as the constant fame ran) who to the intent that his brother king Edward might reigne in more suertie murdered the said king Henrie with a dagger.

Edw. Hall.  
King Henrie  
the first was  
therein in the  
Tower.

together the house of Spoke, have recorded, that after he understood what losses had chanced unto his friends, and how not onely his Sonne, but also all other his chiefe partakers were dead and dispatched, he took it so to hart, that of pure displeasure, indignation, and melancholie, he died the three and twentieth of Aprill. The dead corps on the Ascension euen was conueyed with billes and glauncs pompositie (if

An. Reg. 11.

The nine and  
twentieth of  
June.

you will call that a funerall pompe) from the Tower to the church of S<sup>t</sup> Paul, and there laid on a bier of cotten bare faced, the same in presence of the beholders did bled; where it rested the space of one whole daie. From thence he was caried to the Blackfriars, and bled there likewise: and on the next daie after, it was conueied in a boat, without priest or clerke, torch or taper, singing or saieing, vnto the monastrie of Chertsey, distant from London fiftene miles, and there was it first buried: but after, it was removed to Windesore, and there in a new vault, newlie interred. He reigned eight and thirtie yeares, six moneths and od daies, and after his readeption of the crowne six moneths. He liued two and fiftie yeares, hauing by wife one onelie sonne, called Edward, prince of Wales.

He was of a fæmelie stature, of bodie slender, to which proportion all other members were answerable; his face beautifull, wherein continuallie was resident the bountie of mind, with the which he was inwardlie indued. Of his owne naturall inclination he abhorred all the vices as well of the bodie as of the soule. His patience was such, that of all the injuries to him done (which were innumerable) he neuer asked vengeance, thinking that for such aduersitie as chanced to him, his sinnes should be forgotten and forgiven. What losses soeuer happened vnto him, he neuer esteemed, nor made anie account thereof; but if anie thing were done, that might sound as an offence towards God, he sore lamented, and with great repentance sought for it.

So then verie unlike it is, that he died of anie wrath, indignation, and displeasure because his businesse about the keeping of the crowne on his head toke no better successe: except peraduenture ye will saie, that it grieved him, for that such slaughters and mischeues as had chanced within this land, came to passe onelie through his follie and default in government: or (that moze is) for his fathers, his grandfathers, and his owne vniust blarping and deteining of the crowne. But howsoeuer it was, for these before remembered, and other the like properties of reputed holinesse, which was said to rest in him, it pleased God to worke miracles for him in his life time, as men haue listed to report.

By reason whereof, king Henric the seauenth such to Pope Iulio the second, to haue him canonized a saint. But for that the canonizing of a king seemed to be moze coslie than for a bishop, the said king left off his sute in that behalfe; thinking better to saue his monie, than to purchase a new holie daie of saint Henric with so great a price, remitting to God the iudgement of his will and intent. ¶ But because princes princelie qualified, can not be too highlie praised, I will here record a collection of his commendable conditions, doings, and saieings, as I find them set downe to my hand, to his perpetuall renowne; and right wortheie of imitation, not onelie of such as are singled out from among infinite thousands, to be magnified with roialtie; but also of priuat and meane men that conuerse and liue one with another in the world.

This king hauing inioied as great prosperitie as fauourable fortune could afford, & as great troubles on the other side as the frowning could poure out; yet in both the states he was patient and vertuous, that he made be a patterne of most perfect vertue, as he was a wortheie example of fortunes inconstancie. He was plaine, bright, farre from fraud, wholely giuen to praier, reading of scriptures, and almesdeeds; of such integritie of life, that the bishop which had bene his confessor ten yeares, auouched that he had not all that time committed anie mortall crime: so continent, as suspicion of vnchast life ne-

uer touched him: and hauing in Chiffmasse a shew of yong women with their bare breasts laid out presented before him, he immediatlie departed with these words: He, he, for shame; forsooth you be to blame.

Before his marriage, he liked not that women should enter his chamber, and for this respect he committed his two brethren by the mothers side, Jasper and Edmund, to most honest & vertuous prelates to be brought up. So farre he was from couetousnesse, that when the executors of his uncle the bishop of Winchester, surnamed the rich cardinall, would haue giuen him two thousand pounds, he plainelie refused it, willing them to discharge the will of the departed, and would scarceleie condescend at length to accept the same summe of monie toward the indowing of his colleges in Cambridge & Eaton. He was religionlie affected (as the time then was) that at principall holidaies, he would weare sackcloth next his skin. Wh he used none, but in most earnest matters these words: Forsooth and forsooth.

He was so pitifull, that when he saw the quarter of a traitor against his crowne ouer Crisplegate, he willed it to be taken awaie, with these words: I will not haue anie christian so cruelle handled for my sake. ¶ Anie great offences he willingly pardoned, and receiuing at a time a great blow by a wicked man which compassed his death, he onelie said; Forsooth forsooth, ye doe folie to smite a king annointed so. An other also which thrust him into the side with a sword when he was prisoner in the Tower, was by him pardoned when he was restored to his state and kingdome. ¶ Not long before his death, being demanded whie he had so long held the crowne of England vniustlie; he replied: My father was king of England, quietlie inioieng the crowne all his reigne; and his father my grandfater was also king of England, and I euen a child in my cradell was proclaimed and crowned king without anie interruption; and so held it fortie yeares well-nere, all the states doing homage vnto me, as to my antecessors: wherefore I maie saie with king David; The lot is fallen vnto me in a faire ground; yea, I haue a goodlie heritage, my helpe is from the Lord which saueth the upright in heart.

This good king, being of himselfe alwaies naturallie inclined to do good, and fearing least he might seme vnthankefull to almightie God for his great benefitts bestowed vpon him, since the time he first toke vpon him the regiment of his realme, determined about the six and twentieth yeare of his reigne, for his primer notable worke (as by the words of his will I find expessed) to erect and found two famous colledges in the honoz and worship of his holy name, and for the increase of vertue, the dilatation of cunning, and establishment of christian faith, whereof the one in Cambridge, to be called his colledge of our ladie and saint Nicholas: and the other at Eaton beside Windesore, to be called his colledge of our blessed ladie.

And for the performance of this his deuout purpose, he infeofed certeine bishops, with other noble and worshipfull personages, by his letters patents, with lands and possessions, parcell of his inheritance of the duchie of Lancaster, to the cleare value of well nere foure & thirtie hundred pounds by yere. Which letters patents he after confirmed by his act of parliament, declaring also by his will vnto his said executors, his intent and meaning, how the same should be imploted vpon the edifications of his said two colledges. Whereof (in my iudgement) the denise is so excellent, and the buildings so princelie and apt for that purpose, as I cannot omit to set forth vnto you the verie plot of the whole colledge in Cambridge,

Att.ij.

such

Rom. 14. 7.

Rafe Zok-  
lin.The ballad  
incampeth on  
Blackchear.Censuring  
things,  
here.Mr. E. C. L. S.  
p. 173, 174,  
175.Edw. Hall.  
King Henric  
the first mar-  
ried in the  
Tower.The kings  
colledge in  
Cambridge.

even as I find mentioned almost verbatim in his will, supposing that if the rest of the house had proceeded according to the chappell already finished (as his full intent and meaning was) the like college could scarce have bene found againe in anye christian land. The words of the will are thus.

**The chappell.** As touching the dimensions of the church of my said college of our labe and S. Nicholas of Cambridge, I have devised and appointed, that the same church shall containe in length 288 foot of assise, without anye fies, and all of the widenesse of fortye foot.

**The bodie of the church.** And the length of the same church from the west end unto the altars at the quiere doze, shall containe an hundred and twentye foot. And from the piousness shall, unto the grace called *Gradus chori* ninetye foot; for thirtie six stalles on either side of the same quiere, answering to threescore and ten fellows, and ten priests conduits, which must be *De prima forma*. And from the said stalles unto the east end of the said church, threescore & two foot of assise. Also a reredosse bearing the

**The roodloft.** roodloft, departing the quiere and the bodie of the church, containing in length fortye foot, and in breadth fourtene foot. The walles of the same church to be in height ninetye foot unbattelled, bawted, and charerossed, sufficientlie butteraced, and everie butterace fined with finials. And in the east end of the same church, shall be a window of nine daies, and betwixt everie butterace a window of five daies.

**The height of the chappell.** And betwixt everie of the same butteraces in the bodie of the church, on both sides of the same church, a closet with an altar therein, containing in length twentye foot, and in breadth ten foot, bawted and finished under the soile of the fye windows. And the pavement of the church to be enhanced foure foot above the ground without. And the height of the pavement of the quiere one foot and an halfe above the pavement of the church. And the pavement of the altar thre foot above that. And on the north side of the quiere a vestrie containing in length fiftie foot, and in breadth twentye and two foot, departed into two houses beneath, & two houses above, which shall containe in height twentye two foot in all, with an entrie from the quiere bawted. And at the west end of the church a cloister square, the east pane containing in length an hundred seuentie and five foot, and the west pane as much. The north pane two hundred foot, and the south pane as much, of the which the deambulatoire thirtene foot wide, and in height twentye foot to the corbill table, with cleare stoies and butteraces with finials, bawted & unbattelled. And the ground thereof foure foot lower than the church ground.

**The east window.** And in the middle of the west pane of the cloister a strong tower square, containing foure and twentye foot within the walles. And in the height one hundred and twentye foot to the corbill table. And foure small turrets over that fined with pinacles. And a doze into the said cloister inward, but outward none. And as touching the dimensions of the housing of the said college, I have devised and appointed in the south side of the said church a quadrant, closing to both ends of the same church; the east pane whereof shall containe two hundred and thirtie foot in length, and in breadth within the walles two and twentye foot. In the same panes middle, a tower for a gatehouse, containing in length thirtie foot, and in breadth two and twentye, and in height threescore foot, with thre chambers over the gate, everie one over the other. And on either side of the same gate foure chambers, everie one containing in length five & twentye foot, and in breadth two and twentye foot. And over everie of these chambers, two chambers above of the same measure or more, with two towers outward, and two towers inward.

**The side chappells.** The south pane shall containe in length two hundred

**The vestrie.**

**The cloister.**

**The steeple.**

**The base court.**

**The east pane.**

**The great gate.**

**The south pane.**

and eight foot, and in breadth two and twentye foot within, in which shall be seven chambers, everie one containing in length nine and twentye foot, and in breadth twentye and two, with a chamber parcell of the piousness lodging, containing in length thirtie and five foot, and with a chamber in the east corner of the same pane, containing in length twentye and five foot, and in breadth thirtie and two foot. And over everie of all these chambers two chambers, and with five towers outward, and thre towers inward. The west pane shall containe in length two hundred and thirtie foot, and in breadth within twentye & foure foot, in which at the end toward the church shall be a librarie, containing in length an hundred and ten foot, and in breadth twentye and foure foot. And under it a large house for reading and disputations, containing in length eleven foot. And two chambers under the same librarie, each containing twentye and nine foot in length, and in breadth foure and twentye foot.

And over the said librarie a house of the same largenesse, for diverse stufte of the said college. In the other end of the same pane a hall, containing in length an hundred foot, upon a batot of twelve foot high, ordeined for the cellar and butterie; and the breadth of the hall six and thirtie foot. In everie side thereof a baie window. And in the nether end of the same hall toward the middle of the same pane, a partrie & butterie, everie of them in length twentye foot, and in breadth seuentene foot. And over that two chambers for officers. And at the nether end of the hall toward the west, a goodlie kitchen. And the same pane shall have inward two towers, ordeined for the waies into the hall and librarie. And in everie corner of the said quadrant, shall be two corner towers, one inward, and one outward, more than the towers above rehearsed.

And at the upper end of the hall, the piousness lodging, that is to wit, more than the chambers for him above specified, a parlour on the ground, containing six and thirtie foot in length, and two and twentye foot in breadth, & two chambers above of the same quantitie. And westward closing thereto a kitchen for him, a larderhouse, stables, and other necessarie housings and grounds. And westward beyond these houses, and the said kitchen ordeined for the hall, a baker house, a brewhouse, and other houses of office: betwixt which there is left a ground square of fourscore foot in everie pane for wood and such stufte. And in the middle of the said large quadrant, shall be a conduit, goodlie devised for the ease of the same college. And I will, that the edification proceed in large forme of my said college cleane and substantiall, letting apart superfluitie of so great curious workes of intaille and busie moulding.

And I have devised and appointed that the precinct of my said college, as well on both sides of the garden from the college to the water, as in all other places of the same precinct, be inclosed with a substantiall wall, of the height of fourtene foot, with a large tower at the principall entrie against the middle of the east pane, out of the high street. And in the same tower a large gate, and another tower in the middle of the west end at the newe bridge. And the same wall to be creased, unbattelled, and fortified with towers, as manie as shall be thought convenient thereunto. And I will that my said college be edified of the most substantiall & best abiding stufte, of stone, lead, glasse, and iron, that mate best be had and provided thereto. & thus much I have enlarged by occasion of reading this good kings will: the cunning devill wherof I leave to the considerate judgement of such as be expert in architecture, heartlie desiring almighty God to put into the heart of some noble prince of this land, one day to make perfect this

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this toll worke so charitablie begun.]

But now to returne to king Edward. He shall understand, that after his coming to London, hee resided there but one daie, or two at the most, taking his iournie forthright into Kent with all his armie, following the bassard, and other his complices, to suppress them, if they were in anie place assembled againe to resist him. But after they were once dispersed, they durst not shew themselves againe in armes, those onlie excepted that were withdrawne vnto Sandwich with the bassard; which for the more part were mariners, about eight or nine hundred, beside certeine other euill disposed persons, that accompanied him as his souldiers, and men of warre, with whose assistance the bassard kept that towne by strength, having in the haven seven and forty ships, great and small, vnder his gouernance.

But vpon the kings approaching nere vnto those parties, they sent to him for pardon; promising that vpon a reasonable appointment; for the safegard of their liues, and other indemnities to be had for their benefit, they would become his faithfull subiects, and deliuer into his hands all the ships. Their offer the king vpon great considerations, and by good deliberate aduise of counsell, thought best to accept: and thereupon (being at that time in Canturburie) hee granted to their petitions, and sent immediatlie vnto Sandwich his brother Richard duke of Gloucester, to receiue them to mercie, together with all the ships, which according to their promise they deliuered into his hands.

But notwithstanding that (as some write) the bassard Fauconbridge, and other of his companie that were got to Sandwich, had thus their pardons by composition at the kings hand; we find neuertheless, that the said bassard Fauconbridge, being afterwards at sea (a rousing belike, as he had used before) came at length into the open hauen at Southhampton, and there taking land, was apprehended, and hostile after beheaded. This chanced (as should appeare by Fabian) about the latter end of October. Whereouer, Roger Maughan that had bene sent by king Edward into Wales, anon after Tenkeburie field (being a man of great power in that countrie) to intrap and surpise by some secret sleight the earle of Penbrooke, the said earle being thereof aduertised, took the same Roger, and without delay strooke off his head.

After this, was the earle besieged in the towne of Penbrooke by Morgan Thomas; but the siege was raised by David Thomas, brother to the said Morgan, a faithfull friend to the earle; and then the earle by his helpe was conueyed to Winbie, where he got ships, and with his nephew the lord Henrie earle of Richmond sailed into Britaine, where, of the duke they were courteously interteined; with assurance made, that no creature should doe them anie wrong or iniurie within his dominions. King Edward visiting diuerse places in Kent, saie in iudgement on such as had aided the bassard in the last commotion, of whom diuerse were condemned and executed, as spilling one of the captiues that assaulted Algate, whose head was set vp ouer the same gate: and so likewise was the head of one Quintine, a butcher, that was an other captiue amongst them, and chiefe of those that assaulted Bishops gate, as some write.

Whereouer, at Canturburie the maiors of that citie was executed, and diuerse other at Rochester, Spaldston and Blackheath: for the lord marshall and other iudges, being appointed to hold their oier and determine in that countrie of Kent, there were aboue an hundred indicted and condemned. Diuerse also of other men that had bene partakers in this rebellion

with the bassard, & holpe to set fire on Bishops gate and Algate, were hanged betwixt Stratford and London. Many also of the wealthie commons in Kent were put to grieuous fines.

Now when the king had made an end of his business in that countrie, he returned to London, coming thither againe vpon Whitsun euen, being the first of June. And hauing thus within the space of seven weekes recovered in maner the whole possession of his realme, being relieved of the most part of all his doubtfull feare, he ment to remove all stops out of the waie. Wherefore he sent the archbishop of Poike, brother to the earle of Marwike, and to the marques Montacute ouer to Guisnes, there to be kept in safe custodie within the castell, where he continued a long season, till at length he was by friendship deliuered, and shortly after (through verie anguish of mind) departed this life. Whome Laurence Bath, and after him Thomas Rotheram in the see of Poike, did ordinarilie succeed. Beside this, John earle of Arford, which after Barnet field both manfully and valiantlie kept saint Michaels mount in Coznewall, either for lacke of aid, or persued by his friends, gaue vp the mount, and yielded himselfe to king Edward (his life onelie saued) which to him was granted. But to be out of all doubtfull imaginations, king Edward also sent him ouer the sea to the castell of Hammes, where, by the space of twelue yeeres hee was in strong prison thut vp and warlike looked to.

King Edward was not a litle disquieted in mind, for that the earls of Penbrooke & Richmond were not onlie escaped out of the realme, but also well receiued and no lesse interteined of the duke of Britaine: he sent therefore in secret wise graue & close messengers to the said duke, the which should not sticke to promise the duke great and rich rewards, so that he would deliuer both the earles into their hands and possession. The duke, after he had heard them that were sent, made this answer, that he could not with his honor deliuer them, to whom he had giuen his faith to see them preserved from all iniurie: but this (he said) he would doe for the king of England, that they should be looked vnto, as he needed not to doubt of any attempt to be made against him by them, or by their meanes.

The king receiuing this answer, wrote longinglie to the duke of Britaine, that he would consider his friendship with conuenient rewards, if it should please him to be as good as his promise. The duke, perceiuing gaine coming by the abbe of the two English earles in his countrie, caused them to be separated in sunder, and all their seruants being Englishmen to be sequestred from them, and in their places appointed Britains to attend them. In the thirtieth yeere of his reigne, king Edward called his high court of parlement at his palace of Westminster, in the which all lawes and ordinances made by him before that daie were confirmed, and those that king Henrie had abrogated, after his readeption of the crowne, were againe reuiued. Also lawes were made for the confiscation of traitors goods, and for the restoring of them that were for his sake fled the realme, which of his aduersaries had bene attainted of high treason, and condemned to die.

Whereouer, towards his charges of late sustained, a competent summe of monie was demanded, and freely granted. There was also a pardon granted almost for all offenses; and all men then being within the realme, were released and discharged of all high treasons and crimes, although they had taken part with his aduersaries against him. In this season the duke of Burgognie had soze wars with the French king; and to be the more speedlie reuenged on his aduersarie, he sent ambassadors into England, to persuade

Fabian

The archbishop of Poike

The earle of Arford

1472

Anno Reg. 12.

Messengers sent to the duke of Britaine

1473

Anno Reg. 13.

Parliament

Ambassadors

from the duke of Burgognie

persuade

persuade king Edward to make warre also on the French king, for the recoverie of his ancient right to the realme of France, by the same French king against all equitie withholden and detained. In which attempt of his, there was some favour of discret policie, and a provident forecast for his greater safetie, besides the likelie possibilitie to obtaine that whereto he made challenge: sith the huger hostis (if the harder hearts) are of most force, according to that saying:

*Virtus unita fortior.*

And therefore, by procuring the king of Englands power to joine with his, he supposed his purpose achievable with the more facilitie. King Edward not so much for the love he bare to the duke of Burgognie, as for desire to be revenged on the French king, whome he took to be his enimie for aiding the earle of Warwicke, quene Margaret, and his sonne prince Edward, with their complices, gave good eare to the duke of Burgognie his messengers, and finally (after he had taken advise of his counsell) the said messengers were answered, that king Edward in the beginning of the next yeare would land at Calis with a puissant armie, both to revenge such injuries as he had received at the French kings hands, and also to recover his right, which he wrongfullie detained from him.

Opportunitie not to be neglected.

The earle of Daule.

In deed the time served verie well for the Englishmen to achieve some high enterprise in France at that present. For not onlie the duke of Burgognie as then made warre against the French king, but also manie great men within the realme of France, mistaking the manners of the king, began to have secret intelligence with the said duke; and namelie Lewes of Lutzenburgh earle of saint Daule constable of France was secretlie confederate with the duke of Burgognie, intending verelie to bring the French king to some great hinderance, the better to have his purpose accomplished in certaine weightie matters. King Edward understanding all these things, was greatlie encouraged to make a tourne into France, and thereupon with all diligence prepared all things readie for the same.

A shift to recover monie.

But bicause he wanted monie, and could not well charge his commons with a new subsidie, for that he had received the last yeare great summes of monie granted to him by parlement, he devised this shift, to call afore him a great number of the wealthiest sort of people in his realme; and to them declaring his need, and the requisite causes thereof, he demanded of euerie of them some portion of monie, which they sticke not to giue. And therefore the king willing to shew that this their liberalitie was verie acceptable to him, he called this grant of monie, A beneuolence: notwithstanding that manie with grudge gaue great summs toward that new found aid which of them might be called, A maleuolence. But the king bled such gentle fashions toward them, with frendlie praier of their assistance in his necessitie, that they could not otherwise do, but franklie and freelie yeld and giue him a reasonable and competent summe.

Abr. Flem. ex Edw. Hall. fol. Cccxvj.

¶ But here I will not let passe a pretie conceipt that happened in this gathering, in the which you shall not onlie note the humilitie of a king, but more the fantasie of a woman. King Edward had called before him a widow, much abounding in substance, and no lesse growne in yeares, of whome he merelie demanded what she gladlie would giue him toward his great charges: By my trueth quoth she, for thy louclie countenance thou shalt haue even twentie pounds. The king looking scarce for the halfe of that summe, thanked hir, and louinglie kiss hir. Whether the flauor of his breath did so comfort hir stomach, or the esteemed the kisse of a king so pretious a iewel,

she swoze incontinentlie, that he should haue twentie pounds more, which she with the same will paid that she offered it. ¶ This yeare the duke of Brester was found dead in the sea betwene Dover and Calis, but how he came there the certeintie could not be knowne.]

¶ When all things conuenient for such an enterprise were in a readinesse, the king came to Dover, where he found five hundred ships and hoies readie to transport him and his armie. And so the fourth date of Julie he passed ouer, and landed at Calis with great triumph; but his armie, hostes, and munitions of war scarce passed ouer in twentie daies. In this armie (being one of the best appointed that had passed out of England into France in manie yeares before) were fiftene hundred men of armes well horsed, of the which the most part were barded and richlie trapped, and manie of them trimmed in one sute. There were also fiftene thousand archers with bowes and arrowes, of the which a great number were on horsebacke. There were also a great companie of other fighting men, and of such as serued to set by tents and paulions, to attend the artillerie and to inclose their campe, and otherwise to labour and be imployed in seruice.

In all this armie was there not one page. The king of England was at his arriuall highlie displeased with the duke of Burgognie, who in the word of a prince had promised to meet him at his landing, with two thousand men of armes and light horsemen, besides a great number of lanceknights and halberdiers, and that he would haue begun the war three moneths before the kings transporting; where as contrarilie the duke laie lingering at the siege of Pouille, and let passe the occasion of achieving a more profitable enterprise. King Edward incontinentlie dispatched the lord Scales in post vnto the duke, to put him in remembrance of his promise, and to aduise him to come and joine with him before the summer were spent.

Before king Edward departed from Dover, he sent an officer of armes vnto the French king with a defiance. The French king, receiving the king of Englands letters at the messengers hand, read the same; and after he had considered thereof at leasure, he called the English herald afore, and to him declared the little trust that was to be put in the duke of Burgognie and the constable, by whose procurement he knew that king Edward was procured to come at that season into France; and therefore it should be better for him to haue peace with an old enimie, than to state vpon the promises and familiaritie of a new dissembling friend, which peace did highlie please God, & was the thing that he most desired. ¶ But to giue the greater grace to the matter in hand, it is good to laie downe the forme of the French kings speech to the said herald, to whome he uttered these wordes in his wardrobe, as Edward Hall reporteth.

Sir I knowe and well wot, that the king of England your maister, is neither descended in these parts of his owne free motion, nor yet of vs required; but onlie enticed and prouoked by the duke of Burgognie, and somewhat enforced by the commons of his realme. But now you may see that the season of the yeare passeth, and the duke of Burgognie is in poore estate, returning from Pouille almost discomforted. The constable also, with whome the king your soveraigne lord (I am sure) hath some intelligence, for favour that your maister hath married his neere, is not so sure a friend as he is taken for. And if all the world knew how I haue promoted him, and what I haue done for him, they would little thinke, that he would so vntrulie handle me as he doth. For I assure you, he is a deys dissembler, & in continuall dissimulation

John St.

Anno Reg.

The duke of Burgognie commeth to king Edward

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The duke of Burgognie commeth to king Edward

An. Reg. 14.

on intendeth to lead his life, interteining all men for his owne profit. And although the king your master be vntrue of all his other promisses, yet of one thing he shall be sure, that is, he shall be enier dissembled withall. And therefore I saie to you, and not to your maister, that he were better haue a peace with an old enemie, than the promisses and familiaritie of a new dissembling friend, which peace most pleaseth God, and is the thing that I most doe desire.]

Then he had thus said, he gaue the herald three hundred crownes, promising him a thousand crownes if any good appointment came to passe. This herald was borne in Normandie, who being more courteous of the crownes than secret (according as of dutie by his office he ought to haue bene) promised to doe all things that in him late, and further thewed waies by the which the French king might enter into the port of treatie for peace, the which he doubted not would sort to a good conclusion. The French king glad to heare these things, gaue to the herald when he should depart, beside the other reward, a peece of crimson velvet of thirtie yards long. The lord Scales, coming to the duke of Burgognie before Jussie, could not persuaide him to raise his field, and (as it stood him upon) to come and ioine with king Edward, till at length constrained thereto by other means, he left Jussie unconquered, and sending the most part of his armie into Lorraine, came with a small compaignie to king Edward lying before Calis.

King Edward at the first coming of the duke unto him, seemed much to reprove his vnwise dealing, in making so slow hast to ioine with him at this time, fith for his sake, and at his sute, he had passed the seas with his armie, to the intent to make wars in France in reuenge of both their iniuries: the time seruing their turnes so well as they could with desire, the opportunitie whereof could neuer happilie be recovered againe. The duke after he had excused himselfe, with alledging the dishonour that should haue rebounded to him, if he had left the siege of Jussie without meane of some shew of composition, incouraged king Edward to aduance forward with manie golden promisses, aswell of his owne part, as of the constable. The king agreed to the dukes perswasion, and so set forward.

But yet when he was entred into the dukes countries, the Englishmen were not so frendlie interteined as they looked to haue bene: for at their coming to Peronne, there were but a few suffered to enter the gates, the remnant were vsuen to lodge in the fields, better purueied of their owne, than of the dukes provision. And at their coming before saint Quintines (which towne the constable had promised to deliuer into the hands of the duke of Burgognie) the artillerie shot off, and they of the towne came forth both on horsebacke and foot to skirmish with them that approached, of the which two or three were slaine. This interteinement seemed strange to king Edward, pondering the last daies promise with this daies doing. But the duke excused the matter, and would haue persuaided him to make countenance to besiege the towne, that the constable might haue a colour to render it into his hands, as though he did it by constraint.

But the king, remembering what had bene told to his herald by the French king, how he should be dissembled with, perceived the French kings words to be true, and therefore thought it more sure to heare the faire words of the constable and the duke, than to giue credit to their vntrue and deceitfull doings. The Englishmen returned unto their campe in a great chafe towards the constable; and the next daie to increase their displeasure, an other cozousue was ministered, that smarted soper. For duke Charles of

Burgognie toke his leaue suddenlie of king Edward, alledging that he must needs see his armie in Artois, promising shortly with all his puissance to returne againe to the great commoditie of them both. This departing much troubled the king of England, because he looked for no such thing; but thought rather that he should haue had the duke his continuall fellow in armes; and therefore this dissembling and vnstedfast working caused the king to thinke that he neuer thought, and to doe that he neuer intended.

The French king in this meane while had assembled a mightie power, ouer the which he had made monsieur Robert de Esfontaile capteine, whome he sent to Artois, to defend the frontiers there against the king of Englands entrie, and he himselfe tarried still at Senlis: but though he shewed countenance thus of warre, yet inwardlie desirous of peace, according to the aduise giuen him by the English herald, he caused a varlet or peoman (as I may call him) to be put in a coat armour of France, which for hast was made of a trumpet baner. For king Lewis was a man nothing precise in outward shewes of honoz, oftentimes hauing neither officer of armes, trumpet in his court, nor other cosall apurtenances belonging to the port of a prince, which should be glorious and replenished with pompe, as the poet saith:

*Regia mirifici fulgent insignia regis.*

This counterfeit herald, being thoroughlie instructed in his charge, was sent to the king of England, and so passing forth; when he approached the English campe, he put on his coat of armes, & being espied of the outriders, was brought to a tent, where the lord Howard and the lord Stanleie were at dinner, of whome he was courteously receiued, and by them conueied to the kings presence, unto whom he declared his message so wittilie, that in the end he obtained a safe conduct for one hundred hostes, for such persons as his maister should appoint to meet, as manie to be assigned by king Edward in some indifferent place betwene both armies, to haue a like safe conduct from his said maister, as he receiued from him. The words of which herald are worthy the noting, reported in writers as folloiweth.

A messenger sent to the king of England.

Abr. Fl. ex  
Edw. Hall. fol.  
Cxxxix, cxxx.

The heralds oration to the king  
uttered with boldnesse of face and  
libertie of toong.

**R**ight high and mightie prince, right puissant and noble king, if your excellent wisdom did perfectly know, or your high knowledge did apparantlie perceiue, what inward affection and seruent desire the king my maister hath alwaies had, to haue a perfect peace, a sure unitie, & a brotherlie concord, betwene your noble person and your realme, and his honorable personage and his dominions, you would (for truths sake) should confesse and saie, that neuer christian prince more thirsted for an amitie, nor yet no lower hath more sought to attaine to the fauour of his paramour, than he hath sought to haue with you a perpetuall frendship, amitie, and aliance: to the intent that the subiects of both the realms, quietlie liuing vnder two princes, confederate and combined together in an indissoluble confederacie and league, may mutually imbrace ech other in their harts, may personallie haue resort and frequent each others

1474

John St.

1474  
An. Reg. 14.The French king  
in armes  
thou over  
France.The office of  
herald.The duke of  
Burgognie  
comming to  
king EdwardThe siege of  
Jussie.The lord  
Scales.The defiance  
sent to the  
French king.Abr. Fl. ex  
dw. Hall.  
Cxxxix.The constable  
of France a  
dapper dilligent  
war.The duke of  
Burgognie  
replyeth.

others princes territories and dominions, with their merchandises and wares: and finallye, the one to live with the other, as friends with friend, brother with brother, companion with companion, in continuall loue, rest, and tranquillitie. And for his part he doth affirme & saie, that since he receiued first the crowne of his kingdome, and was annointed with the holie ampull, he neuer attempted, nor yet once imagined a  
10 nie war, or thing preiudiciall toward your roiall person, your realme, or your people.

If you peradventure will saie, that he supported & maintained the earle of Mar-  
15 wike against your maiestie, he suerlie that doth & will denie: for he aided him against the duke of Burgognie, whom he knew not onelie to be his extreame enemie, but also to laie in wait (both by sea and land) either  
20 to take him, or betterlie to destroye him. Which duke of Burgognie, onelie for his owne cause, hartely excited and solicited your highnesse to come ouer the troublous and tempestuous seas, to the intent to cause  
25 (yea in manner to compell) the king my master, to condescend to such treatie and appointment, as should be to his onlie profit, and neither to your honour, nor yet to your  
30 gaine. For if he & such other as daillie flattered him for their peculiar profits (as he had mane in deed that daillie sucked at his elbow) had once obtained the thing that  
35 they breached for, all your affaires were put in obliuion, and left at large for them, or their assistants, even as they be at this daie. Hath not the duke of Burgognie caused you first to come into France: after to  
40 set forward your armie; and in conclusion, for lacke of his promise, to lose the faire season of the yeare, and to lie in the fields in winter? Which warre (if it continue) shall  
45 neither be profitable to you, nor to your nobilitie, nor yet pleasant but painefull to your communalitie: and finallye to both the realmes, and especiallie to merchant men  
50 shall bring both miserie, pouertie, and calamitie.

Came the duke of Burgognie from Pusse to Calis, onlie to visit you: Kede he all that  
55 post hall onelie to blind you: Returned he backe into Lorraine againe for anie cause, but onelie to leaue you desolate, & to abandon you: Did he or the constable keepe anie  
60 one promise with you? Why do you then belaeue, and yet still trust them, in whome you neuer found faith nor fidelitie: But if  
65 God will it so ordeine, that you and my master may toime in league and amitie, I dare both saie and sweare, that the fine stele neuer cleaued faster to the adamant stone,  
70 than he will sticke & claipe with you, both in wealth and wo, in prosperitie and aduersitie. And if it shall please you, to harken to anie reasonable treatie, I being a  
75 poore man, shall on ieopardie of my life which is my chiefe treasure) undertake, that this communication shall fort and come to such an effect, that both you & your  
80 nobilitie shall be glad and reioyse, and your

commons shall be contented and pleased; and they that haue deceiued you, shall be  
85 both abashed and ashamed. Most humble beseeching your highnesse, if your pleasure shall incline this waie, that I may haue a  
90 sure safe conduct for one hundred hostages, for such personages as the king my master shall send vnto you with further intimati-  
95 on of his mind and purpose. And if your pleasure shall be to haue the communicati-  
100 on in anie place indifferent betweene both the armies, then shall I warrant you the like safe conduct for your men, as you do  
105 send for ours.

When he had accomplished his message and in-  
110 structions, the king of England and his counsell highlie commended his audacitie, his tongue, and his  
115 sobernesse, giuing to him in rewarde a faire gilt cup, with a hundred angels: deliuering him a safe con-  
120 duct according to his request and demand, with the which he with speed departed, hauing with him an  
125 English herald to bring a like safe conduct from the French king.

After that the safe conducts were deliuered on both  
130 parts, the ambassadours met at a village beside A-  
135 mien. On the king of Englands side, the lord Ho-  
140 ward, sir Thomas Saintleger; doctor Morton after  
145 bishop of Elie, & chancelloz of England, were chiefe.  
150 For the French king, the bastard of Bourbon admi-  
155 rall of France; the lord Saint Pierre; & the bishop  
160 of Cueur called Heberge, were appointed as prin-  
165 cipall. The Englishmen demanded the whole realme  
170 of France, or at the least Normandie and whole A-  
175 quitaine. The allegations were proued by the Eng-  
180 lishmen, and politikelie defended by the Frenchmen,  
185 so that with arguments, without conclusion, the day  
190 passed, and the commissioners departed, and made  
195 relation to their masters. The French king and his  
200 counsell would not consent, that the Englishmen  
205 should haue one sot of land within France; but ra-  
210 ther determined to put him selfe & the whole realme  
215 in hazard and aduenture.

At the next meeting the commissioners agreed by  
220 on certeine articles, which were of both the princes  
225 accepted and allowed. It was first accorded, that the  
230 French king should paie to the king of England  
235 without delate sequentie & five thousand crownes of  
240 the sunne; and yearelie fiftie thousand crownes to be  
245 paid at London during king Edwards life. And fur-  
250 ther it was agreed, that Charles the Dolphin should  
255 marrie the ladie Elizabeth, eldest daughter to king  
260 Edward, and they two to haue for the maintenance  
265 of their estates the whole duchie of Guien, or else fif-  
270 tie thousand crownes yearelie to be paid within the  
275 Tower of London by the space of nine yeares; and  
280 at the end of that terme, the Dolphin and his wife to  
285 haue the whole duchie of Guien, and of the charge the  
290 French king to be cleerelie acquit. And it was also  
295 concluded, that the two princes should come to an  
300 interviue, and there take a corporall oth for the per-  
305 formance of this peace, either in sight of other.

On the king of Englands part were comprised  
310 as allies (if they would thereto assent) the dukes of  
315 Burgognie and Britaine. It was also couenanted,  
320 that after the whole summe aforesaid of sequentie and  
325 five thousand crownes were paid to king Edward,  
330 he should leaue in hostage the lord Howard, and sir  
335 John Cheinie master of his horse, untill he with all  
340 his armie was passed the seas. This agreement was  
345 verie acceptable to the French king; for he saw  
350 himselfe and his realme thereby deliuered of great  
355 perill that was at hand; for not onelie he should haue  
360 haue

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Ab. Fl. ex  
Edw. Hall  
fol. Cccxxj.

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The duke of  
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bene assailed (if this peace had not taken place) both by the power of England and Burgognie, but also by the duke of Britaine, and diuerse of his owne people, as the constable and others. The king of England also understanding his owne state, for want of monie, to mainteine the warres, if they should long continue (though otherwise he desired to haue attempted some high enterpryse against the Frenchmen) was the more easilie induced to agree by those of his counsell, that loued peace better than warre, and their wiues soft beds better than hard armes and a stonie lodging.

But the duke of Gloucester & others, whose swords thirsted for French blood, cried out on this peace; saying that all their trauell, paines, & expenses were to their shame lost and cast awaie, and nothing gained but a continuall mocke (and daile derision of the French king and all his minions. This imagination took effect without delaie. For a gentleman of the French kings chamber, after the peace was concluded, did demand of an Englishman, how manie battels king Edward had vanquished? He answered, nine: wherein he himselfe personallie had bene. A great honour said the Frenchman. But I praise you (quoth he smiling) how manie hath he lost? The Englishman perceiving that he meant, said: one, which you by policie, and by no strength, haue caused him to lose.

Well said the Frenchman, you maie ponder in a paire of balance, the gaine of nine gotten battels, and the rebuke of this one in this manner lost: for I tell you, that we haue this saieing; The force of England hath and doth surmount the force of France: but the ingenious wits of the Frenchmen excell the dull braines of Englishmen. For in all battels you haue bene the gainers, but in leagues and treaties our wits haue made you losers: so that you maie content your selues with the lesse in treaties, for the spoile that you gat in warres and battels. This communication was reported to the French king, who priuile sent for the Englishman to supper, and not onlie made him good there, but also gaue him a thousand crownes, to praise the peace and to helpe to mainteine the same. Yet neuerthelesse, he being not a little moued with these bzags, declared all the communication to the duke of Gloucester; who swaie, that he would neuer haue set foot out of England, if he had not thought to haue made the Frenchmen once to assaile the strength & puissance of the Englishmen: but what so euer he thought, all things were transferred vnto an other end than he could imagine.]

When the duke of Burgognie heard that there was a peace in hand betwixt king Edward and the French king, he came in no small hast from Lutzeirburgh, onelie accompanied with sixtene horses into the king of Englands lodging, and began as one in a great chafe soze to blame his doings, declaring in plaine termes how dishonorable this peace should be vnto him, hauing attained nothing of that about the which he came. The king of England, after he had given him leaue to speake his sanse, answered him somewhat roundlie againe, openlie reprouing him for his promise-breaking and vncourteous dealing with him: where for his cause cheslie he had passed the seas, and now found him not to keepe touch in a tie some point which he had couenanted. But to adde more weight to the matter in hand; sth it was so feruently debated betwene the two potentats, let vs heare what talke hissoiens report to haue bene interchanged betwene them. The king of England (saith mine author) not a little abashed both at the dukes sudden comming, and his fierce countenance, like one that would rather bite than chine, deman-

ded of him the cause of his sudden comming. The duke sharpelie answered, to know whether he had either entered into anie communication, or onelie had absolutelie concluded a peace betwene the French king and him. King Edward declared how that for sundrie and diuerse great and vrgent causes, touching as well the vniuersall publike wealth of the whole christianitie, as their owne priuate commoditie and the quietnesse of their realmes, he and the French king had concluded a peace and amitie for terme of nine peares, in the which were comprised, as fellowes and friends, both he and the duke of Britaine, requiring him to condescend and agree to the same.

Oh Lord, oh saint George (quoth the duke of Burgognie) haue you thus done in deed: Haue you passed the seas, entered into France, and without killing of a poxe lie, or burning of a scellie shepecote, and haue taken a shamefull truce? Did your noble ancestoz, Edward the third, euer make armie into France (as he made manie) in the which he did not either gaine victorie in battell, or profit in conquering cities, to townes, and countries: That victorious prince, as nere kin to me, as you to king Henrie the fifth, I meane whose blood you haue either rightfullie or wrongfullie (God knoweth) extinguished & destroyed, with a small puissance entered into France, conquered whole Normandie, and not alonelie conquered it, but peaceablie kept it, and neuer would either comen or agree to anie league, vntill he had the whole realme of France offered him; & was thereof made regent and heire apparant. And you without anie thing doing, or anie honour or profit gaining, haue condescended to a peace, both as honourable and as profitable to you as a peasecod, and not so wholesome as a pomegranat. Thinke you that I either moued you, or once intiled you to take this iournie for my peculiar aduantage or commoditie (which of my power am able to reuenge mine owne causes, without helpe of others) but onelie to haue you recouer your old rights and possessions, which were from you both tortiouslie and wrongfullie withhelden? And to the intent that you shall know that I haue no need of your aid, I will neither enter into your league, nor take truce with the French king, till you be passed the sea, and haue bene there thre moneths.

When duke Charles had thus said, he furiously threw downe his chaire, and would haue departed. But the king him staid & said: Brother Charles, sith you haue spoken at leasure what you would, you must and shall heare againe what you would not. And first, as concerning our entrie into France, no man liuing knoweth that occasion, neither so well, nor hath cause halfe so well to remember it as you: for if you haue not fallie put your greatest things (to be had in memorie) in your box of oblivion, you be not yet out of mind how the French king, for all your power, toke from you the faire towne of Amiens, and the strong pile of saint Quintins, with diuerse other townes, which you neither durst nor yet were able either to rescue or defend. Since which time, how he hath plagued you, how he hath taken from you your friends; yea, of your priuate chamber and secret counsell (by whome all your secrets be to him reuealed and made open) you know or haue better cause to remember, and not to forget them. And when you determined to besiege the towne of Amie, you thought your selfe in a great doubt, whether you should lose more at home by your absence (the French king dreaming and waiting like a fox for his preie) or gaine more in Germanie by your power and presence. And to keepe the wolfe from the fold, that is, the French king from your castles and dominions, was the chiefe and principall cause whie you

The duke of Gloucester an-  
swers to  
king Edward  
the fourth.

Communication  
was appointed  
to treat of  
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Articles of a  
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Edward and  
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The duke of  
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" you so false praise me, so sore laboured and intitled me  
 " to passe ouer the sea, promising mounteins of gold,  
 " which turned into smoth and waisted into water, boar-  
 " ding and craking to send honestemen and footmen; and  
 " yet shewing neither lackie no page. If we had made  
 " our enterprise for our selfe solie and in our owne qua-  
 " rel, thinke you that we would haue crepted your  
 " comming? If the aduenture had bene for to haue  
 " recovered our right, imagine you that we would  
 " haue passed the sea so slenderlie as we did, looking for  
 " your aid? Nay, nay, you should haue well knowen,  
 " if we had intended a conquest, that we would haue  
 " so stronglie invaded & set on the realme of France,  
 " that that with fauour of burning of towncs, and in-  
 " fection of the aier, corrupted by the multitude of dead  
 " carcases of our flaine enemies, your countries of  
 " Flanders & Brabant should haue had causes enow  
 " to wonder at: trusting that that which we had got-  
 " ten, we would haue kept as well as anie of our an-  
 " cestors haue done.

But because the verie occasion of the warre was  
pours, and that you wilfullie (I will not saie coward-  
lie) did not prosecute the same, the french king, who  
neuer offended me nor my subiects (except in main-  
teining the earle of Warwicke, for the displeasure  
that you bare him against me) offered me, being de-  
stitute of all your succour and aid, both honourable  
and honest offerings of peace, which offers I was in  
manner enforced (by verie reason) to incline to and  
accept, and so haue concluded a truce, which (God  
willing) I will both keepe and obserue. God send you  
ioy (quoth the duke) and so abruptlie ended his talke  
for that time.

Herewith (being in a great rage) he bad the king of England farewell, and suddenlie toke his hostile, and rode againe to Litcheburch, meaning that to enter

The constable of France  
his offer to  
R. Edward.

Abr. Fl. ex  
Edw. Hall. fol.  
Cccxxij,  
Cccxxij.

Herewith (being in a great rage) he bad the king of England farewel, and suddenlie toke his horse, and rode againe to Lutzenburgh, promising not to enter into anie league with the French king, till king Edward was passed the seas againe into England, and had bene there thre moneths: but this promise was not performed, for of necessitie he toke a worse waite, and agreed with the French king vpon a truce immediately after the departure of the English armie out of his countrie. The constable of France also, doubting that his vntroth would be disclosed to his destruction, by means of this agreement betwene the kings of England and France, as soone as he heard they were entred into communication thereof, sent to king Edward, requiring him not to credit the French kings promises, which he would no longer obserue, than untill he should once vnderstand, that he was on the other side of the sea: and rather than he should agree for want of monie, he offered to lend him fiftie thousand crownes. But the king of England, sith the accord was passed and agreed, would not change anie thing for the promises of so slipper a merchant as he knew the constable to be.

¶ When was the constable in manner on all sides  
in despayre, but yet he wrote to the French king by  
his messengers, beseeching him to give no credit or  
beliefe to any tale told or sained against him, with-  
out hearing his answer, affirming that the king had  
alwaies knownen his truch and fidelitie toward the  
croune of France, and so should he still find him till  
his dieng date; promising and warranting him, if  
that it should stand with his pleasure, that he would  
to compasse the duke of Burgognie, that they two  
should utterly destroye the king of England and his  
armie yer they returned. The counsellors of the  
French king made answer, that their master and the  
king of England were ioined and confedered in a  
sure amitie. Wherefore they would in no wise know  
nor descend to any thing that might be either  
preiudiciall, or once sound to the detriment of the  
Englishmen: but they said, that the king their ma-

her much trusted the constable, and that for his sake  
he would talke with them in his priuie chamber. The  
French king, before their entrie into his chamber,  
caused the lord of Containe, seruant vnto the duke of  
Burgognie, accompanied with the lord of Argem-  
ton, one of his priuie counsell, to stand secretlie be-  
hind a feeling or hanging in his chamber, & he him-  
selfe sat in a chaire directlie before that place, so that  
what sooner were purposed to him, they standing be-  
hind the cloth, might plainlie see and easilie heare the  
same.

Helwes de Creuell and his fellow entered into the  
 kings chamber, of nothing thinking lesse than of the  
 spirits inclosed. They declared what paine their mas-  
 ser had taken for the f'rench kings sake, to send,  
 moue and entise the duke of Burgognie to leaue,  
 and clérelie to forsake the king of England, which  
 duke they found in such a rage and furie against  
 the Englishmen, that at their request he was not  
 20 onelie bitterlie determined to forsake and refuse  
 their amittie, but also would send out aduenturers and  
 lanceknights, to rob and spoile them in their retur-  
 ning. And in speaking these words (thinking fuerlie  
 much to please the king) the said Helwes countertei-  
 ted the fashon and gesture of the duke of Burgog-  
 nie, and began to stampe with his foot on the ground,  
 and beat with his fist on the table, swearing by saint  
 George that the king of England was not extracted  
 of anie noble house, but was a yeomans sonne; and  
 30 that when he was not worth one halfepeece, he was  
 refoxed to his kingdome, and made king onelie by  
 his aid, reproouing and reuiling him with such ill  
 words, and so shamefull termes, that all the hearers  
 abhorred it.

The French king, faining that he was thicke of hearing, caused him to reiterate his saying againe, who so counterfeited the berie gesture of the dukes angrie countenance and roying voice, that no man hath sene a better counterfeited: or adoe in anie comedie or tragedie. The lord of Containe was sore displeased to see his master make a iesting stocke; but he kept all these things secret, till his returne to his master. When the pageant was plaied, the king bad the messengers of the constable to haue him commended to his brother their master; and to declare to him that as helmes rose & greiue, he would therof aduertise him, & so gaue them licence to depart to their master, who thought himselfe now to be in great suertie of his estate, when in deed he was neuer so nere his fall and perdition: esteeming the duke of Burgognie to be his assured friend, who hated him more than a Painnine or Turke, accompting also the French king to haue no ill suspicion in him, who neither trusted nor yet belieued anie word, writing or message that was either written or sent from him. Such end hath dissimulation, such fruit springeth of double dealing and craftie conuening. For if either the constable had bene faithfull to the king his master, as of bounden dutie and alleggiance he ought to be, or else had kept his promise made to the king of England and duke of Burgognie, and not bailed and dissembled with them, he had fuerlie in his extremitie bene aided, succoured and comforted of one of these three at the least; where now he was of all three forsaken, and yet not forsaken, but sought for, looked for, and watched for; not for his profit or promotion, but for his vndowing and destruction: whereof he was the principall procurer, as manie a one beleeues; where to the poet had an eie, when he made this outcrie of inward griefe seasoned with sorrow and repentance:

After the peace was concluded, the Englishmen were permitted to enter into the town of Amiens, and there to buy all such necessarie things as they wanted,

Abr. Flem. ex  
Edw. Hall  
fol. Ccxxxiiij.

Shamclut  
e flanderous  
words a:  
gainst the R.  
of England.

\* Of timber  
like to the  
grate where  
the lions be  
kept in the  
Tower.

Abr. Fl. ex  
Edw Hall.  
fol. Cxxxiii

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wanted, and had plenty of wine: for the French king had sent into their armie a hundred carts of the best wine that could be gotten, and god there made them of his owne costs. For at the enterie of euerie gate, there were two long tables set on euerie side of the street where they shoulde passe; and at euerie table five or six gentlemen of the best companions of all the countrie were appointed to intertaine the Englishmen as they entered, not onelie to see them served without lacking (but also to drinke and make god there, and keepe companie with them. And euere as they entered into the towne, they were taken by the bibels and in maner inforced to drinke, wheresoeuer they came they paid no monie, but were sent scot free.] This there lasted thre or foure daies not onelie to the French kings cost, but also to his vniuersitie at length, doubting to haue bene disposed of his towne.

For on a daie there entered the number of nine thousand Englishmen well armed in sundrie companies, so that no Frenchman durst once forbid them to enter. But finally, order was taken by the king of England, who meant no deceit, that no greater number should enter than was convenient, and the other were called backe; so that the French king and his counsell were well quieted, and rid of casting further perils than need required. After this, both the kings entered into a league at Picquene on the water of Some thre leagues about Amiens, theiuing great courtellie either to other. The letters of both their agreements were opened and red, & then either prince laid his right hand on the missall, and his left hand on the holie crosse (as it was termed) and took there a solemn oth to obserue and keepe the treatie for nine yeares concluded betwene them, with all their confederates and allies, compyled, mentioned and specified in the same, and further to accomplish the marriage of their children.

There was with either prince twelue noble men at this meeting, which was upon a bridge cast ouer the water of Some, a grate being set ouerthwart the same in the midst, so from side to side, that the one prince could not come into the other; but onelie to embrace ech other, in putting their armes through the holes of the grate. There were foure Englishmen appointed to stand with the Frenchmen on the bridge to see their demeanour; and likewise foure Frenchmen were appointed to the Englishmen for the same purpose. There were with the king of England his brother the duke of Clarence, the earle of Northumberland, the bishop of Ely his chancellor, the lord Hastings his chamberlaine, and eight others. They had louing and vertie familiar talke together a good space, both afore their companie, and secretlie alone, whilst their companie (of courtellie) withdrew somewhat backe.

But it is noted, that which I read touching both the kings meeting, the manner of their attire, and demeanour; namelie that when the token of meeting by the shot of the artillerie was knowne, the French king with twelue noble men entered the bridge, and came to the closerie, with whom was John duke of Bourbon, and the cardinall his brother, a prelat more met for a ladies carpet, than for an ecclesiasticall pulpit, and ten other, amongst whom the lord of Argenton was in like disguised attire as the French king wore, for so was his pleasure that daie to haue him adorne. The king of England and foure other with him were apparelled in cloth of gold frised, having on his bonet of blacke velvet a flower: delice of gold, set with vertie rich and orient stones; he was a goodlie faire and beautifull prince, beginning a litle to grow in flesh. Now when he approched nere the grate, he took off his cap, and made a low and solemn obedi-

lance: the French king made to him an humble reverence, but after his fashion somewhat homelie. King Lewis embraced king Edward through the barriers, saying: Welcome you be right heartilie welcome into these parties, assuring you that there is no man in the world that I haue more desired to see and speake with, than with you: and now landed be almighty God, we be here met together for a good and godlie purpose, whereof I doubt not but that we shall haue cause to reioice. The king of England thanked him, and answered to his words so soberlie, so grauelie, and so princelie, that the Frenchmen thereat not a litle mused. The chancellor of England made there a solemn oration in laud and praise of peace, concluding on a prophesie, which said that at Picquene should be concluded a peace both honorable and profitable to the realmes of England and France.

When the oth was taken and sworn (as before you haue heard) the French king said merilie to king Edward, Brother, if you will take pains to come to Paris, you shall be feasted and intertained with ladies; and I shall appoint you the cardinall of Bourbon for your confessor, which shall gladlie absolue you of such finnes, if anie be committed. The king of England took these words pleasantlie and thankesfullie, for he was informed that the cardinall was a good companion, and a chapelaine meet for such a dallieng pastime. When this communication was merilie ended, the French king, intending to shew himselfe like a maister amongst his seruants, made all his companie to draw backe from him, meaning to commune with the king of England secretlie. The Englishmen withdrew them without any commandement: When the two kings communed alone secretlie, I thinke not to the profit of the consable of France. The French king demanded of king Edward, whether the duke of Burgognie would accept the truce: King Edward answered that he would once againe make an offer; and then upon the refusal, he would referre and report the trust to them both. Then king Lewis began to speake of the duke of Britaine, whom he would faine haue excepted out of the league. To whom the king of England answered: Brother, I require you to moue no warre to the duke of Britaine; for on my fidelitie, in the time of my need and aduersitie, I neuer found a more friendlie, sure and stedfast louer than he.

Then king Lewis called his companie againe, and with most louelie and amiable commendations took his leaue of the king of England, speaking certeine friendlie words to euerie Englishman: king Edward doing likewise to the Frenchmen. When both at one time departed from the barriers, & mounted on horsebacke, and departed; the French king to Amiens, and king Edward to his armie. To whom was sent out of the French kings house, all things necessarie for appinice, insomuch that neither torches nor torchets lacked valent. When the French king was departed from Picquene, he called to him the lord of Argenton, saying: By the peace of God, the king of England is an amorous and a faire prince; he at the first becke would gladlie see Paris, where he might fortune to find such pleasant and talkatiue dames, which with faire words & pleasant pastimes might so allure him to their fantasies; that it might be occasion in him to come ouer the sea againe, which I would not gladlie see. For his progenitors haue bene too long and too often both in Paris and Normandie. On this side the sea I loue neither his sight nor his companie; but when he is at home I loue him as my brother, and take him as my friend. The French king, after this departing, soe desired to make warre on the duke of Britaine: which he could not doe, except he were left out of the treatie.

Wherefore

The Flem. ex  
Euse Hall.  
of Coxswij.The enter-  
how betwixt  
king Edward  
the fourth, &  
the French  
king.Of timber  
like to the  
gate where  
the lions be  
kept in the  
tower.Ab. Flex  
Euse Hall.  
of Coxswij.The maner  
lie English,  
and vnnatur-  
lie French.

French loue.

Wherefore he sent the lord of Bouchage, and the lord of saint Pierre, to the king of England, intreating him by all waies and motions possible, to leaue the duke of Britaine for his alie, and not to haue him comprehended in the league. The king of England hearing them so serionlie and so seruientlie speake against the duke of Britaine, with an earnest countenance answered, saieing: My lords, I assure you; if I were peaceable at home in my realme, yet for the defense of the duke of Britaine and his countrie, I would passe the seas againe, against all them that either would do him inturie, or make warre vpon him. The French lords nothing further saieing, much marvelled vnder the king of England to sue for clauie to the duke of Britains partie: but they knew not (or else at the least remembred not) that Henrie earle of Richmond was within the power and dominion of the duke of Britaine, whome king Edwards than-asse euer gaue him would make once a title to the crowne of England, as next heire to the house of Lancaster. For he knew well, that if the duke of Britaine would transport him into England (where hee had both kinsfolks and friends) with neuer so small an aid (yea, though it were but the shadow of an armie) then were he enforced newlie to begin againe a conquest, as though he had neuer twone the crowne, nor obtained the possession of the realme, which was the verie cause why he stucke so close to the duke of Britains part.

The same night the lords returned to Amiens, and reported to their maister king Edwards answer, who therewith was not the best pleased. But pleasure or displeasure, there was no remedie: but to dissemble the matter. This same night also, there came the lord Howard, and two other of the king of Englands counsell, who had bene roadiours toward the peace, to the French king to supper. The lord Howard said to the French king secretlie in his eare, that if it stood with his pleasure, he could persuade the king of England to come to Amiens, yea, peradventure as farre as Paris, familiarlie and friendly to solace himselfe with him, as his trustie friend and faithfull brother. The French king, to whom this motion was nothing pleasant, calling for water, washed, and rose without anie answer making: but he said to one of his counsell, that he imagined in his owne conceipt, that this request would be made. The Englishmen began againe to continue of that matter, the Frenchmen politikelie brake their communication, saieing: that the king with all celeritie must march forward against the duke of Burgognie.

Although this motion seemed onelie to increase loue and continuall amitie betwene the princes; yet the Frenchmen, hauing in their perfect remembrance the innumerable damages and hurts, which they of late daies had sustained by the English nation (whereby continuall hatred increased against them in France) thought by policie and wisdom, with faire words and friendly countenance, to put by this request, and to motion them rather to depart homeward, than to picke them forward to Paris; where peradventure they might be so interteined at this time, that they would at another come thither, both undesired and unwelcomed. This peace was said to be made onelie by the Holie-ghost, because that on the daie of meeting, a white dove sat on the top of the king of Englands tent: whether she came there to dye hir, or came thither as a token giuen by God, I referre it to your iudgment. At this treatie and meeting was not the duke of Gloucester, nor other lords which were not content with this truce; but the duke came afterwards to Amiens, with diuers other lords of England, to the French king,

which both highly pleased them; and also presented them with plate and hordies well garnished.

King Edwards, considering what gaine the Englishmen had gotten by making warre in France; and what miserie, what calamitie, and what pouertie the French nation had suffered, and manie peeres sustained, by reason of the said warres; determined clearelie rather to pacifie and interteine the English nation by faire words and great rewards (although it were to his great charge) than by too much hardnesse to put himselfe, his nobilitie & realme in hazard, by giuing them battell, as his predecessors had vntill this done at Poitiers, and at Agincourt. Wherefore to vnie peace, he granted king Edwards for a yearelie tribute fiftie thousand crownes, to be paid at London; which, accounting a crowne at foure shillings, amounted to ten thousand pounds. And to haue the fauour and good will of his chiefe counsellors, he gaue great pensions, amounting to the summe of sixtene thousand crownes a yeare, that is to saie: to his chancelor, to the lord Hastings his chiefe chamberleine, a man of no lesse wit than vertue, and of great authoritie with his maister, and that not without cause; for he had as well in time of auersitie, as in the faire flattering world, well and truly serued him: and to the lord Howard, to sir Thomas Spontgonmerie, to sir Thomas Senteleger, to sir John Cheinie maister of the kings hordies, to the marques Dorset, sonne to the queene, and diuerse other, he gaue great and liberrall rewards, to the intent to keepe himselfe in amitie with England, while he liued and obtained his purpose and desire in other places.

These persons had giuen to them great gifts, beside yearelie pensions. For Argenton his counsellor affirmed of his owne knowledge, that the lord Howard had in lesse than the tearme of two yeares, for reward in monie and plate, foure and twentie thousand crownes; at the time of this meeting, he gaue to the lord Hastings the kings chiefe chamberleine, (as the Frenchmen write) an hundred markes of siluer, made in plate: whereof enerie marke is eight ounces sterling. But the English writers affirme, that he gaue the lord Hastings foure and twentie dozen bolles, that is to saie, twelue dozen gilt, & twelue dozen bright, enerie cup twelue hundred nobles: which gift, either betokened in him a great liberrall nature, or else a great and especial confidence that he had reposed in the said lord chamberleine. Beside this, he gaue him yearelie two thousand crownes pension; the which summe he sent to him by Piers Cleret, one of the maisters of his house, giuing him in charge to receiue of him an acquittance for the receipt of the same pension, to the intent that it should appeare in time to come, that the chancelor, chamberleine, admerall, maisters of the hordies to the king of England, and manie other of his counsell, had bin in fee and pensionaries of the French king, whose yearelie acquittances (the lord Hastings onelie excepted) remained of record to be theued in the chamber of accounts in the palace of Paris.

When Piers Cleret had paid the pension to the lord Hastings, he gentlie demanded of him an acquittance for his discharge. Which request when he denied, he therevnto asked of him a bill of three lines, to be directed to the king, testifying the receipt of the pension: to the intent that the king vnder maister should not thinke the pension to be imbevelled. The lord Hastings, although he knew that Piers demanded nothing but reason, answered him: Sir this gift cometh onelie of the liberrall pleasure of the king his maister, and not of my request: if it be his determinat will that I shall haue it, then put you it into my skene; and if not, I praye you render to him his

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his gift againe: for neither he nor you shall haue el-  
ther letter, acquit tance, or scroll signed with my hand  
of the receipt of anie pension, to the intent to brag  
another daie, that the kings chamberleine of Eng-  
land hath bene pensionarie with the French king,  
to his dishonour: Wiers left his monie behind, and  
made relation of all things to his maister: which al-  
though that he had not his will, yet he much more  
praised the wisdom and policie of the lord Hastings,  
than of the other pensionaries, commanding him pear-  
tie to be paid, without anie discharge demanding.]

When the king of England had receiued his mo-  
nie, and his nobilitie their rewards, he trusted by his  
sents, laded his baggage, and departed towards  
Calis. [But yet he came there, he remembryng the  
craftie dissimulation, and the vntreue dealing of  
Kewes earle of saint Paule, high constable of  
France, intending to declare him to the French  
king in his verie true likenesse and portraiture, sent  
vnto him two letters of credence, written by the said  
constable, with the true report of all such wordes and  
messages as had bene to him sent, and declared by  
the said constable and his ambassadours. Which let-  
ters the French king gladly receiued, and thank-  
fullie accepted, as the chiefe instrument to bring the  
constable to his death: which he escaped no long sea-  
son after, such is the end of dissemblers.] When king  
Edward was come to Calis, and had set all things  
in an order, he toke ship, and sailed with a prosperous  
wind into England, and was roiallie receiued vpon  
Blackheath by the maior of London and the magi-  
strates, and five hundred commoners apparelled in  
murre, the eight and twentieth daie of September,  
and so conueied through the citie of Westminster,  
where for a while (after his long labour) he reposed  
himselfe: euerie daie almost talking with the queene  
his wife of the marriage of his daughter, whome he  
caused to be called Dolphinesse: thinking nothing  
surer than that marriage to take effect, accordyng to  
the treatie. The hope of which marriage caused him  
to dissemble, and do things which afterwarde chanced  
greatlie to the French kings profit, & smallie to his.]

About the same season, the French king, to com-  
passe his purpose for the getting of the constable into  
his hands, toke truce with the duke of Burgognie  
for nine yeares, as a contrado: in the league, and  
not comprehend as an other princes alie. The  
king of England aduertised hereof, sent ouer sir  
Thomas Spontgonerie to the French king, offering  
to passe the seas againe the next summer in his aid,  
to make warres on the duke Burgognie, so that the  
French king should paie to him fiftie thousand  
crotones for the losse which he should susteine in his  
custome, by reason that the wolles at Calis (because  
of the warres) could haue no vent, and also paie halfe  
the charges and halfe the wages of his souldiers and  
men of warre. The French king thanked the king of  
England for his gentle offer, but he alledged that the  
truce was already concluded, so that he could not  
then attempt anie thing against the same without  
reproch to his honour.

But the truth was, the French king neither lo-  
ued the sight nor liked the companie of the king of  
England on that side the sea; but when he was here  
at home, he both loued him as his brother, and toke  
him as his friend. Sir Thomas Spontgonerie was  
with plate rightlie rewarded, and so dispatched. Where  
returned with him the lord Howard and sir John  
Cheynie, which were hostages with the French king,  
till the English armie were returned into England.  
King Edward, hauing established all things in good  
order, as men might iudge, both within his realme  
and without, was yet troubled in his mind, for that

Henrie the earle of Richmond (one of the blood of  
king Henrie the first) was aliue, and at libertie in  
Britaine: therefore to attempt effones the mind  
of Francis duke of Britaine, he sent ouer vnto the  
said duke, one doctor Stillington, and two other his  
ambassadors laden with no small summe of gold.

These ambassadors, declaring their message, af-  
firmed that the king their maister willed to haue the  
earle of Richmond onelie for this purpose, to ioint  
with him in aliance by marriage, and so to plucke by  
all the leanings of discord betwene him and the con-  
trarie faction. The duke gentlie heard the orators.  
And though at the first he by excuses denied their re-  
quest, yet at the length, beleueing that king Edward  
would giue to the earle his eldest daughter, the ladie  
Elizabeth in marriage, he consented to deliuer him,  
and receiued of the English orators a great summe  
of monie. But yet they were imbarcked with their  
preie, the duke being aduertised, that the earle of  
Richmond was not so earnestlie sought for, to be com-  
pled in marriage with king Edwards daughter; but  
rather that his head might be chopped off with an  
hatchet, caused his treasurer Peter Landoise to con-  
ueie the said earle of Richmond into a sanctuarie at  
S. Malo, where the English ambassadors then laie,  
onelie staleng for a conuenient wind: who complai-  
ned, that they were euill vsed, to be spoiled both of  
their monie and merchandize.

Yet because the matter was so handled, that it  
seemed the earle escaped into the sanctuarie through  
their owne negligence, after they had receiued him  
into their hands; they were sone answered: but yet  
promise was made, that the earle should be safelie  
kept, either in the sanctuarie, or else as prisoner in  
the dukes house, that they should not need to feare  
him more than his shadow. And thus the king of  
England purchased for his monie the keeping of his  
enemie, the space onelie of three daies and no more.  
King Edward was somewhat displeased with this  
chance, but yet trusting that the duke of Britaine  
would (accordyng to promise) see the earle of Rich-  
mond safelie kept from doing anie greuaunce to him  
or his subiects, put all doubts therof out of his mind,  
and began to studie how to keepe a liberall princelie  
house, and there vpon stoyng his chestis with monie,  
he imployed no small portion in good housekeeping.

But hauing spoken thus much of the earle of Rich-  
mond, whome Edward Hall compareth to a chepe be-  
traied into the teth and clauwes of the wolfe, you  
shall vnderstand, that at such time as his troubles  
were set fresh abroach, and he knowing that he was  
going towards his death, for verie penitence and  
inward thought, fell into a seruent and sore ague.  
In which verie season, one John Cheulet, so esteemed  
among the princes of Britaine as few were in all  
the countrie, and in much credit, and well accepted  
with the duke, was (when these things were thus  
concluded) for his solace in the countrie. Who being  
hereof certified, was chased with the abhominaton  
of the fact, resorted to the court, and familiarlie came  
to the dukes presence, where he stood so sadlie and so  
palle, without anie word speaking, that the duke  
was much abashed, and suddenlie marvelled at his  
sad and frowning countenance, and demanded of  
him what should signifie that dumphysness of mind,  
and inward sighing, the which by his countenance  
manifestlie appeared and was euident. He modestlie  
answered; Most noble and redoubted lord, this pale-  
nesse of visage and deadlie looke doth prognosticate  
the time of my death to approach and be at hand, which  
if it had chanced to me before this daie, I assure you,  
it had much lesse hurt me. For then had I not bene  
referred to feele the dolorous pangis and sorrowfull  
sighings, which a fact by you done (that I thought  
impossible

Henrie earle  
of Richmond,Ambassadors  
into BritaineThe earle of  
Richmond  
taken sanctu-  
arie.Abr. Fl. et  
Edw. Hall  
fol. Cccxxvij.1475  
An. Reg. 15.

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his gift againe: for neither he nor you shall haue either letter, acquittance, or scroll signed with my hand of the receipt of anie pension, to the intent to brag another daie, that the kings chamberleine of England hath bene pensionarie with the french king, & shew his acquittance in the chamber of accounts, to his dishonour. Piers left his monie behind, and made relation of all things to his maister: which although that he had not his will, yet he much more praised the wisdom and policie of the lord Hastings, than of the other pensionaries, commanding him pearly to be paid, without anie discharge demanding.]

Edward  
monarch in  
England,  
the Hall  
at Calais.

When the king of England had receiued his monie, and his nobilitie their rewards, he trusted by his tents, laded his baggage, and departed towards Calis. [But yet he came there, he remembryng the craftie dissimulation, and the untrue dealing of Welwes earle of saint Paule, high constable of France, intending to declare him to the french king in his verie true likenesse and portraiture, sent him two letters of credence, written by the said constable, with the true report of all such wordes and messages as had bene to him sent, and declared by the said constable and his ambassadours. Which letters the french king gladly receiued, and thankfully accepted, as the these instrument to bring the constable to his death: which he escaped no long season after, such is the end of dissemblers.] When king Edward was come to Calis, and had set all things in an order, he took ship, and sailed with a prosperous wind into England, and was royally receiued upon Blackheath by the mayoꝝ of London and the magistrates, and five hundred commoners apparelled in murrie, the eight and twentieth daie of September, and so conueyed through the citie of Westminster, where for a while (after his long labour) he reposed himselfe: euery daie almost talking with the queene his wife of the marriage of his daughter, whome he caused to be called Dolphinelle: thinking nothing sorer than that marriage to take effect, according to the treatie. The hope of which marriage caused him to dissemble, and do things which afterward chanced greatlie to the french kings profit, & smallie to his.]

the Hall  
at Calais.

Sir Thomas  
Spontgomerie.

About the same season, the french king, to compass his purpose for the getting of the constable into his hands, took truce with the duke of Burgognie for nine yeares, as a contradoꝝ in the league, and not comprehended as an other princes alie. The king of England aduertised hereof, sent ouer sir Thomas Spontgomerie to the french king, offering to passe the seas againe the next summer in his aid, to make warres on the duke Burgognie, so that the french king should paie to him fiftie thousand crownes for the losse which he should susteine in his custome, by reason that the wolles at Calis (because of the warres) could haue no vent, and also paie halfe the charges and halfe the wages of his souldiers and men of warre. The french king thanked the king of England for his gentle offer, but he alledged that the truce was already concluded, so that he could not then attempt anie thing against the same without reproch to his honour.

But the truth was, the french king neither loved the sight nor liked the companie of the king of England on that side the sea; but when he was here at home, he both loved him as his brother, and took him as his friend. Sir Thomas Spontgomerie was with plate richly rewarded, and so dispatched. Where returned with him the lord Howard and sir John Cheynie, which were hostages with the french king, till the English armie were returned into England. King Edward, hauing established all things in good order, as men might iudge, both within his realme and without, was yet troubled in his mind, for that

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Henrie earle  
of Richmond,

These ambassadoꝝ, declaring their message, affirmed that the king their maister willed to haue the earle of Richmond onelie for this purpose, to ioine with him in aliance by marriage, and so to plucke by all the leanings of discord betwene him and the contrarie faction. The duke gentlie heard the oratoꝝ. And though at the first he by excuses denied their request, yet at the length, believing that king Edward would giue to the earle his eldest daughter, the ladie Elizabeth in marriage, he consented to deliuer him, and receiued of the English oratoꝝ a great summe of monie. But yet they were imbarcked with their preie, the duke being aduertised, that the earle of Richmond was not so earnestlie sought for, to be coupled in marriage with king Edwards daughter; but rather that his head might be chopped off with an hatchet, caused his treasurer Peter Landouise to conueie the said earle of Richmond into a sanctuarie at S. spalo, where the English ambassadoꝝ then laie, onelie staling for a conuenient wind: who complained, that they were euill bled, to be spoiled both of their monie and merchandise.

Ambassadoꝝ  
into Britaine

The earle of  
Richmond  
taken sanctuarie.

Yet because the matter was so handled, that it seemed the earle escaped into the sanctuarie through their owne negligence, after they had receiued him into their hands; they were sone answered: but yet promise was made, that the earle should be safely kept, either in the sanctuarie, or else as prisoner in the dukes house, that they should not need to feare him more than his shadow. And thus the king of England purchased for his monie the keeping of his enemye, the space onelie of three daies and no more. King Edward was somewhat displeased with this chance, but yet trusting that the duke of Britaine would (according to promise) see the earle of Richmond safely kept from doing anie greivance to him or his subiects, put all doubts therof out of his mind, and began to studie how to keepe a liberal prince in his house, and thereupon storing his chests with monie, he imploied no small portion in good housekeeping.

But hauing spoken thus much of the earle of Richmond, whome Edward Hall compareth to a sheepe betraied into the teeth and claws of the wolfe, you shall vnderstand, that at such time as his troubles were set fresh abroach, and he knowing that he was going towards his death, for verie penitence and inward thought, fell into a seruent and sore ague. In which verie season, one John Cheulet, so esteemed among the princes of Britaine as few were in all the countrie, and in much credit, and well accepted with the duke, was (when these things were thus concluded) for his solace in the countrie. Who being hereof certified, was chased with the abhominatton of the fact, resorted to the court, and familiarlie came to the dukes presence, where he stood so sadlie and so pale, without anie word speaking, that the duke was much abashed, and suddenlie marvelled at his sad and frowning countenance, and demanded of him what should signifie that dumplinesse of mind, and inward sighing, the which by his countenance manifestlie appeared and was euident. He modestlie answered; Most noble and redoubted lord, this pallenesse of visage and deadlie looke doth prognosticate the time of my death to approach and be at hand, which if it had chanced to me before this daie, I assure you, it had much lesse hurt me. For then had I not bene referred to feeble the dolorous pang and sorrowfull sighings, which a fact by you done (that I thought impossible

Abr. Fl. ex  
Edw. Hall  
fol. Cccxxvij.

1475  
Jan. Reg. 15.



« (impossible to be obtained) hath printed in my stomach  
and in my heart deaple grauen: so that I well per-  
ceive, that either I shall lose my life, or else live in  
perpetuall distress and continuall miserie.

« For you my singular good lord, by your vertuous  
acts and noble feats, haue gotten to you in maner  
an immortall fame, which in cuerie mans mouth is  
« extolled & advanced about the high clouds. But alas  
me saine (I praye you pardon me my rudenesse)  
« that now that you haue obtained so high praise  
and glorie, you nothing lesse regard than to keepe  
and preferue the same inuolate, considering that  
« you, forgetting your faith and faithfull promise made  
to Henrie earle of Richmond, haue deliuered the  
« most innocent yong gentleman to the cruell tor-  
mentors, to be afflicted, rent in peces, and slaine.  
« Therefore all such as loue you, of the which number  
I am one, cannot chuse but lament & be sorie, when  
« they see openlie the fame and glorie of your most re-  
nowned name, by such a dissolatie and vntruth  
« gainst promise, to be both blotted and stained with a  
perpetuall note of slander and infamie. Peace mine  
« owne good John (quoth the duke) I praise thee, be cause  
me there is no such thing like to happen to the earle of  
« Richmond: for king Edward hath sent for him,  
« to make of him, being his suspected enemy, his good  
and faire sonne in law.

« Well well (quoth John) my redoubted lord, give  
« credence vnto me: the earle Henrie is at the be-  
reinke to perill, whome if you permit once to set  
« but one foot out of your power and dominion, there  
is no mortall creature able hereafter to deliuer him  
from death. The duke being moued with the persuasi-  
ons of John Cheulet, which either little believed, or  
« smallie suspected king Edward, to desire the earle  
for anie fraud or deceit, or else seduced by blind aua-  
rice and loue of monie, more than honestie, fidelitie,  
or wisedom would requite, did not consider what he  
« vnadvisedlie did, or what he aduisedlie should haue  
done. Therefore, with all diligence he sent forth Pe-  
ter Landoise his chiefe treasurer, commanding him  
to intercept and slay the earle of Richmond, in all  
« hast possible, as before you haue heard.]

Abt. Fl. ex. I.S.  
pag. 752.  
John Croftie knight  
sent to the  
duke.

« In this yeare deceased sir John Croftie knight,  
(not long before this, maior of London) and was bu-  
ried in the parish church of saint Helen in Bishops  
gate street, vnto the reparing of which parish church  
he gaue five hundred marks, and thirtie pounds to be  
distributed to poore householders in the ward of Bish-  
ops gate: to the reparing of the parish church at  
« Heneleworth in Spiddlesef for tie pounds: to the repa-  
ring of London wall one hundred pounds: toward  
the making of a new towre of stone at the south  
end of London bridge, if the same were begun by the  
maior and communaltie within ten yeares next af-  
ter his decesse, one hundred pounds: to the repara-  
tions of Rochester bridge ten pounds: to euerie  
the prisons in and about London liberallie. Also he  
gaue to the wardens and communaltie of the gro-  
cers in London two large pots of silver chased halfe  
« 60 troy weight, to be occupied in their common hall,  
and elsewhere, at their discretions.

John Croftie knight  
sent to the  
duke.

« In this yeare were inherited to the honour of  
knighthood, after the custome of England, in the  
time of peace the kings eldest son Edward prince of  
« Wales, duke of Cornewall, and earle of Chester, his  
second sonne the duke of York, and with them the  
earle of Lincolnnes sonne and heire, the duke of Suff-  
olke, the lord Thomas Greie, the queenes sonne, and  
Richard his brother, the earle of Shrewesburie, the  
earle of Wilshire, master Edward Woodville, the  
lord Beuill, the lord Barkleis sonne and heire, the  
lord Audelies sonne and heire, the lord saint Amand,

the lord Stamleis sonne and heire, the lord Suttons  
sonne and heire, the lord Hastings sonne and heire,  
the lord Ferrers of Charles sonne and heire, mas-  
ter Herbert brother to the earle of Penbroke, mas-  
ter Claughan Brian chiefe iudge, Litchton one of  
the iudges of the common pleas, master Wooding-  
ham, master Brian Stapleton, kincut, Wilkinson,  
Ludlow, Charleton, &c. The same daie the king crea-  
ted the lord Thomas marquisse, Dorset, before din-  
ner, and so in the habit of a marquisse about the ha-  
bit of his knighthood he began the table of knights  
in saint Edwards chamber. At that time he ordeined  
that the kings chamberleine should go with the an-  
cient and well nurtured knight, to shew the an-  
cient and well nurtured knight to the squiers being in the  
baine. The king himselfe came in person and did ho-  
nour to all the companie with his noble counsell.]

This yeare the duke of Burgonie was slaine by  
the Switzers, before the towne of Rancie in Flo-  
raigne, after whose death the French king won all the  
« 20 townes which the said duke held in Picardie and Ar-  
tois. And hisseigne that the towne of Bullen and coun-  
tie of Bullemois appertained by right of inheritance  
vnto the lord Berthram de la Cour, earle of Au-  
uergne, the French king bought of him his right and  
title in the same, and recompensed him with other  
lands in the countie of Fozels, and in other places.  
And because the forenamed towne and countie were  
holden of, the earldome of Artois, he changed the  
tenure, and auowed to hold the same towne & coun-  
tie of our lady of Bolongne, and therof did homage  
to the image in the great church of Bolongne, offer-  
ring there an hart of gold, wiewing two thousand  
« 40 crownes, and beuiring further, that his heires and suc-  
cessors at their entrie into their estates, by them-  
selues or their deputies, should offer an hart of like  
wright and value, as a reliefe and homage for the  
same towne and countie.

« This yeare was Robert Bassett maior of Lon-  
don, who did sharpe correction vpon bakers, for mak-  
ing of light bread, he caused diuerse of them to be  
set on the pillozie in Coznehill. And also one Agnes  
« 40 Daintie a butterwife for selling of butter new and  
old mingled together, being first trapped with butter  
dishes, was then set on the pillozie. The countesse of  
« Oxford deceased and was buried at Windsoze. And  
so this yeare Richard Ratson one of the shiriffes of  
London, caused to be builded one house in the church  
yard of S. Marcie hospitall without Bishops gate  
of London, where the maior of that cite and his bre-  
thren the aldermen use to sit and heare the sermons  
in the Easter holiedaies, as in times past appeared  
by an inscription on the front of the same house, now  
by weathering defaced, which I haue read in these  
« 50 words: Praye for the soules of Richard Ratson late  
« 60 Mercer and alderman of London, and Isabel his  
wife, of whose goods this worke was made and foun-  
ded. Anno Dom. 1488.]

By the diligence of Ralph Josseline maior of  
« 60 London, the wall about London was new made be-  
twixt Algate and Creplegate: he caused the poye  
field to be searched for claie, and bricke to be made  
and burnt there: he also caused chaffe to be brought  
out of Kent, and in the same poye field to be burnt  
into lime, for the furtherance of that worke. The ma-  
ior with his companie of the drapers made all that  
part betwixt Bishops gate and Alhalowes church in  
the same wall. Bishops gate itselfe was new built  
by the merchants Almans of the Stillard, and from  
Alhalowes church toward poye gate a great part  
of the same was builded of the goods, & by the execu-  
tors of sir John Croftie somtimes an alderman of  
London, as may appear by his armes in two places  
fired. The companie of Skimmers made that part of  
the

William.

Burdet for a  
word spoken  
thereon.

Inguentant.

Register of  
the Greie  
clerk.

1476

Anno Reg. 16.  
The death of  
the duke of  
Burgonie.

Abt. Fl. ex.  
I.S. pag. 746.

Agnes Daintie  
one of the  
butterwives.

Anno Reg. 17.  
George duke  
of Clarence  
drowned in a  
battell of mar-  
shale.

Whoresonnes  
muchly fan-  
tased.

1477

Part of the  
duke of York  
wall was  
builded.

John Ratson.

Bishops gate  
new builded.

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in three  
made it  
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« make  
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the wall betwene Algate and Buries markes to wards Bishops gate, as may appeare by their armes in thre places fixed: the other companies of the citie made the other deale of the said wall, which was a great worke to be done in one yeare.

Also this yeare Thomas Burdet an esquier of Ar row in Warwike shire, sonne to sir Nicholas Bur det (who was great butler of Normandie in Henrie the first daies) was beheaded for a word spoken in this sort: King Edward in his progresse hunted in Thomas Burdets parke at Arrow, and slue manie of his deer, amongst the which was a white bucke, whereof Thomas Burdet made great account. And therefore when he understood thereof, he wished the buckes head in his bellie that moued the king to kill it. Which tale being told to the king, Burdet was apprehended and accused of treason, for wishing the buckes head (horne and all) in the kings bellie: he was condemned, drabone from the Tower of Lon don to Tiburne, and there beheaded, and then buried in the Greie friers church at London. Wherefore it is good counsell that the wiseman giueth, saleng: keepe thy tong & keepe thy life, for manie times we see, that speech offenbeth & procureth mischæse, where silence is autho: neither of the one no: the other, as it is trulie and in praise of silence spoken by the poet:  
—nulli tacuisse nocet, nocet esse loquutum.

About this season, through great mishap, the sparke of priuie malice was netwlie kindled betwixt the king and his brother the duke of Clarence, in somuch that where one of the dukes seruants was suddenlye accused (I can not saie whether of truth, or vntrulie suspected by the dukes enmities) of poisoning, sorcerie or inchantment, and thereof condemned, and put to execution for the same, the duke which might not suf fer the wrongfull condemnation of his man (as he in his conscience iudged) no: yet forbeare but to mur mur and reprove the doing thereof, moued the king with his daileie exclamation to take such displeasure with him, that finallye the duke was cast into the Tower, and therewith adiudged for a traitor, and pri uilie drowned in a butt of malmesie, the eleuenth of March, in the beginninge of the leuententh yeare of the kings reigne.

Some haue reported, that the cause of this noble mans death rose of a fowltly prophesie, which was, that after li. Edward one should reigne, whose first let ter of his name should be a C. Therewith the king and quene were soze troubled, and began to conceiue a greuous grudge against this duke, and could not be in quiet till they had brought him to his end. And as the diuell is wont to incumber the minds of men which delite in such diueltish fantasies, they said after ward, that that prophesie lost not his effect, when after king Edward, Gloucester vsurped his kingdome. Wher alledged, that the cause of his death was for that the duke, being destitute of a wife, by the meanes of his sister the ladie Margaret, duchesse of Burgognie, procured to haue the ladie Marie, daughter and heire to hir husband duke Charles.

Which marriage king Edward (enuieng the pro speritie of his brother) both gaine said and disturbed, and thereby old malice renewed betwixt them: which the quene and hir blond (ener mistrusting, and priuilie barking at the kings image) ceased not to in create. But sure it is, that although king Edward were consenting to his death; yet he much did both lament his infortunate chance, & repent his sudden execution: in somuch that when anie person sued to him for the pardon of malefactoris condemned to death, he would accustomable saie, & openlie speake: O infortunate brother, for whose life not one would make sute. Openlie and apparantlie meaning by such wordes, that by the means of some of the nobilitie he was deceiued and brought to confusion.

tie he was deceiued and brought to confusion.

This duke left behind him two yong infants be got of the bodie of his wife, the daughter of Richard late earle of Marwike: which children by destinie as it were, or by their owne merits, following the steps of their ancestors, succeeded them in like misfortune and semblable euill chance. For Edward his heire, whom king Edward had created earle of Marwike was thre and twentie yeares after, in the time of Henrie the sequenth, attainted of treason, and on the Tower hill lost his head. Margaret his sole daugh ter married to sir Richard Pole knight, and by Hen rie the eight restored to the name, title, & possessions of the earldome of Salisburie, was at length for treason committed against the said Henrie the eight attainted in open parlement; and sixtie two yeares after hir father had suffered death in the Tower, she on the greene within the same place was beheaded. In whose person died the berie surname of Plantagenet, which from Geffrie Plantagenet so long in the bloud rosall of this realme had flourished and continued.

After the death of this duke, by reason of great heat and disemperance of aire, happened so fierce & quicke a pestilence, that fiftene yeares warre past consumed not the third part of the people, that onelie four moneths miserable and pitifullie dispatched & brought to their graues. So that if the number had bene kept by multiplieng of vnities, & out of them to haue raised a complet number, it would haue moued matter of verie great admiration. But it should seme that they were infinit, if consideration be had of the comparison, inferred for the more effectual set ting forth of that cruell and ceaselesse contagion. And suerlie it soundeth to reason, that the pestilence should fetch a waie so manie thoulands, as in iudge ment by proportion of fiftene yeares warre one maie gather; and manie more so. For euerie man knoweth that in warres, time, place, persons, and meanes are limited: time of warre begun and ended; place circumscribed; persons im battelled, and weapons also whereby the fight is tried: so that all these haue their limitations, beyond which they haue no extent. But the pestilence, being a generall infection of the aire, an element ordained to main teine life, though it haue a limitation in respect of the totall compasse of the world; yet whole climats maie be poisoned: and it were not absurd to saie, that all and euerie part of the aire maie be pestilentlie cor rupted; and so consequentlie not limited: wherefore full well it maie be said of the pestilence (procuring so great a depopulation) as one saith of sursetting:  
*Ense cadunt multi, perimit sed crapula plures.*

The counsellors of the yong duchesse of Burgog nie sent to li. Edward for aid against the French king. About the same time had the quene of Eng land sent to the ladie Margaret duchesse of Burgog nie, for the preferment of hir brother Anthoine erle of Flanders to the yong damsell. But the counsell of Flanders, considering that he was but an earle of meane estate, and the the greatest inheritrice of all christendome at that time, gaue but deafe eare to so vnnmet a request. To which desire, if the Flemings had but giuen a liking eare by outward semblance, and with gentle wordes delated the sute, she had bene both succoured and defended. Whether king Edward was not contented with this refusall, or that he was loth to breake with the French king, he would in no wise consent to send an armie into Flanders against the French king: but yet he sent ambassadoors to him with louing and gentle letters, requiring him to grow to some reasonable order & agreement with the yong duchesse of Burgognie, or at the least to take a truce with hir at his request.

Edward.

The

Edward erle of warwike sonne & heire to George duke of Clarence.

Margaret duchesse of Salisburie.

A great pestilence.

Anon.

I 478.  
Anno Reg. 18.

Edition.

Burdet for a word spoken in this sort.

Exigent.

Register of the Greie friers.

I 476

Anno Reg. 16.  
The death of the duke of Burgognie.

Abt. Flex  
L.S. pag. 746.

Ignes Dami  
tic on the p  
loie.

Anno Reg. 17.  
George duke of Clarence drowned in a butt of malmesie.

Prophetie  
which said  
that.

I 477

Part of the  
on wall now  
united.

ohn Rouse.

Bishops gate  
new builded.

The ambassadours of England were highlie re-  
ceiued, bountifullie feasted, and liberallie rewarded,  
but answer to their desire had they none; sauing that  
thoſtillie after, the French king would send ambassa-  
dours, hostages, and pledges to the king of England  
their maister, for the perfecting and concluding of  
all things depending betwene them two; so that  
their ſouereigne lord & they should haue cause to be  
contented and pleased. These faire words were one-  
lie delaies to dylate time, vntill he might haue space  
to spoile the young damsell of hir townes and coun-  
tries. And beside this, to staie king Edward from  
taking part with hir, he wrote to him; that if he  
would iointe with him in aid, he should haue and in-  
toie to him and his heires the whole countie & coun-  
trie of Flanders, discharged of homage, superiourtie  
and reſort, to be claimed by the French king, or his  
successors.

Large offers  
made to the  
king of Eng-  
land by the  
French king.

He also wrote that he should haue the whole duchie  
of Brabant, wherof the French king offered at his  
owne cost and charge to conquer ſoure of the chiefest  
and strongest townes within the said duchie, & them  
in quiet possession to deliuer to the king of Eng-  
land: granting further to paie him ten thousand ar-  
gents toward his charges, with munitions of warre  
and artillerie, which he promised to lend him, with  
men and carriage for the conueſance of the same.  
The king of England refused to make anie warres  
againſt thoſe countries that were thus offered to  
him: but if the French king would make him part-  
ner of his conquests in Picardie, rendering to him  
part of the townes already gotten, as Bologne,  
Boulogne, and Abbeville, then he would ſuerlie take  
his part, and aid him with men at his owne costs and  
charges.

Thus passed faire words and golden promises be-  
tweene these two princes: and in the meane time the  
young duchesse of Burgognie was spoiled of hir  
townes, castles & territories, till at length for main-  
tenance she condescended to marrie with Marini-  
lian ſonne to the emperour Frederike that he might  
keepe the wolfe from the fold. King Edward in the  
nineteenth yeare of his reigne began (more than he  
was before accustomed) to ſerch the forfeiture of pe-  
nall lawes and statutes, as well of the cheſe of his  
nobilitie as of other gentlemen, being proprietaries  
of great possessions, or abundantlie furnished with  
goods; likewise of merchants, and other inferior per-  
sons. By reason whereof, it was of all men iudged  
that he would proue hereafter a ſore and a rigorous  
prince among his subjects. But this his new inuen-  
ted practice and couetous meaning (by reason of for-  
reine affaires and abridgement of his daies in this  
transitory life, which were within two yeares after  
consumed) toke ſome (but not great) effect.

Abr. Fl. ex l. S.  
pag. 747, 748.  
Pestilence.

Unadvised &  
brutallie de-  
meanor puni-  
shed with a  
fine.

In this yeare was great mortalitye and death by  
the pestilence, not onelie in London, but in diuerſe  
parts of the realme, which began in the latter end of  
September in the yeare last before passed, and conti-  
nued all this yeare till the beginning of Nouember,  
which was about fourtene moneths: in the which  
space died innumerable of people in the said citie  
& else-where. This yeare also the maior of London  
being in Paules, kneeling in his deuotions at ſaint  
Crutwalds thyrine, Robert Wilsford one of the thi-  
risses unadvisedlie kneeled downe nigh vnto the  
maior: wherof afterward the maior charged him to  
haue done more than becomed him. But the thirſſe  
answering rudelie and stubborne, would not ac-  
knowledge to haue committed anie offense: for the  
which he was afterward by a court of aldermen fi-  
ned at fiftie pounds to be paid toward the reparati-  
ons of the conduits in London, which was trulie  
paid. This yeare Thomas Flam one of the thirſſes of

London newlie builded the great conduit in Cheape,  
of his owne charges. This yeare also king Edward  
began his Christmalle at Making, and at fine daies  
end removed to Greenwich, where he kept out the  
other part of his Christmalle with great roialtie.

Ambassadours were sent to and fro betwixt the  
king of England and France, and still the French  
king ſed the king of England with faire words, put-  
ting him in hope to match his sonne and heire the  
Dolphin with the ladie Elizabeth daughter to the  
king of England, according to the conclusions of a  
grément had and made at Picquene betwixt them,  
although in verie deed he meant nothing lesse. His  
ambassadours euer made excuses if anie thing were  
amisse, and he vied to send change of ambassadours;  
so that if thoſe which had bene here before, and were  
returned, had said or promised anie thing (though they  
were authorized so to do) which might turne to their  
masters hinderance, the other that came after, might  
excuse themselves by ignorance of that matter; as  
ſtirming that they wanted commission once to talke  
or meddle with that matter: or if he perceived that  
anie thing was like to be concluded contrarie to his  
mind, for a thiff he would call his ambassadours  
home in great hast, and after send an other with new  
instructions nothing depending on the old.

Thus the French king vied to dallye with king  
Edward in the case of this marriage, onelie to keepe  
him still in amitie. And certeinlie the king of Eng-  
land, being a man of no suspicious nature, thought  
ſoner that the sunne should haue fallen from his cir-  
cle, than that the French king would haue dissem-  
bled or broken promise with him. But there is none  
so ſone beguiled, as he that least mistrusteth; nor so  
nie so able to decelue, as he to whome most credence  
is giuen. But as in mistrusting nothing, is great  
lightneſſe; so in too much truſting, is too much follie:  
which well appeared in this matter. For the French  
king, by cloking his inward determinate purpose  
with great dissimulation and large promises, kept  
him still in frendship with the king of England, till  
he had wrought a great part of his will againſt the  
young duchesse of Burgognie. Which king Edward  
would not haue ſuffered, if he had put anie great  
doubt in the French kings faire promises, conſider-  
ring that the crowne of France was in this meane  
time ſo much increased in dominions, to the great re-  
enforcement of that realme.

On the two and twentieth of Februarie were ſeue  
notable theues put to death, for robbing the church  
called ſaint Martins le grand in London, and other  
places; three of them were drawne to the Tower hill,  
hanged & burnt, the other two were pressed to death.  
A ſore and ſeuere kind of execution no doubt, but yet  
thought by iuſtice meritorious in the malefactors, for  
their offenses of sacrilege. Heinous enough had it  
bene to spoile a priuat man of his goods, and by law  
of nations puniſhable with death; but much more  
horrible, that prophane persons with polluted hands  
should priuillie or openlie ſo touch holie & conſecrated  
things, as to take them out of a ſacred place, where-  
to (for holy vſes) they were dedicated, & applye them to  
the ſatiſfing of the corrupt concupiſcences of their  
owne hearts, the bottomleſſe gulfe whereof bicauſe  
no booties nor ſpoiles could ſatiſſie; it ſtood with the  
high praife of iuſtice that they and their ceaſelleſſe de-  
ſires were ſeuered by deſerued death; wherefore it is  
wiſelie ſaid by the comical poet of ſuch greedy guts:

*Quam quis animus possit escam auariter,*

*Decipitur in transenna perique auaritia.*

In this yeare king Edward required great ſums  
of monie to be lent him. The citizens of London  
granted him ſixe thousand marks, which were ſeized  
of the ſixe and twentieth wards: which ſixe thousand  
marks

1480  
Anno Reg.

The French  
king ſed the  
king of Eng-  
land with  
faire words,  
putting him  
in hope to  
match his  
sonne and  
heire the  
Dolphin with  
the ladie  
Elizabeth  
daughter to  
the king of  
England.

Ambassadours  
sent to and  
fro betwixt  
the king of  
England and  
France.

Abr. Fl. ex l. S.  
pag. 747, 748.  
Pestilence.

Plom. in 24.

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An. Reg. 21, 22, 23.

marks was trulle repaid againe in the next yeare following. ¶ Also this yeare on Whitsundaye k. Edward the fourth created the lord Berkeley, vicount Berkeley, at Crēnewich. ¶ In this yeare also an house on London bridge called the common forge, or pitie, fell downe into the Thames, where thozough it five persons were drowned. ¶ This yeare the king with his quēne kept a roiall Christmas at Windsoꝛ.

Also this yeare was one Richard Chawyle ma-  
for of London, whome king Edward so greatlīe  
favoured, that he took him (with certēne of his bre-  
then the aldermen, & commons of the citie of Lon-  
don) into the forrest of Waltham, where was orde-  
ned for them a pleasant lodge of greene boughs, in  
which lodge they dined with great chēre; & the king  
would not go to dinner untill he saw them served.  
Sporow he caused the lord chamberlaine, with o-  
ther lords, to chere the said maiō; and his companie  
sundie times whilst they were at dinner. After din-  
ner they went a hunting with the king, and due ma-  
nie deare, as well red as fallow, whereof the king  
gaue unto the maiō; and his companie god plentie,  
and sent unto the ladie maistresse and hir sisters the al-  
dermens wives, two harts, six bucks, and a tun of  
wine to make them merrie with, which was eaten in  
the dapers hall. The cause of which bountie thus  
shewed by the king, was (as most men did take) for  
that the maiō; was a merchant of wondrous ad-  
ventures into manie and sundie countries. By reason  
whereof, the king had yearelle of him notable  
summes of monie for his customes, beside other plea-  
sures that he had shewed unto the king before times.  
¶ This yeare the Scots began to stir, against whom  
the king sent the duke of Gloucester & manie others,  
which returned againe without any notable battell.]

In this verie season James the third of that name  
king of Scots sent into England a solemne ambas-  
sage for to haue the ladie Cicilie, king Edwards se-  
cond daughter, to be married to his eldest sonne  
James, prince of Scotland, duke of Roxburgh, and  
earle of Caricke. King Edward and his counsell,  
perceiving that this affinitie should be both honou-  
rable and profitable to the realme, did not onelie  
grant to his desire, but also before hand disbursed cer-  
teine summes of monie, to the onelie intent that the  
marriage hereafter should neither be hindered nor  
broken. With this condition, that if the said marriage  
by anie accidentall meane should in time to come  
take none effect; or that king Edward would notifie  
to the king of Scots, or his counsell, that his plea-  
sure was determined to haue the said marriage dis-  
solved: then the prouost and merchants of the towne  
of Edinburgh, should be bound for repayment of the  
said summes againe. All which things were with  
great deliberation concluded, passed, and sealed, in  
hope of continuall peace and indissoluble amitie.

But king James was knowne to be a man so  
wedded to his owne opinion, that he could not abide  
them that would speake contrarie to his fantasie: by  
meanes whereof, he was altogether led by the coun-  
sell and aduise of men of base linage, whome for their  
flatterie he had promoted unto great dignities and  
honourable offices. By which persons diuerse of the  
nobilitie of his realme were greatlie misused and  
put to trouble, both with imprisonment, exactions, &  
death, insomuch that some of them went into volun-  
tarie exile. Amongst whome Alexander duke of Al-  
banie, brother to king James, being exiled into  
France, & passing through England, started with k.  
Edward: and upon occasion moued him to make  
warre against his brother, the said king James, for  
that he forgetting his oth, promise, and affinitie con-  
cluded with king Edward, caused his subjects to  
make roads and forayes into the English borders,

spoiling, burning, and killing king Edwards liege  
people.

King Edward, not a little displeased with this in-  
princelie doing, prouoked and set on also by the duke  
of Albanie, determined to invade Scotland with an  
armie, as well to reuenge his owne iniuries recei-  
ued at the hands of king James, as to helpe to re-  
store the duke of Albanie unto his countrie and pos-  
sessions againe. Hereupon all the winter season he  
mustered his men, prepared his ordinance, rigged  
his ships, and left nothing unprouised for such a tour-  
nie: so that in the beginning of the yeare, all things  
appertaining to the warre, and necessarie for his vo-  
yage, were in a readinesse. To be the chiefe of his  
hoast, and lieutenant generall, Richard duke of Glo-  
cester was appointed by his brother king Edward;  
and with him were adioined as associates, Henrie the  
fourth earle of Northumberland, Thomas lord  
Stanleie lord steward of the kings house, the lord  
Louell, the lord Greystocke, and diuerse other no-  
ble men and two hundred knights.

These valiant captains came to Alnewike in Nor-  
thumberland, about the beginning of Iulie, where  
they first incamped themselves, & marshalled their  
hoast. The foreward was led by the earle of Nor-  
thumberland, vnder whose standard were the lord  
Scrope of Bolton, sir John Spiddleton, sir John  
Wichfield, and diuerse other knights, esquires, & sol-  
diers, to the number of six thousand and seauen hun-  
dred. In the middleward was the duke of Gloucester,  
and with him the duke of Albanie, the lord Louell,  
the lord Greystocke, sir Edward Woodville, and o-  
ther, to the number of five thousand & eight hundred  
men. The lord Penill was appointed to follow, ac-  
companied with three thousand. The lord Stanleie  
led the wing on the right hand of the dukes battell  
with four thousand men of Lancashire & Cheshire.  
The lord Fitz Hugh, sir William a Barre, sir  
James Harrington, with the number of two thou-  
sand soldiers, guided the left wing. And beside all  
these, there were one thousand appointed to giue their  
attendance on the ordinance.

¶ In this yeare Edmund Shaw goldsmith and ma-  
for of London newlie builded Creplegate from the  
foundation, which gate in old time had bene a prison,  
whereunto such citizens and other as were arrested  
for debt (or like trespasses) were committed, as they  
be now to the counters, as maie appeare by a writ of  
king Edward the second, in these words: *Rex vi-*  
*London salutem. Ex gravi querela capti & detenti in prisona*  
*nostra de Creplegate, pro x. li. quas carum Radulpho Sandwi-*  
*co, tunc custode civitatis nostre London, & 1. de Blackwell*  
*custode recognis. debitorum, &c. King Edward held his*  
Christmas at Eltham, and kept his estate all the  
whole feast in his great chamber; and the quēne in  
hir chamber, where were daillie more than two thou-  
sand persons. The same yeare on Candlemas day, he  
with his quēne went on procession from saint Ste-  
phans chappell into Westminster hall, accompanied  
with the earle of Angus, the lord Greie, & sir James  
Adwall, ambassadors from Scotland. And at his pro-  
ceeding out of his chamber he made sir John Wood-  
vnder-treasurer of England, & sir William Cates-  
bie one of the iudices of the ocmoplas, knights.]

But to returne to the kings affaires concerning  
Scotland. The roiall armie aforesaid, not intending  
to lose time, came suddenly by the water side to the  
towne of Berwicke, and there (with force, and  
that with feare of so great an armie) took and ente-  
red the towne: but the earle of Bothwell, being cap-  
teine of the castell, would in no wise deliuer it; where-  
fore the captains, upon good and deliberate aduise,  
planted a strong siege round about it. When this  
siege was laid, the two dukes and all the other soul-  
diers

Preparation  
for warre a-  
gainst Scot-  
land.

1482  
Anno Reg. 22.  
An armie sent  
into Scot-  
land.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S.  
pag. 749.  
Creplegate  
builded.

Records.

Anno reg. 23.  
1483

Berwicke  
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Anno Reg. 10.

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diers except the lord Stanleie, sir John Clozington treasurer of the kings house, sir William a Barre, and foure thousand men that were left behind to keepe the siege before the castell departed from Berwikke toward Edenburgh; and in marching thitherward, they burnt and destroyed manie towne and bastilles. King James having small confidence in his communitie, and lesse trust in his nobilitie, kept himselfe within the castell of Edenburgh.

The duke of Gloucester entered into the towne, and at the respectfull desire of the duke of Albanie saved the towne, and the inhabitants from fire, blood, and spoile, taking onelie of the merchants, such presents as they gently offered to him and his captains, causing Cartier principall king at armes to make a publicke proclamation at the high crosse in the market place of Edenburgh; by the which he warned and admonished king James, to keepe, observe, and performe, all such promises, compacts, covenants, and agreements, as he had concluded and sealed with the king of England, and also to make sufficient recompense unto his subjects, for the tyrannie, spoile, and crueltie which he and his people had committed and done, contrarie to the league, within the marches of his realme of England, before the first daie of August next insuing; and further without delay to restore his brother the duke of Albanie to his estate, & all his possessions, offices, and authorities, in as large maner as he occupied & enjoyed the same before. Where the duke of Gloucester, lieutenant generall for the king of England, was readie at hand to destroy him, his people, and countries, with slaughter, flame, and famine.

King James would make no answer, neither by word nor writing, but kept himselfe close within the castell. But the lords of Scotland being at Hadington with a great puissance, determined first to practise with the duke of Gloucester for a peace, and after by some meanes to allure the duke of Albanie from the English amitie. And upon this motion, the second daie of August they wrote to the duke of Gloucester, requiring that the marriage betwene the prince of Scotland, and king Edwards daughter might be accomplished, according to the covenants; and further, that a peace from thenceforth might be longlie concluded betwene both the realmes. The duke of Gloucester answered againe unto these demands; that for the article of the marriage, he knew not the king his brothers determinate pleasure, either for the affirmance or deniall of the same; but nevertheless he desired full restitution of all the sums of monie pressed out in lone upon the same marriage. And as for peace, he assured them that he would agree to none, except the castell of Berwikke might be to him delivered; or at the least wise, that he should undertake that the siege lying afore the same should not be troubled by the king of Scots, nor by any of his subjects, nor by his or their procurement or meanes.

The bishop  
elect of Dur-  
reie sent to  
the duke of  
Gloucester.

The Scottish lords, upon this answer and demands of the duke of Gloucester, sent to him the elect of Durreie, and the lord Wernleie, which excused the matter touching the repayment of the monie: for that the time of the lawfull contract of the said marriage was not yet come, and no daie appointed for the monie to be paid before the contract begun. But for further assurance either for the contract to be made, or for the payment of the monie, they promised the rebitter accordingly (as reason should require) to agree. Soe concordant, as touching the castell of Berwikke, they alledged that it appertained to the realme of Scotland, as the old inheritance of the same.

The duke, notwithstanding all that they could saie, would agree to no peace, except the castell of Berwikke might be delivered to the king of England,

And so the messengers departed. The same daie the archbishop of S. Andrews, the bishop of Dunkeld, Colin earle of Argile, lord Campbell, and lord Andrieu lord of Anandale chancelor of Scotland, wrote to the duke of Albanie, a solemne and an autenticall instrument, signed and sealed with their hands and seales, concerning a generall pardon to him and his servants, upon certeine conditions to be granted; which conditions seemed to be so reasonable, that the duke of Albanie, desirous to be restored to his old estate, possessions, and native countrie, willingly accepted the same.

But before he departed from the duke of Gloucester, he promised both by word and writing of his owne hand, to do and performe all such things, as he before that time had sworn and promised to king Edward: notwithstanding any agreement now made, or after to be made with the lords of Scotland. And for performance of the effect hereof, he againe took a corporall oath, and sealed the writing before the duke of Gloucester, in the English campe at Levington besides Haddington, the third daie of August, in the yeare 1482. After he was restored, the lords of Scotland proclaimed him great lieutenant of Scotland; and in the kings name made proclamation, that all men within eight daies should be readie at Crauthaus, both to raise the siege before the castell, and for the recovering againe of the towne of Berwikke.

The duke of  
Albanie re-  
ceived James.  
He is crowned  
great lieuten-  
ant of Scot-  
land.

The duke of Albanie wrote all this preparation to the duke of Gloucester, requiring him to have no mistrust in his dealings. The duke of Gloucester wrote to him againe his mind verie roundlie, promising that he with his armie would defend the besiegers from all enemies that should attempt to trouble them; or else die in the quarrell. To be briefe, when the lords of Scotland saw that it booteth them not to assaie the raising of the siege, except they should make account to be fought withall, they determined to deliver the castell of Berwikke to the Englishmen, so that thereupon there might be an abstinence of warre taken for a season.

And herewith they sent to the duke of Gloucester a charter indented, which was dated the four and twentieth daie of August, in the said yeare 1482, contracted betwene the duke of Gloucester lieutenant generall for the king of England, & Alexander duke of Albanie lieutenant for James king of Scots; that an especiall abstinence of warre should be kept betwixt the realmes of England and Scotland, as well by sea as by land, to begin the eighth daie of September next comming, & to endure till the fourth daie of November next following. And in the same season, the towne & castle of Berwikke to be occupied and remaine in the roall possession of such, as by the king of England's deputis should be appointed.

Whereunto the duke of Gloucester agreed, and so then was the castell of Berwikke delivered to the lord Stanleie; and other thereto appointed; who therein put both Englishmen and artillerie, sufficient to defend it against all Scotland, for six months. The duke of Albanie demanded the prouost and bargesses of Edenburgh, to make a sufficient instrument obligatorie to king Edward, for the true satisfaction and contentation of the same monie, which he also sent by the said prouost to the duke of Gloucester to Aline-wike; the verie copie whereof hereafter followeth.

The castle  
of Berwikke  
delivered.

The true copie of the said instrument obligatorie.

It is knowne to all men by these present letters, by Walter Bertram, prouost of the towne of Edenburgh in Scotland, and the whole

Abt. El. et  
Edw. Hall.  
fol. Cxlvj

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whole fellowship, merchants, burgeses, & communalte of the same towne, to be bound and obliged by these presents, unto the most excellent, and most mightie prince Edward, by the grace of God king of England. That where it was communed and agreed betwene his excellencie on the one part, and the right high & mightie prince our soueraigne lord, James king of Scots on the other part, that mariage and matrimonie should haue bene solemnized and had betwixt a mightie and excellent prince James the first begotten sonne and heire apparant to our soueraigne lord aforesaid, & the right noble princeesse Cicilie, daughter to the said Edward k. of England; and for the said mariage to haue bene performed, certeine and diuerse great summes of monie bene paid and contented by the most excellent prince, unto our soueraigne lord aforesaid, as by certeine writings betwixt the said princes thereupon made more at large plainly appeares.

That if it be the pleasure of the said Edward king of England, to haue the said mariage to be performed and completed, according to the said communication in writing, that then it shall be well and trulie, without fraud, deceit, or collusion observed, kept, and accomplished on the partie of our soueraigne lord aforesaid, & the nobles spiritual and temporal of the realme of Scotland. And if it be not the pleasure of the said excellent prince Edward king of England, to haue the said mariage performed and completed, that then we Walter, prouost, burgeses, merchants, and commons of the aboue named towne of Edinburgh, or anie of vs, shall paie and content to the king of England aforesaid, all the summes of monie that was paid for the said mariage, at such like termes & daies immediatlie insuing after the refusall of the said mariage, and in such like maner & forme as the said summes were afore delivered, contented and paid; that then this obligation and bond to be void, and of no strength. Provided alwaies, that the said Edward king of England, shall giue knowledge of his pleasure and election in the premises in taking or refusing of the said mariage, or of repayment of the said sums of monie, to our said soueraigne lord, or lords of his counsell, or to vs the said prouost, merchants, or any of vs, within the realme of Scotland, being for the time betwixt this & the feast of Allhalowes next to come.

To the which paiement well and trulie to be made, we bind and oblige vs, & euerie of vs, our heires, successors, executors, and all our goods, merchandizes, & things what soeuer they be, where soeuer, or in what place, by water or by land, on this side the sea or beyond, we shall happen to be found, anie league, anie truce or safegard made or to be made, notwithstanding. In witnesse whereof to this our present writing, and letters of bond, we, the said prouost, burgeses, merchants, and communi-

tie, haue set our common seale of the said towne of Edinburgh, the fourth daie of August, the yeare of our Lord God, 1482. Given in the presence of the right mightie prince Richard Duke of Gloucester, Alexander duke of Albanie, the reuerend father in God James bishop of Dunkeld, & the right noble lord Henrie earle of Northumberland, Colin earle of Argile, Thomas lord Stanleie, maister Alexander English, and others, &c.

So that you see it was contained in the said instrument or writing, that king Edward should intimate his pleasure unto the said prouost and burgeses of Edinburgh, before the feast of Allsaints next following, whether he would the mariage should take place, or that he would haue the payment of the monie. According to which article, king Edward sent Garter his principall king of armes, and Northumberland berold, to declare his refusall of the mariage, and the election and choise of the repayment of the monie. They came to Edinburgh eight daies before the feast of Allsaints, where (according to their commission and instructions) Garter declared the pleasure of the king his master, unto the prouost and burgeses of Edinburgh, to whom he openlie said as followeth.

### The intimation of Garter king of armes to the Edinburghers.

**G**arter king of armes, seruant, prouost and messenger unto the most high and mightie prince, my most dread soueraigne lord Edward, by the grace of God king of England and of France, and lord of Ireland, by vertue of certeine letters of procuracie here readie to be shewed come, by my said soueraigne lord made and giuen, make notice and giue knowledge vnto you prouost, burgeses, merchants and communalte of the towne of Edinburgh in Scotland, that whereas it was sometime communed and agreed betwene my said soueraigne lord on the one partie, and the right high & mightie prince James king of Scots on the other partie, that mariage and matrimonie should haue bene solemnized, and had betwene James the first begotten sonne of the said king of Scots, and ladie Cicilie, daughter to my said soueraigne lord the king of England.

And for the said mariage to haue bene performed, certeine and diuers great sums of monie bene paid and contented by my said soueraigne lord, which summes of monie, in case of refusall of the said mariage, by my said soueraigne lord to be made and declared, by the said prouost, burgeses, merchants, and communalte, and euerie one of you are bound and obliged by your letters, vnder your common seale of your towne of Edinburgh, to repaie vnto his highnes vnder like forme, & at such termes as they were first paid. So that the king my soueraigne lord would make notice and knowledge of his pleasure and election in taking or refusing of the said mariage, of the repayment of the said sums of monie, before

Garter king of armes is sent into Scotland.

Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall. fol. Ccxlvij.

The Duke of Albanie re. the Duke of Northumberland.

The eldest of the Dukes of York.

Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall. fol. Ccxlvij.

before the feast of Alhalowes next to come, like as in your said letters, bearing date at Edinburgh the fourth daie of August last past, it was contained all at large.

The pleasure and election of my said soveraigne lord, for diuerse causes and considerations hummouing, is to refuse the accomplishment of the said mariage, and to haue the repayment of all such summes of monie, as by occasion of the said betruisted mariage his highnesse had paid. The said repayment to be had of you prouost, burgeses, merchants, and communalitie, and euerie of you, your heires and successours, according to your bond and obligation afore rehearsed. And therefore I giue you notice & knowledge by this writing, which I deliuer vnto you, within the terme in your said letters limited and expressed, to all intents and effects, which thereof may insue.

When Cartier had thus declared all things giuen to him in charge, the prouost and other burgeses made answer, that they now knowing the kings determinat pleasure, would (according to their bond) prepare for the repayment of the said summes; and gentle interteining Cartier conueied him to Berwikke, from whence he departed to Newcastle, to the duke of Gloucester, making relation to him of all his doings: which duke with all speed returned to Wythuton, and there abode. Shortly after Cartiers departing, the duke of Albanie, thinking to obtaine againe the high fauour of the king his brother, deliuered him out of captiuitie and prison, wherein he had a certeine space continued (not without the dukes assent, which besieged him in the castell of Edinburgh a little before) and set him at large, of whom outwardlie he receiued great thanks, when inwardlie nothing but reuenging & confusion was in the kings stomack fullie settled. So that shortly after in the kings presence he was in leopordie of his life, and all unprouided for dread of death, constrained to take a small balinge, and to saile into France, where shortly after riding by the men of armes, which encountered at the tilt, by Lewes then duke of Orleans, after French king, he was with mischarging of a speare by fortunes peruerse countenance pittfullie slaine and brought to death, leaving after him one onelie son named John, which being banished Scotland, inhabited & married in France, and there died.

How dolorous, how sorrowfull is it to write, and much more painefull to remember the chances and infortunities that happened within two yeares in England & Scotland, betwene naturall brethren. For king Edward, set on by such as enuied the estate of the duke of Clarence, forgetting nature and brotherlie annitie, consented to the death of his said brother. James king of Scots, putting in oblivion that Alexander his brother was the onelie organ and instrument, by whom he obtained libertie & freedom, seduced and led by vile and malicious persons, which maligne at the glorie and indifferent iustice of the duke of Albanie, imagined and compassed his death, and killed him for ever. What a pernicious serpent, what a venomous toade, and what a pestiferous scorpion is that diuellish helpe, called priuie enuie? Against it no fortresse can defend, no caue can hide, no wood can shadow, no towle can escape, no beast can auoid. His poison is so strong, that neuer man in authoritie could escape from the biting of his teeth, scratching of his pawes, blasting of his breath, & filth of his taile. Notable therefore is the Greke epigram

in this behalfe, touching enuie of this kind, which saith, that a worse thing than enuie there is not in the world, and yet hath it some goodnesse in it; for it consumeth the eyes and the hart of the enuious. The words in their owne tong sententiouslie sound thus:

ὁ φθόνος ἔχει δὲ τὴν καλὴν ἐν αὐτῷ,  
τὴν αὖ φθόνος δὲν ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ καρδίᾳ.

Although king Edward reioiced that his buisnesse came to so good a conclusion with the Scots, yet he was about the same time sore disquieted in his mind towards the French king, whom he now perceived to haue dallied with him, as touching the agreement of the mariage to be had betwixt the Dolphin and his daughter the ladie Elizabeth. For the lord Howard, being as then returned out of France, certified the king (of his owne knowledge) how that he being present, saw the ladie Margaret of Austria daughter to duke Maximilian, sonne to the emperor Frederike, receiued into France with great pompe and solatitie, and at Ambois to the Dolphin contracted and espoused. King Edward highlie displeased with such double and vntrust dealing of the French king, called his nobles together, and opened to them his grēces; who promised him for redress thereof, to be readie with all their powers to make warres in France at his pleasure and appointment.

But whilest he was buis in hand to make his pursuance for warres thus against France, whether it was with melancholie and anger, which he took with the French kings doings and vn courteous vsage; or were it by any superfluous surfeit (to the which he was verie much giuen) he suddenly fell sicke, and was so grievously taken, that in the end he perceived his naturall strength in such wise to decaye, that there was little hope of recoverie in the cunning of his physicians, whom he perceived onlie to prolong his life for a small time. Wherefore he began to make readie for his passage into another world, not forgetting (as after shall appeare) to exhort the nobles of his realme (aboue all things) to an vnite among themselves. And having (as he toke it) made an attornment betwixt the parties that were knowne to be scant frends, he commended vnto their grane wisdoms the government of his sonne the prince, and of his brother the duke of Yorke, during the time of their tender yeares. But it shall not be amisse to adde in this place the words which he is said to haue spoken on his death-bed, which were in effect as followeth.

The words of king Edward vttered  
by him on his death-bed.



My welbeloued and no lesse betruisted frends, counsellors, and allies, if we mortall men would dailie and hourly with our selues reuolue, and intentiuelie in our hearts ingraue, or in our minds seriously ponder, the fraile and fading imbecillitie of our humane nature, and the vnstabilenesse of the same: we should apparantlie perceiue, that we being called reasonable creatures, and in that predicament compared and ioined with angels, be more worthy to be named and deemed persons vnreasonable, and rather to be associate in that name with brute beasts called vnreasonable (of whose life and death no creature speaketh) rather than in that point to be resembled to the angelicall societie and reasonable companie.

For while health in vs flourisheth, or prosperitie aboundeth, or the glosing world laugheth, which is he, so reasonable of vs all, that can saie (if he will not from the truth) that hee once in a weeke remembereth

Abt. Fl. et  
Edw. Hall. 148.  
Cecilij.  
Cecilij.

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his fatal end, or the prescribed terme of his indur-  
ring; or once prouided by labour, studie, or other losse,  
to let a stedfast and sure order for the securitie, profit,  
and continuance either of his possessions & domin-  
ions, or of his sequele and posteritie which after him  
shall naturallie succede. Such is the blindness of our  
fraile and weake nature, euer gluen to carnall con-  
cupiscence and wooldie delectations, daileie darke-  
ned and seduced with that lithergious and deceiua-  
ble serpent called hope of long life, that all we put in  
obliuion our due tie present, and lesse remember the  
politike puruelance for things to come: for blindlie  
we walke in this fraile life, till we fall groueling  
with our eyes suddenlie vpon death.

The vanities of this woold be to vs so agreeable,  
that when we begin to liue, we esteeme our life a  
whole woold; which once ouerpasse, it sheweth no bet-  
ter but dust diuen awaie with a puffe of wind. I  
speake this to you of my selfe, and for your selues to  
you; for lamenting and inwardlie bewailing, that I  
did not performe & finally consummate such politike  
deuises, & god and godlie ordinances, in my long life  
and peaceable prosperitie, which then I folke de-  
termined to haue begun, set forward, and complette  
to haue finished. Which now for the extreame paines  
and tortures of my angrie maladie, and for the small  
terme of my naturall life, I can neither performe,  
neither yet liue to see either to take effect, or to sort  
to anie god conclusion.

For God I call to record, my heart was fullie set,  
and my mind deliberatlie determined, so to haue a-  
doined this realme with wholesome lawes, statutes  
and ordinances; so to haue trained and brought vp  
mine infants and children in vertue, learning, acti-  
tie, and policie, that, what with their possall puissance,  
& your friendly assistance, the proudest prince of Eu-  
rope durst not once attempt to moue anie hostilitie,  
against them, you, or this realme. But oh Lord, all  
things that I of long time haue in my mind reuol-  
ued and imagined, that shaling these death goeth  
about to subuert, and in the moment of an houre  
cherlie to ouertred. Wherefore (as men saie) I now  
being dynen to the verie hard wall, haue perfect  
confidence and sure hope in the approued fidelitie,  
and constant integritie, which I haue euer experi-  
mented and knowne to be rooted and planted in  
the hearts of your louing bodie, towards me and  
mine.

So that I may saie and auouch, that neuer prince  
bearing scepter and crowne ouer realmes and regi-  
ons, hath found or proued more faithfull counsell-  
ors, nor truer subiects, than I haue done of you;  
nor neuer potentate nor gouernour put more assi-  
stance and trust in his bassals and seruants, than I,  
since the adeption of the crowne, firmly haue fixed  
in your circumspect wisdoms and sober discretions.  
And now of very force compelled, lieng in a doubtfull  
hope, betwene liuing and dieng, betwene remem-  
brance and obliuion, I do require you, and instantlie  
moue you, that as I haue found you faithfull, obedi-  
ent, and to all my requests and desires (while I was  
here in health conuersant with you) diligent and in-  
tentive: so after my death, my hope is with a sure  
anchor grounded, & mine inward conceit vndoubt-  
fullie resolved, that the especiall confidence and in-  
ward fidelitie, which so long hath continued betwene  
vs, being together liuing, shall not wholie by my  
death be extinct and vanished like smoke.

For what auasleth friendship in life, when trust  
deceiueth after death: What profiteth amitie in appa-  
rant presence, when confidence is fraudulentlie be-  
guiled in absence: What loue groweth by coniunc-  
tion of matrimonie, if the offspring after do not a-  
gree and accord: What profiteth princes to ad-  
vance and promote their subiects, if after their death,

the bountifullnesse by them shewed, be of the recit-  
uers of the same and their sequele neither regarded  
nor yet remembred: The parents make the marri-  
age for an indissoluble amitie. Princes promote som-  
etime for fauour, sometime for desert, & sometime for  
pleasure: yet (if you will consider) the verie scope, to  
the which all gifts of promotions do finally tend,  
is to haue loue, fauour, faithfull counsell, and diligent  
seruice, of such as be by them promoted and exalted,  
not onelie in their owne lines, being but breife and  
transitorie: but also that they and their progenie,  
calling to remembrance the fauor, estimation, and  
advancement, which they of so liberall and munifi-  
cent a prince had receiued and obtained, should with  
speare and shield, long and wit, hand and pen, conti-  
nuallie studie to defend, counsell and preferre, not  
onelie him during his life, but also to serue, assist, and  
mainteine his sequele and lineall succession, as the  
verie images and carnall portraictures of his stirpe,  
line, and stemme, naturallie descended.

In this case am I, whome you know, not without  
unspeakable trouble & most dangerous war to haue  
obtained the scepter and diadems of this realme and  
empire. During which reigne, I haue had either little  
peace, or small tranquillitie: and now when I thought  
my selfe sure of a quiet life, and wooldie rest, death  
hath blowne his terrible trumpet, calling and sum-  
moning me (as I trust) to perpetuall tranquillitie  
and eternall quietnesse. Therefore now, for the per-  
fect and vnmoueable confidence that I haue euer  
had in you, and for the vnfeined loue that you haue  
euer shewed vnto me, I commend and deliuer into  
your gouernance, both this noble realme, and my  
naturall children, and your kinsmen. My children  
by your diligent oversight and politike prouision to  
be taught, informed, and instructed, not onelie in the  
sciences liberall, vertues morall, and god litera-  
ture: but also to be practised in trickes of martiall  
actiuitie, and diligent exercise of prudent policie. For  
I haue heard clarkes saie, although I am vnlette-  
red, that fortunate is that realme where philosophers  
reigne, or where kings be philosophers and louers of  
wisdomme.

In this tender age, you may with and turne  
them into euerie forme and fashion. If you bring  
them vp in vertue, you shall haue vertuous princes.  
If you set them to learning, your gouernours shall  
be men of knowledge. If you teach them actiuitie,  
you shall haue valiant capteins. If they practise poli-  
cie, you shall haue both politike and prudent rulers.  
On the other side, if by your negligence they fall to  
vice (as youth is to all euill prone and ready) not  
onelie their honor, but also your honestie shall be  
spotted and appalled. If they be sluggards and giuen  
to sloth, the publike wealth of this realme must  
shortlie decaye. If they be vnlearned, they may by  
flatterie some be blinded, and by adulation often de-  
ceiued. If they lacke actiuitie, euerie creature (be he  
neuer so base of birth) shall soile and ouerthrow them  
like dum beasts and beastlie bassards. Therefore I  
desire you, and in Gods name adiuere you, rather to  
studie to make them rich in godlie knowledge, and  
vertuous qualities; than to take paine to glorifie  
them with abundance of wooldie treasure, and  
mundane superfluitie.

And certeinlie, when they come to ripenesse of  
age, and shall peraduenture consider, that by your o-  
mission and negligent education, they haue not such  
graces, nor are indued with such notable qualities  
as they might haue bene, if you had performed the  
trust to you by me committed: they shall not onelie  
deploze and lament their vngarnished estate, and na-  
ked condition; but also it may fortune, that they shall  
conceiue

conceiue inwardlie againſt you ſuch a negligent truth, that the ſequels thereof may rather turne to diſpleaſure than thanks, and ſoner to an ingratitude than to a reward. By kingdome alſo I leane in your gouernance, during the minoritye of my children, charging you (on your honours oths and fidelitie made and ſworne to me) ſo indifferentlie to order and gouerne the ſubiectes of the ſame, both with iuſtice and mercie, that the wills of malefactorz haue not too large a ſcope, nor the hartes of the good people by too much extremitie be neiſther ſorrowfullie damned, nor unkindlie kept vnder. Wh I am ſo ſleepe, that I muſt make an end. And now beſore you all I commend my ſoule to almighty God my ſauour and redeemer, my bodie to the woymes of the earth, my kingdome to the prince my ſonne: and to you my louing friends my heart, my truſt, and my whole confidence. [And euen with that he fell on ſleepe.]

Having thus ſpoken, and ſet things in good ſtate, as might be ſuppoſed, he ſhortlie after departed this life at Weſtmiſter the ninth of Aprill, in the yeare 1483, after he had reigned two and twentie yeares, one moneth, and eight daies. His bodie was with ſunerrall pompe conueied to Windſore, and there buried. He left behind him iſſue by the queene his wiſe two ſonnes, Edward and Richard, with ſiue daughters; Elizabeth that was after queene, married to Henrie the ſeauenth; Cicilie married to the vicount Welles; Biſhet a nunne profeſſed in Sion; Dertford, as ſir Thomas More ſaith; Anne married to the lord Thomas Howard, after earle of Surrie, and duke of Porſſolke; Katharine wedded to the lord William Courtenie ſonne to the earle of Deuonſhire. Beſide theſe he left behind him likewiſe a baſe ſonne named Arthur, that was after vicount Liſle. For the deſcription of his perſon & qualities I will referre you to that which ſir Thomas More hath written of him in that hiſtorie, which he wrote and left vniſhiſhed of his ſonne Edward the ſitt, and of his brother king Richard the third: which we ſhall (God willing) hereafter make you partaker of, as we find the ſame recorded among his other woorkes, word for word; when firſt we haue (according to our begun order) rehearſed ſuch writers of our nation as liued in his daies.

As firſt, Nicholas Berton bozne in Suffolke a Carmelit frier in Cipeſſwich, prouinciall of his order through England; Henrie Parker a Carmelit frier of Doncaſter, preached againſt the pride of prelates, and for ſuch doctrine as he ſet forth, was impriſoned with his fellow Thomas Holden, and a certeine blacke frier alſo for the like cauſe; Parker was forced to recant thre ſpeciall articles, as Bale noteth out of Leland; John Harding an eſquier bozne in the north parts, wrote a chronicle in Engliſh verſe, and among other ſpeciall points therein touched, he gathered all the ſubmiſſions and homages had and made by the Scottiſh kings, euen from the daies of king Athelſtan [thereby it euidentlie may appeare, how the Scottiſh kingdome euen in manner from the firſt eſtabliſhing thereof here in Britaine, hath bene appertaining vnto the kings of England, and holden of them as their cheſe & ſuperior lords.]

William Iue a doctor of diuinitie and prebendarie of ſaint Pauls in London; Thomas Wilton a diuine, and deane of the ſaid church of Pauls in London; Julian Bemmes, a gentlewoman indued with excellent gifts both of bodie and mind, wrote certeine treatiſes of hauking and hunting, delighting greatlie hir ſelfe in thoſe exerciſes and paſtimes;

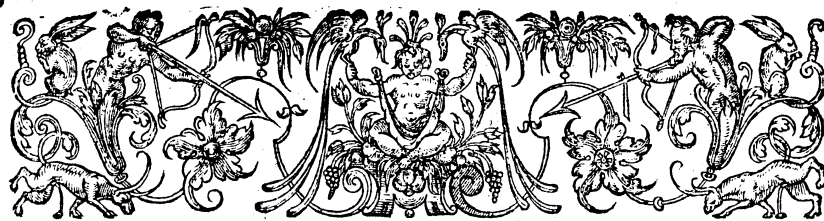
the wrote alſo a booke of the lawes of armes, and knowledge appertaining to heralds; John Stamberie bozne in the weſt parts of this realme, a Carmelit frier, and confeſſor to king Henrie the ſir, he was alſo maſter of Eaton colledge, and after was made biſhop of Bangor, and removed from thence to the ſee of Hereford; John Bluelie an Auguſtine frier, prouinciall of his order; John Forſecue a iudge and chancelor of England, wrote diuerſe treatiſes concerning the law and politike gouernement.

Nicholas a Charterhouſe monke bozne in London, of honeſt parents, and ſtudied in the vniuerſitie of Paris, he wrote diuerſe epigrams; John Phreas bozne alſo in London was fellow of Ballioll colledge in Orenford, and after went into Italie, where he heard Chariſius that excellent philoſopher read in Ferrara, he proued an excellent phyſician and a ſkilfull lawier, there was not in Italie (whiſt he remained there) that paſſed him in eloquence & knowledge of both the tonges, Greeke and Latine; Walter Hunt a Carmelit frier, a great diuine, and for his excellencie in learning ſent from the whole bodie of this realme, vnto the generall counsell holden firſt at Ferrara, and after at Florence by pope Eugenius the fourth, where he diſputed among other with the Greeks, in deſence of the order and ceremonies of the Latine church; Thomas Wighenball a monke of the order called Beimonſtratenſis in the abbie of Durham in Porſſolke.

John Cuthorpe went into Italie, where he heard that eloquent learned man Guarinus read in Ferrara, after his comming home into England he was deane of Welles, and keeper of the priuie ſeale; John Hambols an excellent muſician, and for his notable cunning therein made doctor of muſicke; William Carſon wrote a chronicle called *Fructus temporum*, and an appendix vnto Treuiſa, beſide diuerſe other bookes and tranſlations; John Spiluer-ton a Carmelit frier of Biſſow, and prouinciall of his order through England, Ireland, and Scotland, at length (becauſe he defended ſuch of his order as preached againſt endowments of the church with temporall poſſeſſions) he was brought into trouble, committed to priſon in caſtell S. Angelo in Rome, where he continued thre yeares, and at length was deliuered thorough certeine of the cardinals that were appointed his iudges; David Spogan a Welſh man, treaſurer of the church of Landaffe, wrote of the antiquities of Wales, & a deſcription of the countrie.

John Tiptoft, a noble man bozne, a great traveller, excellentlie learned, and wrote diuerſe treatiſes, and finally loſt his head in the yeare 1471, in time of the ciuill warre betwixt the houſes of York and Lancaſter; John Shirwood biſhop of Durham; Thomas Bent an excellent philoſopher; Robert Huggon bozne in Porſſolke in a towne called Hardingham, wrote certeine vaine prophesies; John Warfield a learned phyſician; William Greene a Carmelit frier; Thomas Porſton bozne in Biſſow an alcuiniſt; John Pearce a monke of Porſſow; Richard Porland bozne in Porſſolke a Franciſcane frier, and a doctor of diuinitie; Thomas Spilling a monke of Weſtmiſter, a doctor of diuinitie and preferred to the biſhopricke of Hereford; Scogan a learned gentleman and ſtudent for a time in Oxford, of a pleaſant wit, and bent to merrie deuſes, in reſpect thereof he was called into the court, where giuing himſelfe to his naturall inclination of mirth & pleaſant paſtime, he plaid manie ſporting parts, although not in ſuch vnciuill maner as hath bene of him reported.

*Thus farre the prosperous reigne of Edward the fourth, ſonne and heire to Richard duke of Yorke.*



# The historie of king Edward the fift, and king Richard the third vnfinished, vvritten

by maister Thomas More then one of the vnder shiriffes

of London, about the yeare of our Lord 1513, accor-

ding to a copie of his owne hand, printed  
among his other workes.

1483

**K**ing Edward the fourth  
of that name, after that he  
had liued fiftie & thre yerres,  
seven moneths, and six daies,  
and thereof reigned two and  
twentie yeares, one moneth,  
& eight daies, died at West-  
minster the ninth daie of A-  
prill, the yeare of our redemption, a thousand foure  
hundred fourescore and thre; leaving much faire is-  
sue, that is to wit, Edward the prince, a thirtene  
yeares of age; Richard duke of Yorke two yeares  
yonger; Elizabeth, whose fortune and grace was af-  
ter to be queene, wiife vnto king Henrie the seventh,  
and mother vnto the eight; Cecillie, not so fortunate  
as faire; Margaret, which representing the vertue of  
hir, whose name she bare, professed and obserued a re-  
ligious life in Werthford, an house of close nunnies;  
Anne, that was after honozable married vnto Tho-  
mas, then lord Howard, and after earle of Surrie;  
and Katharine, which long time tossed in either for-  
tune, sometime in wealth, oft in aduersitie, at the  
last, if this be the last (for yet she liueth) is by the be-  
nignitie of hir nephue king Henrie the eight, in  
verie prosperous estate, and woorthie hir birth and  
vertue.

His time at  
last came as  
the hope  
was promised.

The love of  
the people.

This noble prince deceased at his palace of West-  
minster, and with great funerall honoz and heauines  
of his people from thence conueied, was interred at  
Windsor. A king of such gouernance & behauior, in  
time of peace (for in warre each part must needs be o-  
thers enimie) that there was neuer anie prince of  
this land, attaining the crowne by battell, so hearti-  
lie beloved with the substance of the people: no; hee  
himselfe so speciallie in anie part of his life, as at the  
time of his death. Which fauour and affection, yet af-  
ter his decesse, by the crueltie, mischief, and trou-  
ble of the tempestuous world that followed, highlie  
toward him more increased. At such time as he died,  
the displeasure of those that bare him grudge for king  
Henries sake the first, whome he deposed, was well  
allwaged, & in effect quenched, in that manie of them  
were dead in more than twentie yerres of his reigne,  
a great part of a long life: and manie of them in  
the meane season growne into his fauour, of which  
he was neuer strange.

Reputation  
of Edward  
the fourth.

He was a goodlie personage, and princelie to be-  
hold, of heart couragious, politike in counsell, in ad-  
uersitie nothing abashed, in prosperitie rather ioyfull  
than proud, in peace iust and mercifull, in warre  
sharp and fierce, in the field bold and hardie, and na-  
theles no further (than wisdom would) aduenturous,

whose warres who so well considered, he shall no lesse  
commend his wisdom where he voided, than his  
manhood where he vanquished. He was of visage  
louelie, of bodie nightie, strong, and cleane made:  
howbeit, in his latter daies with ouer liberall diet  
somewhat corpulent and bozeli, and nathelesse not  
vncamelie. He was of youth greatlie giuen to flesh-  
lie wantonnesse: from which health of bodie, in great  
prosperitie and fortune, without a speciall grace hard-  
lie restraineth, the poet implieng no lesse and saieng:

*Mens erit apta capi tunc cum lasissima rerum,  
Et seges in pingui luxuriabit humo.*

This fault not greatlie greued the people: for  
neither could anie one mans pleasure stretch and ex-  
tend to the displeasure of verie manie, and was with-  
out violence, and ouer that in his latter daies lessted,  
and well left. In which time of his latter daies this  
realme was in quiet and prosperous estate, no feare  
of outward enimies, no warre in hand, no; none to-  
ward, but such as no man looked for. The people to-  
ward the prince, not in a constrained feare, but in a  
willing and louing obedience: among themselves  
the commons in good peace. The lords, whome hee  
knew at variance, himselfe in his death had appea-  
sed: he had left all gathering of monie (which is the  
onelie thing that withdwath the hearts of English  
men from the prince) no; anie thing intended he to  
take in hand, by which he should be diuened thereto: for  
his tribute out of France he had before obteneid;  
and the yeare foregoing his death, he had obteneid  
Berwick.

And albeit that all the time of his reigne he was  
with his people, so benigne, courteous, and so fami-  
liar, that no part of his vertues was more esteemed:  
yet the condition in the end of his daies (in which ma-  
nie princes by a long continued souereigntie decline  
into a proud port from debonaire behauior of their be-  
ginning) maruellouslie in him grew and increased:  
so farre forth, that in summer (the last that euer hee  
saw) his highnes being at Windsor in hunting, sent  
for the mayo & aldermen of London to him for none  
other errand, but to haue them hunt & be merrie with  
him, where he made them not so statelie, but so  
frendlie and familiar cheere, and sent venison from  
thence so freelie into the citie, that no one thing in  
manie daies before gat him either more hearts, or  
more heartie fauour amongst the common people;  
which oftentimes more esteeme and take for greater  
kindnesse a little courtesie, than a great benefite.

See before  
pag. 705.

So deceased (as I haue said) this noble king, in  
that time in which his life was most desired. Whose  
loue of his people, and their entier affection toward  
him,



him, had bene to his noble chyliden (having in themselves also as manie gifts of nature, as manie princelie vertues, as much goodlie towardnesse as their age could receiue) a marvellous fortresse and sure armoz, if diuision and dissention of their frends had not vnarmed them, and left them destitute, and the erectable desire of souereigntie prouoked him to their destruction: which if either kind of kindnesse had holden place, must needs haue bene their chiefe defense. For Richard the duke of Gloucester, by nature their vncle, by office their protector, to their father beholden, to themselves by oth and allegiance bounden, all the bands broken that bind man and man together, without anie respect of God or the world, vnaturallie contriued to betraie them, not onelie their dignitie, but also their liues.

But forsomuch as this dukes demeanour ministereth in effect all the whole matter thereof this booke shall intreat, it is therefore convenient somewhat to shew you yett further go, what manner of man this was, that could find in his hart such mischief to conceiue. Richard duke of Yorke, a noble man and a mightie, began not by warre, but by law to chalenge the crowne, putting his claime into the parlement, where his cause was either for right or fauor: so farre forth aduanced, that king Henrie his blood (albeit he had a goodlie prince) vtterlie reieted, the crowne was by authoritie of parlement intailed vnto the duke of Yorke and his issue male in remainder, immediately after the death of king Henrie. But the duke not induring so long to tarrie, but intending vnder pretext of dissention and debate arising in the realme, to preuent his time, and to take vpon him the rule in king Henrie his life, was with manie nobles of the realme at Wakefield slaine, leauing thre sonnes, Edward, George, and Richard.

All thre as they were great states of birth, so were they great and statelie of stomack, greedie and ambitious of authoritie, and impatient of partners. Edward reneging his fathers death, depriued king Henrie, and attained the crowne. George duke of Clarence was a goodlie noble prince, and at all times fortunate, if either his owne ambition had not set him against his brother, or the enuie of his enemies his brother against him. For were it by the queene and lordes of his blood, which highlie maligned the kings kinred (as women commonlie not of malice, but of nature hate them whome their husbands loue) or were it a proud appetite of the duke himselfe, intending to be king; at the least worse heinous treason was there laid to his charge: and finally, were hee faultie, were he faultlesse, attainted was he by parlement, and iudged to the death, and thereupon hastily doctored in a butt of malinsie. Whose death king Edward (albeit he commanded it) when he wist it was done, pittoully bewailed, and sorrowfullie repented.

Richard the thirde sonne, of whome we now intreat, was in wit and courage equall with either of them, in bodie and prowesse farre vnder them both, litle of stature, ill featured of limmes, crooke backed, his left shoulder much higher than his right, hard favoured of visage, and such as is in states called warlike, in other men otherwise; he was malicious, wrathfull, enuious, and from afore his birth euer stoward. It is for truth reported, that the duchesse his mother had so much adw in his trauell, that he could not be deliuered of him vnent; and that he came into the world with the feet forward, as men be bozne outward, and (as the same runneth also) not vnnoted, whether men of hatred report about the truth, or else that nature changed his coule in his beginning, which in the course of his life manie things vnnaturallie committed. So that the full confluence of these

qualities, with the defects of fauour and amiable proportion, gaue proue to this rule of physiognomie:

*Distortum vultum sequitur distorto morum.*

None euill capteine was he in the warre, as to which his disposition was moze meetly than for peace. Sundrie victories had he, & sometimes ouertowones; but neuer on default as for his owne person, either of hardnesse or politike order. Fre was he called of dispense, and somewhat about his power liberrall: with large gifts he gat him vnstedfast friendship, for which he was faine to pill and spoile in other places, and got him stedfast hatred. He was close and secret, a deepe dissembler, lowlie of countenance, arrogant of heart, outwardlie compantable where he inwardlie hated, not letting to kille whome he thought to kill: despitious and cruell, not for euill will alway, but offer for ambition, and either for the lucretie or increase of his estate.

Friend and so was much what indifferent, where his aduantage grew, he spared no mans death whose life withstode his purpose. He lue with his owne hands king Henrie the first, being prisoner in the Tower, as men constantlie said, and that without commandement or knowledge of the king, which would vndoubtedlie (if he had intended that thing) haue appointed that butcherlie office to some other, than his owne bozne brother. Some wise men also wene, that his dist couertlie conueied, lacked not in helping forth his brother of Clarence to his death: which he resisted openlie, howbeit somewhat (as men deemed) moze faintlie than he that were hartlie minded to his wealth.

And they that thus deeme, thinke that he long time in kings Edwards life forethought to be king; in case that the king his brother (whose life he looked that euill diet should shorten) should happen to deceasse (as in deed he did) while his chyliden were yong. And they deeme, that for this intent he was glad of his brothers death the duke of Clarence, whose life most needs haue hindered him so intending, whether the same duke of Clarence had kept him true to his nephue the yong king, or enterprised to be king him selfe. But of all this point is there no certentie, and who so diuineth vpon conjectures, maie as well shot too farre as too short.

Howbeit this haue I by crediblie information learned, that the selfe night, in which king Edward died, one Gillesbroke, long yer morning, came in great hast to the house of one Pottier dwelling in Redcrofle-strete without Creplegate: and when he was with hastie rapping quickelie letten in, he shewed vnto Pottier, that king Edward was departed. By my truth man quoth Pottier, then will my maister the duke of Gloucester be king. What cause he had so to thinke, hard it is to saie; whether he being toward him, anie thing knew that he such thing purposed, or otherwise had anie incheling thereof: for he was not likelie to speake it of nought.

But now to retorne to the course of this historie. Where it that the duke of Gloucester had of old foreminded this conclusion, or was now at erst thereunto moued, and put in hope by the occasion of the tender age of the yong princes, his nephues (as oportunitie & likelihood of speed putteth a man in courage of that he neuer intended) certeine it is that he contriued their destruction, with the usurpation of the regall dignitie vpon himselfe. And forsomuch as he well wist and holpe to mainteine a long continued grudge and heart-burning betwene the queens kinred and the kings blood, either partie enuiling others authoritie, he now thought that their diuision should be (as it was in deed) a furtherlie beginning to the pursuit of his intent.

May he was resolved, that the same was a sure ground

Richard duke of Yorke.

Edward.

George duke of Clarence.

\* had not set

The description of Richard the third.

The death of king Henry the first.

Hadings lord chamberlaine maligned of the queene & her kin.

ground for the foundation of all his building, if he might first (vnder the pretext of reuenging of old displeasure) abate the anger and ignorance of the one partie to the destruction of the other; and then win to his purpose as manie as he could, and those that could not be wonne, might be lost per they looked therefore. For of one thing was he certeine, that if his intent were perceiued, he should soon haue made peace betwene both the parties with his owne bloud. King Edward in his life, albeit that this dissention betwene his friends somewhat irked him: yet in his good health he somewhat the lesse regarded it: because he thought whatsoeuer businesse should fall betwene them, himselfe should alwaie be able to rule both the parties.

But in his last sicknesse, when he perceiued his naturall strength so sore infiebled, that he despaired all reconceit, then he, considering the youth of his children, albeit he nothing lesse mistrusted than that that hapned; yet well foreseeing that manie harmes might grow by their debate, while the youth of his children should lacke discretion of themselves, & good counsell of their friends, of which either partie should counsell for their owne commoditie, & rather by pleasant aduise to win themselves fauor, than by profitable aduertisement to doo the children good, he called some of them before him that were at variance, and in especiall the lord marquesse Dorset the quenees sonne by his first husband.

So did he also William the lord Hastings a noble man, then lord chamberleine, against whome the quene specially grudged, for the great fauour the king bare him: and also for that she thought him creature familiar with the king in wanton companie. His kinned also bare him sore, as well for that the king had made him capteine of Calis, which office the lord Rivers, brother to the quene, claimed of the kings former promise, as for diuerse other great gifts which he receiued, that they looked for. When these lords, with diuerse other of both the parties, were come in presence, the king sitting by himselfe, and underfet with pillowes, as it is reported, on this wise said vnto them.

The oration of the king on  
his death-bed.



**M**y lords, my dære kinsmen and allies, in what plight I lie you see, and I feele. By which the lesse while I looke to liue with you, the more depelie am I moued to care in what case I leaue you, for such as I leaue you, such be my children like to find you. Which if they should (as God forbid) find you at variance, might hap to fall themselves at warre, yet their discretion would serue to set you at peace. Ye see their youth, of which I reckon the onelie suertie to rest in your concord. For it sufficeth not that all you loue them, if ech of you hate other: if they were men, your faithfulnessse happilie would suffice. But childhood must be maintained by mens authority, and slipper youth vnderpropped with elder counsell, which neither they can haue but ye giue it, nor ye giue it if ye graue not.

For where ech labourereth to breake that the other maketh, and for hatred of ech of others person impugneth ech others counsell, there must it needs be long yet a-

nie good conclusion go forward. And also while either partie labourereth to be chiefe, flatterie shall haue more place than plaine and faithfull aduise: of which must needs insue the euill bringing by of the prince, whose mind in tender youth infect, shall redilie fall to mischæse and riot, and draw downe with his noble relme to ruine. But if grace turne him to wisedome: which if God send, then they that by euill meanes before pleased him best, shall after fall furthest out of fauour: so that euer at length euill drifts shall draw to nought, and good plaine waies prosper.

Great variance hath there long bene betwene you, not alwaie for great causes. Sometimes a thing right well intended, our misconstruction turneth vnto worse: or a small displeasure done vs, either our owne affection or euill tonges aggrauereth. But this wot I well, ye neuer had so great cause of hatred, as ye haue of loue. That we be all men, that we be christian men, this shall I leaue for preachers to tell you; and yet I wot nere whether anie preachers words ought more to moue you, than his that is by & by going to the place that they all preach of.

But this shall I desire you to remember, that the one part of you is of my bloud, the other of mine allies; and ech of you with other either of kinned or affinitie; which spirituall kinned of affinitie, if the sacraments of Christs church beate that weight with vs that would God they did, should no lesse moue vs to charitie, than the respect of fleshlie consanguinitie. Our Lord forbid, that you loue together the worse, for the selfe cause that you ought to loue the better. And yet that happeneth, and no where find we so deadlie debate, as among them, which by nature and law most ought to agree together. Such a pestilent serpent is ambition and desire of baine glorie and soveraigntie, which among states where she once entereth, creepeth forth so farre, till with diuision and variance she turneth all to mischæse: first longing to be next vnto the best, afterwarde equall with the best, & at last chæse and aboue the best.

Of which immoderat appetite of worship, and thereby of debate and dissention, what losse, what sorow, what trouble hath within these few yeares growne in this realme, I prae God as well forget, as we well remember. Which things if I could as well haue foreseene, as I haue with my more paine than pleasure proued, by Gods blessed ladie (that was euer his oth) I would neuer haue wonne the courtlesie of mens knees, with the losse of so manie heads. But sithens things passed can not be gaine called, much ought we the more beware, by what occasion we haue taken so great hurt afoze, that we eftsones fall not in that occasion againe.

Now be thole greifs passed, and all is (God be thanked) quiet, and likelie right well to prosper in wealthfull peace vnder

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The nature  
of ambition.

your cosins my childzen, if God send them life and you loue. Of which two things, the lesse losse were they, by whom though God did his pleasure, yet should the realme alwaie find kings, and peraduenture as good kings.

But if you among your selues in a childes reigne fall at debate, manie a good man shall perishe, and happilie he too, and ye too, yer this land find peace againe. Wherefore in these last wordes that euer I looke to speake with you, I exhort you and require you all, for the loue that you haue euer borne to me: for the loue that I haue euer borne vnto you: for the loue that our Lord beareth to vs all; from this time forward (all griefs forgotten) ech of you loue other. Which I verelie trust you will, if ye anie thing earthlie regard, either God or your king, affinitie or kindred, this realme, your owne countrie, or your owne suertie. And therewithall the king no longer induring to sit by, laid him downe on his right side, his face towards them: and none was there present that could refraine from weeping.

A counterfet  
and pretended  
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ment.

But the lords recomforting him with as good words as they could, and answering for the time as they thought to stand with his pleasure, there in his presence, as by their wordes appeared, ech forgave other, and ioined their hands together, when (as it after appeared by their deeds) their hearts were farre asunder. As some as the king was departed, the noble prince his sonne drew toward London, which at the time of his deceasse kept his household at Ludlow in Wales, which countrie being farre off from the law and recourse to iustice, was begun to be farre out of good rule, and warden wild robbers and reauers, walking at libertie uncorrected. And for this occasion the prince was in the life of his father sent thither, to the end that the authoritie of his presence should reframe euill disposed persons from the boldnesse of their former outrages.

Lord Rivers.

To the gouernance and ordering of this yong prince at his sending thither, was there appointed sir Anthoine Woodville lord Rivers, and brother vnto the queene, a right honourable man, as valiant of hand as polittike in counsell. Adioined were there vnto him other of the same partie; and in effect euerie one as he was next of kin vnto the queene, so was he planted next about the prince. That day by the queene not vniuerselie denised, whereby his blood might of youth be rooted into the princes fauour, the duke of Gloucester turned vnto their destruction; and vpon that ground set the foundation of all his unhappie building. For thome soeuer he percelued either at variance with them, or bearing himselfe their fauour, he brake vnto them some by mouth, & some by writing.

The duke of  
Gloucesters  
solicitations.

Day, he sent secret messengers saying, that it neither was reason, nor in anie wise to be suffered, that the yong king their maister and kinsman, should be in the hands and custodie of his mothers kindred, sequestred in maner from their companie and attendance, of which euerie one ought him as faithfull seruice as they, and manie of them farre more honourable part of kin than his mothers side. Whose blood (quoth he) sauing the kings pleasure, was full vniuerselie to be matched with his: which now to be as who say removed from the king, and the lesse noble to be left about him, is (quoth he) neither honourable to

his maiestie nor to vs, and also to his grace no suertie, to haue the mightiest of his friends from him; and vnto vs no little ieopardie, to suffer our well proued euill willers to grow in ouer-great authoritie with the prince in youth; namely, which is light of beleefe and some perswaded.

Ye remember (I trow) king Edward himselfe, albeit he was a man of age & discretion, yet was he in manie things ruled by the bend, more than stood either with his honoz, or our profit, or with the commoditie of any man else, except onlie the immoderate aduancement of themselves. Which, whether they feared thirsted after their owne weale, or our too, it were hard (I weene) to gesse. And if some folkes friendship had not holden better place with the king, than anie respect of kindred, they might peraduenture easilie haue betrayed and brought to confusion some of vs per this. Why not as easilie as they haue done some other alreadie, as nere of his roiall blood as we? But our Lord hath wrought his will, and (thanks be to his grace) that perill is past. Whobeyt as great is growling, if we suffer this yong king in our enemies hand, which without his witting might abuse the name of his commandement, to anie of our vnderling, which thing God [defend] and good prouision forbid.

Of which good prouision none of vs hath anie thing the lesse need, for the late made attonement, in which the kings pleasure had more place than the parties willes. For none of vs (I beleue) is so vniuersel, ouercome to trust a new freend made of an old fo; or to thinke that an hourlie kindnes, suddenlie contracted in one houre, continued yet scant a fortnight, should be deeper settled in their stomachs, than a long accustomed malice manie yeares rooted. With these wordes and writings, and such other, the duke of Gloucester some set on fire them that were of themselves easie to kindle, & in specialtie twaine, Edward duke of Buckingham, and William lord Hastings then chamberleine, both men of honour & of great power; the one by long succession from his ancestrie, the other by his office and the kings fauour. These two, I confesse not bearing ech to other so much loue, as hatred both vnto the queenes part: in this point accorded together with the duke of Gloucester, that they would vniuerselie remoue from the kings companie all his mothers friends, vnder the name of their enemies.

Vpon this concluded the duke of Gloucester, vnderstanding that the lords, which at that time were about the king, intended to bring him by to his coronation accompanied with such power of their friends, that it should be hard for him to bring his purpose to passe, without the gathering and great assemble of people and in maner of open warre, whereof the end (he wist) was doubtfull, and in which the king being on their side, his part should haue the face and name of a rebellion: he secretly therfore by diuers means caused the queene to be perswaded and brought in the mind, that it neither were need, and also should be ieopardous, the king to come by strong.

For whereas now euerie lord loved other, and none other thing studied vpon, but about the coronation and honoz of the king: if the lords of his kindred should assemble in the kings name much people, they should giue the lords, betwixt whom and them had bene sometime debate, to feare and suspect, least they should gather this people, not for the kings safeguard, whome no man impugned, but for their destruction, hauing more regard to their old variance, than their new attonement. For which cause they should assemble on the other partie much people againe for their defense, whose power the wist well far stretched: and thus should all the realme fall on a roze. And of all the hurt that thereof should insue, which was likelie not

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not to be little, and the most harme there like to fall where the least would, all the world would put hir and hir kinsmen in the tnight, and saie that they had unwillie and vntrulie also broken the amitie & peace, that the king hir husband so prudentlie made, betwene his kin and hers in his death bed, and which the other partie faithfullie obserued.

The queene, being in this wise perswaded, such word sent vnto hir sonne, and vnto hir brother being about the king, and ouer that the duke of Gloucester himselfe: and other lords the chiefe of his bend, wrote vnto the king so reuerentlie, and to the queenes friends here so louinglie, that they nothing earthlie mistrusting, brought the king vp in great hall, not in good speed, with a sober companie. Now was the king in his waie to London gone from Portsmouth, when these dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham came thither, where remained behind the lord Rivers the kings vnkle, intending on the morrow to follow the king, and to be with him at Stonie Stratford [certeine] miles thence earlie per he departed. So was there made that night much frendlie chere betwene these dukes & the lord Rivers a great while. But incontinent, after that they were openlie with great courtesie departed, and the lord Rivers lodged, the dukes secretlie with a few of their most priue friends set them downe in counsell, wherein they spent a great part of the night.

And at their rising in the dawning of the daie, they sent about priuie to their seruants in their houses lodgings about, giuing them commandement to make themselves thortlie readie, for their lords were to horse backward. Upon which messages, manie of their folke were attendant, when manie of the lord Rivers seruants were vnreadie. Now had these dukes taken also into their custodie the keyes of the citie, that none should passe forth without their licence. And ouer this, in the high waie toward Stonie Stratford, where the king lay, they had bespowed certeine of their folke, that should send backe againe, and compell to returne, anie man that were gotten out of Portsmouth, toward Stonie Stratford, till they should giue other licence. For as much as the dukes themselves intended for the shew of their diligence, to be the first that should that daie attend vpon the kings highnesse out of that towne, thus bare they folke in hand.

But when the lord Rivers vnderstood the gates closed, and the waies on euerie side beset, neither his seruants nor himselfe suffered to gone out, perceiving well so great a thing without his knowledge not begun for naught, comparing this manner present with this last nights chere, in so few houres so great a change, maruellouslie misliked. Notwithstanding he could not get awaie, and kepe himselfe close, he would not, least he should seeme to hide himselfe for some secret feare of his owne fault, whereof he saw no such cause in himselfe; he determined vpon the suertie of his owne conscience, to go boldlie to them, and inquire what this matter might meane. Whom as soon as they saw, they began to quarrell with him and saie, that he intended to set distance betwene the king and them, and to bring them to confusion, but it should not lie in his power.

And when he began (as he was a verie well spoken man) in goodlie wise to excuse himselfe, they tarried not the end of his answer, but thortlie took him, and put him in ward, and that done, forthwith went to horse backe, and took the waie to Stonie Stratford, where they found the king with his companie, readie to leape on horse backe, and depart forward to leaue that lodging for them, because it was too streight for both companies. And as soon as they came in his presence, they light adoune with all their

companie about them. To whome the duke of Buckingham said: So afoze gentlemen, & yemen keepe your romes. And thus in a goodlie arate, they came to the king, and on their knees in verie humble wise saluted his grace, which receiued them in verie iolous and amiable manner, nothing earthlie knowing nor mistrusting as yet.

But euen by and by in his presence they piked a quarrell to the lord Richard Greie, the kings other brother by his mother, saleng, that he with the lord marquesse his brother, & the lord Rivers his vnkle, had compassed to rule the king and the realme, and to set variance among the states, and to subdue and destroie the noble blood of the Realme. Toward the accomplishing wherof they said that the lord marquesse had entered into the Tower of London, & thence taken out the kings treasure, and sent men to the sea. All which things these dukes wist well were done for good purposes and necessarie, by the whole counsell at London, sauing that somewhat they must saie.

Vnto which words the king answered: What my brother marquesse hath done I cannot saie, but in god faith I dare well answer for mine vnkle Rivers and my brother here, that they be innocent of anie such matter. Psea my liege (quoth the duke of Buckingham) they haue kept their dealing in these matters farre fro the knowledge of your good grace. And forthwith they arrested the lord Richard and sir Thomas Vaughan knight, in the kings presence; and brought the king and all backe vnto Portsmouth, where they took againe further counsell. And there they sent awaie from the king, whom it pleased them, and set new seruants about him, such as liked better them than him. At which dealing he wept, and was nothing content; but it voked not.

And at dinner, the duke of Gloucester sent a dish from his owne table vnto the lord Rivers, praieng him to be of good chere: all should be well inough. And he thanked the duke, and praied the messenger to beare it to his nephue the lord Richard, with the same message for his comfort, who he thought had more need of comfort, as one to whome such aduersitie was strange. But himselfe had bene all his daies in the therewith, & therefore could beare it the better. But for all this comfortable courtesie of the duke of Gloucester, he sent the lord Rivers, and the lord Richard, with sir Thomas Vaughan into the north countrie, into diuerse places to prison, and afterward all to Pomfret, where they were in conclusion beheaded.

In this wise the duke of Gloucester took vpon himselfe the order and gouernance of the yong king, whome with much honor and humble reuerence he conueied upward toward the citie. But anon, the tidings of this matter came hastilie to the queene a little before the midnight following, and that in the sorest wise, that the king hir son was taken, his brother, hir sonne, & hir other friends arrested, and sent no man wist whither, to be done with God wot what. With which tidings the queene in great sight & heavinesse, bewailing hir chilles reigne, hir friends mischance, and hir owne infortune, damming the time that euer she dissuaded the gathering of power about the king, gat hir selfe in all the hast possible with hir yonger sonne and hir daughters out of the palace of Westminster, in which she then laie, into the sanctuarie, lodging hir selfe and hir companie there in the abbats place.

Now came there one in likewise not long after midnight from the lord chamberleine, to doctor Rotherham the archbishop of Yorke, then chancellor of England, to his place not farre from Westminster. And for that he shewed his seruants that he had tidings of so great importance, that his maister gaue

A a a.ij. him

The lord Greie is quarrelled against.

The death of the lord Rivers & other.

The queene taketh sanctuary.

The parties of the duke of Buckingham & the lord Rivers.

The lord Rivers is put in ward.

him in charge, not to forbear his rest, they letted not to wake him, nor he to admit this messenger in, to his bed side. Of whom he heard that these dukes were gone backe with the kings grace from Stratford vnto Northampton. Notwithstanding sir (quoth he) my lord sendeth your lordship word, that there is no feare: for he assureth you that all shall be well. I assure him (quoth the archbishop) be it as well as it will, it will neuer be so well as we haue seene it.

And there vpon, by and by after the messenger departed, he caused in all the hall all his seruants to be called by, and so with his owne household about him, and euerie man weaponed, he toke the great seale with him, and came yet before daie vnto the queene. About whom he found much heauinesse, rumble, haile and businesse, cariage and conueiance of hir stufte in to sanctuarie, chests, coffers, packs, parcels, trussed all on mens backs, no man vnoccupied, some lading, some going, some discharging, some comming for more, some breaking downe the walles to bring in the next waie, and some yet dretu to them that holpe to carrie a wrong waie: such made their lucre of others losse, palling a botie aboue beantie, to whome the poets verse may be well applied, to wit:

*Ferre non Venere sed prædam sæcula laudant.*

*Tibul. lib. 2.  
eleg. 3.*

*The desolate  
state of the  
queene.*

The queene hir selfe late alone alote on the rushes all desolate and dismaide, whome the archbishop comforted in best manner he could, shewing hir that he trusted the matter was nothing so soze as she toke it for, and that he was put in good hope and out of feare by the message sent him from the lord chamberleine. Ah wo worth him (quoth she) for he is one of them that laboureth to destroye me and my bloud. Spadame (quoth he) be ye of god there, for I assure you, if they crowne anie other king than your sonne, whome they now haue with them, we shall on the morowe crowne his brother, whome you haue here with you. And here is the great seale, which in likewise as that noble prince your husband deliuered it vnto me, so here I deliuer it vnto you, to the vse and behoufe of your sonne: and therewith he betoke hir the great seale, and departed home againe, yet in the dawning of the daie.

By which time, he might in his chamber window see all the Thames full of boates of the duke of Glocesters seruants, watching that no man should go to sanctuarie, nor none could passe vnsearched. When was there great commotion and murmur, as well in other places about, as speciallie in the citie, the people diuerlie diuining vpon this dealing. And some lords, knights, and gentlemen, either for fauour of the queene, or for feare of themselves, assembled in sundrie companies, and went stockmele in harnesse: and many also, for that they reckoned this demeanour attempted, not so speciallie against the other lords, as against the king himselfe in the disturbance of his coronation. But then by and by the lords assembled together at [a certeine place.]

Toward which meeting, the archbishop of Yorke fearing that it would be ascribed (as it was indeed) to his ouer much lightnesse, that he so suddenlie had yielded by the great seale to the queene, to whome the custodie thereof nothing pertained, without especiall commandement of the king, secretlie sent for the seale againe, and brought it with him after the customeable manner. And at this meeting the lord Hastings (whose trust toward the king no man doubted, nor needed to doubt) perswaded the lords to beleue, that the duke of Glocester was true and faithfull to his prince, and that the lord Riuer, and lord Richard with the other knights, were for matters attempted by them against the duke of Glocester and Buckingham, put vnder arrest for their surtie, not for the kings securitie: and that they were also in safeguard,

and there no longer should remaine, than till the matter were, not by the dukes onelie, but also by all the other lords of the kings counsell indifferently examined, & by others discretions ordered, and either iudged or appealed.

But one thing he aduised them betwix, that they iudged not the matter too farre forth, yet they knew the truth, nor turning their private grudges into the common hurt, irritating and prouoking men vnto anger, and disturbing the kings coronation, towards which the dukes were comming by, that they might peraduenture bring the matter so farre out of ioint, that it should neuer be brought in frame againe. Which strife if it should hap as it were likely to come to a field, though both parties were in all other things equal, yet should the authoritie be on that side where the king is himselfe. With these perswasions of the lord Hastings, whereof part himselfe beleued, of part he wist the contrarie, these commotions were somewhat appeased. But speciallie by that, that the dukes of Glocester and Buckingham were so nere and came so shortly on with the king, in none other manner, with none other voice or semblance than to his coronation, causing the same to be blown about, that these lords and knights which were taken, had contriued the destruction of the dukes of Glocester and Buckingham, and of other the noble blood of the realme, to the end that themselves would alone demean and gouerne the king at their pleasure.

And for the colourable pious thereof, such of the dukes seruants as rode with the carts of their stufte that were taken (among which stufte, no maruell though some were harnesse, which at the breaking by of that household must needs either be brought alwaie or cast alwaie) they shewed vnto the people all the waies as they went; & here be the barrels of harnesse that these traitors had priuilie conueid in their carriage to destroye the noble lords withall. This deuillish abett that it made the matter to wise men more bulkeles, well perceiving that the intendours of such a purpose would rather haue had their harnesse on their backs, than to haue bound them vp in barrels, yet much part of the common people were therewith verie well satisfied, and said it were almeste to hang them.

When the king approached nere to the citie, Edmund Shau goldsmith, then maior, with William White, and John Spathe the shiriffes, and all the other aldermen in scarlet, with five hundred boile of the citizens, in violet, receiued him reuerentlie at Harnesse; and riding from thence accompanied him in to the citie, which he entered the fourth daie of Maie, the first and last yeare of his reigne. But the duke of Glocester bare him in open sight so reuerentlie to the prince, with all semblance of lowlinesse, that from the great obloquie in which he was so late before, he was suddenlie fallen in so great trust, that at the counsell next assembled he was made the onelie man, chosen and thought most meet to be protector of the king and his realme, so that (were it desirous or were it folle) the lambe was betaken to the wolfe to keepe.

At which counsell also, the archbishop of Yorke chancelor of England, which had deliuered by the great seale to the queene, was thereof greatlie reproboured, and the seale taken from him, and deliuered to doctor Russell bishop of Lincolne, a wise man and a good, and of much experience, and one of the best learned men vndoubtedlie that England had in his time. Diuerse lords and knights were appointed vnto diuerse tomes. The lord chamberleine and some other kept still their offices that they had before. Now all were it so that the protector so soze thirsted for the finishing of that he had begun, that thought euerie daie a yeare till it were achieved; yet durst he no further

*The protector  
in operation.*

*The lord earl  
small thought  
the first man  
to deale with  
the queene for  
the current  
thing of his  
house.*

*The kings  
comming in  
London.*

*The bishop  
of Glocester  
made prisoner.*

*The bishop  
of Lincolne  
made chancelor.*

*The archbishop  
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her attempt, as long as he had but halfe his pzeie in his hand.  
And why? Well did he wiet, that if he deposed the one brother, all the realme would fall to the other, if he either remained in sanctuarie, or should happilie be thortlie conueied to his fathers libertie. Wherefore incontinent at the next meeting of the lords at the counsell, he proposed to them, that it was a heinous deed of the queene, & proceeding of great malice toward the kings counsellors, that she should keepe in sanctuarie the kings brother from him, whose special pleasure & comfort were to haue his brother with him. And that by hir done to none other intent, but to bring all the lords in obloquie and murmur of the people.  
As though they were not to be trusted with the kings brother, that by the assent of the nobles of the land, were appointed as the kings nearest friends, to the tuition of his owne roiall person. The prosperitie thereof standeth (quoth he) not all in keeping from eninies, or ill viand, but partlie also in recreation, and moderate pleasure: which he cannot (in this tender youth) take in the companie of ancient persons, but in the familiar conuersation of those that be neither farre vnder, nor farre aboue his age: and neuertheless of estate conuenient to accompanie his noble maiestie. Wherefore, with whom rather, than with his owne brother?  
And if anie man thinke this consideration light (which I thinke none thinks that loues the king) let him consider, that sometime without small things, greater cannot stand. And verelie, if reboundeth greatlie to the dishonour both of the kings highnesse, and of all vs that beue about his grace, to haue it run in euerie mans mouth, not in this realme onlie, but also in other lands (as euill words walke far) that the kings brother should be faine to keepe sanctuarie. For euerie man will wene, that no man will so do for naught. And such euill opinion once fastned in mens harts, hard it is to wrest out, and may grow to more graue than anie man can here biniue.  
Wherefore me thinketh it were not wofull to send unto the queene, for the redress of this matter, some honorable trustie man, such as both tempereth the kings weale and the honour of his counsell, and is also in fauour and credence with hir. For all which considerations, none seemeth more meetlie, than our reuerend father here present, my lord cardinal, who may in this matter do most good of anie man, if it please him to take the paine; which I doubt not of his goodnesse he will not refuse for the kings sake and ours, and welth of the young duke himselfe, the kings most honorable brother, and (after my soueraigne lord himselfe) my most deere neyphur, considered that thereby shall be ceased the slanderous rumour and obloquie now going, and the harts anoided that thereof might influe, and much rest and quiet grow to all the realme.  
And if the be percase so obstinate, and so precise, lie set upon hir owne will, that neither his wiife and faithful aduertisement can not moue hir, nor anie mans reason content hir; then shall we by mine aduise, by the kings authoritie fetch him out of that prison, and bring him to his noble presence, in whose continual companie he shall be so well cherished and so honorable intreated, that all the world shall to our honour and hir reproch perceiue, that it was onelie malice, frowardnesse, or follie, that caused hir to keepe him there. This is my purpose and mind in this matter for this time, except anie of your lordships anie thing perceiue to the contrarie; for neuer shall I (by Gods grace) so looe my selfe to mine owne will, but that I shall be readie to change it upon your better aduices.

When the protector had said, all the counsell affirmed, that the motion was good and reasonable; and to the king and the duke his brother, honorable; and a thing that should cease great murmur in the realme, if the mother might be by good means induced to deliuer him. Which thing the archbishop of Pothe, whom they all agreed also to be thereto most conuenient, took upon him to moue hir, and therein to do his uttermost deuoir. Whowbeit, if she could be in no wise intreated with hir good will to deliuer him, then thought he, and such other as were of the spiritualtie present, that it were not in anie wise to be attempted to take him out against hir will.  
For it should be a thing that would turne to the great grudge of all men, and high displeasure of God, if the priuilege of that holie place should now be broken, which had so manie yeares be kept, which both kings and popes so good had granted, so manie had confirmed, and which holie ground was more than five hundred yeares ago (by saint Peter in his owne person in spirit accompanied with great multitudes of angels by night) so speciallie halowed, & dedicated to God (for the prouise wherof, they haue yet in the abbete saint Peters cope to thew) that from that time hitheward, was there neuer so vnbecouat a king that durst that sacred place violate, or so holie a bishop that durst it presume to consecrate.  
And therefore (quoth the archbishop of Pothe) God forbid that anie man should for anie thing earthlie, enterprise to breake the immunitie & libertie of the sacred sanctuarie, that hath bene the safeguard of so manie a good mans life. And I trust (quoth he) with Gods grace, we shall not need it. But for anie maner need, I would not we should do it. I trust that the shall be with reason contented, and all things in good maner obtained. And if it happen that I bring it not so to passe, yet shall I toward it so farre forth do my best, that ye shall all well perceiue, that no lacke of my deuoir, but the mothers dread and womanish feare shall be the let.  
Womanish feare, naie womanish frowardnes (quoth the duke of Buckingham.) For I dare take it upon my soule, she well knoweth she needeth no such thing to feare, either for hir son or for hir selfe. For as for hir, here is no man that will be at war with women. Would God some of the men of hir kin were women too, & then should all be some in rest. Whowbeit there is none of hir kin the lesse loued, for that they be hir kin, but for their owne euill deserting. And na thelesse, if we loued neither hir nor hir kin, yet were there no cause to thinke that wee should hate the kings noble brother, to whose grace we our selues be of kin. Whose honor, if the as much desired as our dishonour, and as much regard took to his wealth as to hir owne will, she would be as loth to suffer him to be absent from the king, as anie of vs be. For if she haue anie wit (as would God she had as good will as she hath) she would wit she reckoneth hir selfe no wiser than she thinketh some that be here, of whose faithful mind she nothing doubteth, but verelie beleueth and knoweth, that they would be as loze of his harme as hir selfe, and yet would hate him from hir if she bide there: and we all (I thinke) contented, that both be with hir, if she come thence, and bide in such place where they may with their honors be. Now then, if she refuse in the deliuerance of him, to follow the counsell of them, whose wisdom she knoweth, whose truth she well trusteth: it is easie to perceiue, that frowardnesse letteth hir, and not feare. But go to, suppose that the feare (as who maie let hir to feare hir owne shadow) the more she feareth to deliuer him, the more ought we feare to leaue him in hir hands.  
For if the cast such fond doubts, that the feare his hurt: then will she feare that he shall be set thence.  
A a a ill. For

Reasons why  
it was not  
thought meet  
to fetch the  
queens son out  
of sanctuarie.

The duke of  
Buckingham  
words against  
the queene.

For the will none thinke, that if men were set (which God forbid) upon so great a mischief, the sanctuarie would little let them: which god men might (as me thinketh) without sinne somewhat lesse regard than they do. Now then, if the doubt, least he might be fetched from hir, is it not likelie enough that the shall send him some where out of the realme? Herelle I loke for none other. And I doubt not, but the now as soze mindeth it, as we the let thereof. And if the might happen to bring that to passe (as it were no great maiestie, we letting hir alone) all the world would saie, that we were a wise sort of counsellors about a king, that let his brother be cast awaie under our noses.

And therefore, I insure you faithfullie for my mind, I will rather (manger his mind) fetch him a waie, than leave him there, till his forwardnesse and fond feare conueie him awaie. And yet will I breake no sanctuarie therfore. For verely, sith the priuileges of that place, and other like, haue bene of long continuance, I am not he that would be about to breake them. And in god faith, if they were now to begin, I should not be he that should be about to make them. Yet will I not say naie, but that it is a deed of pitie, that such men as the sea, or their euill debtors haue brought in pouertie, should haue some place of libertie, to keepe their bodies out of danger of their cruell creditors.

And also, if the crowne happen (as it hath done) to come in question, while either part taketh other as traitors, I will well there be some places of refuge for both. But as for theues, of which these places be full, and which neuer fall from the craft, after they once fall thereto, it is pitie the sanctuarie should serue them. And much more, mankillers, whome God bad to take from the altar and kill them, if their murder were wilfull. And where it is otherwise, there need we not the sanctuaries that God appointed in the old law. For if either necessitie, his owne defense, or misfortune dyaue him to that deed, a pardon serueth, which either the law granteth of course, or the king of pitie maie. When loke we now how few sanctuarie men there be, whome anie fauourable necessitie compelled to go thither. And then se on the other side, what a sort there be commonlie therein of them, whom wilfull brith:iffnesse hath brought to naught.

What a rabble of theues, murtherers, and malicious heinous traitors, and that in two places specialle; the one at the elbow of the citie, the other in the berie bolwels. I dare well auow it, weie the god that they do, with the hurt that cometh of them, and ye shall find it much better to lacke both, than haue both. And this I saie, although they were not abused as they now be, & so long haue be, that I feare me euer they will be, while men be afraid to set their hands to the mendment, as though God & S. Peter were the patrones of vngratious living. Now brith:iffs riot & run in debt, upon boldnesse of these places, pea, and rich men run thither with poore mens goods, there they build, there they spend, & bid there creditors go whistle them. Mens wifes run thither with their husbands plate, & saie they dare not abide with their husbands for beating. Theues bring thither their stolen goods, and there liue thereon.

There deuise they new robberies, nightlie they scale out, they rob, and reave, and kill, and come in againe, as though those places gaue them not onelie a safeguard for the harme they haue done, but a licence also to do more. Howbeit, much of this mischief (if wise men would set their hands to it) might be amended, with great thanks to God, and no breach of the priuilege. The residue, sith so long ago, I wrote nere that pope, and that prince more pitious than politike, hath granted it, & other men since, of a cer-

teine religious feare, haue not broken it, let vs take a paine therewith, and let it a Gods name stand in force, as saie forth as reason will, which is not fullie so farre forth, as may serue to let vs of the fetching forth of this noble man to his honor and wealth, out of that place, in which he neither is, nor can be a sanctuarie man.

A sanctuarie serueth alwaie to defend the bodie of that man that standeth in danger abroad, not of great hurt onlie, but also of lawfull hurt: for against vnlawfull harmes, neuer pope nor king intended to priuilege anie one place, for that priuilege hath euerie place. Knoweth anie man, anie place wherein it is lawfull one man to do another wrong? That no man vnlawfullie take hurt, that libertie, the king, the law, and verie nature forbiddeth in euerie place, and maketh (to that regard) for euerie man euerie place a sanctuarie. But where a man is by lawfull means in perill, there needeth he the tuition of some speciall priuilege, which is the onelie ground and cause of all sanctuaries.

From which necessitie, this noble prince is farre, whose loue to his king, nature and kindred proueth; whose innocence to all the world, his tender youth proueth; and so sanctuarie, as for him, neither none he needeth, nor also none can haue. Men come not to sanctuarie, as they come to baptisme, to require it by their godfathers; he must aske it himselfe that must haue it, and reason; sith no man hath cause to haue it, but whose conscience of his owne fault maketh him faine, need to require it. What will then hath ponder babe, which and if he had discretion to require it, if need were, I dare say would now be right angrie with them that keepe him there: And I would thinke without anie scruple of conscience, without anie breach of priuilege, to be somewhat more homelie with them that be there sanctuarie men in deed.

For if one go to sanctuarie with another mans goods, whie should not the king, leauing his bodie at libertie, satisfie the partie of his goods, even within the sanctuarie? For neither king nor pope can giue anie place such a priuilege, that it shall discharge a man of his debts, being able to paie. And with that, diuerse of the clergie that were present (whether they said it for his pleasure, or as they thought) agreed plainelie, that by the law of God, and of the church, the goods of a sanctuarie man should be deliuered in payment of his debts, and stolen goods to the owner, and onlie libertie reserved him to get his living with the labor of his hands.]

Herelle (quoth the duke) I thinke you say verie truth. And what if a mans wife will take sanctuarie, because she lust to run fro hir husband, I would woe if she could alledge none other cause, he maie lawfully without anie displeasure to saint Peter, take hir out of saint Peters church by the arime. And if no bodie maie be taken out of sanctuarie, that saith he will bide there; then if a child will take sanctuarie, because he feareth to go to schole, his maister must let him alone. And as simple as that sample is, yet is there lesse reason in our case than in that; for therein, though it be a childish feare, yet is there at the least some feare, and herein is there none at all. And verelle, I haue often heard of sanctuarie men, but I neuer heard earst of sanctuarie children.

And therefore, as for the conclusion of my mind, who so maie haue deserued to need it, if they thinke it for their suertie, let them keepe it. But he can be no sanctuarie man, that neither hath wisdom to desire it, nor malice to deserue it; whose life or libertie can by no lawfull processe stand in teopardie. And he that taketh one out of sanctuarie to do him god, I saie plainlie, that he breakeeth no sanctuarie. When the duke had done, the temporall men that were, and a god part

Of sanctuaries.

Westminster and saint Maries.

The abuse of sanctuaries.

The bodie a sanctuarie.

Whereb chamber at ning the pber, depari dmers othe his honoz, perceiue, si o were it, matter to the finallie that compa tinent (mai hir no respi mind after world in ar

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Qualiga 0.

The cardi cell therefore deliuerie of l kings presen they reckone meared acco ing, should be to the couni friends that i will well th comfort and duke himself together, as u their both dis esteemed no f ring that thei cannot indu ence of both that point si other.

App loz d that it were i whome pe re brother: and great comm bene in the c considered of ponger, whid god looking t ed with sickn mended, than

Protestor.

The quenes answer.

part of the spirituall also, thinking no hurt earthlie meant toward the yong babe, condescended in effect, that if he were not deliuered, he should be fettered. Whobey they thought it all best, in the auoiding of all maner of rumoz, that the lord cardinall should first assaie to get him with his good will.

Whereupon all the counsell came vnto the Starre chamber at Westminster; and the lord cardinall, leauing the protectoz with the counsell in the Starre chamber, departed into the sanctuarie to the quene, with others other lordz with him: were it for the respect of his honor, or that he should by presence of so manie perceiue, that this errand was not one mans mind: or were it, for that the protectoz intended not in this matter to trust anie one man alone; or else, that if the finalle were determined to keepe him, some of that companie had happilie secret instruction, incontinent (mangre his mind) to take him, and to leaue him no respite to conueie him, which he was likelie to mind after this matter broken to him, if his time would in anie wise serue him.

When the quene and these lordz were come together in presence, the lord cardinall shewed vnto him, that it was thought vnto the protectoz, and vnto the whole counsell, that his keeping of the kings brother in that place, was the thing which highe sounded, not onelie to the great rumoz of the people and their obloquie; but also to the impoztable græfe and displeasure of the kings roiall maiestie, to whose grace it were as singular a comfort, to haue his naturall brother in companie, as it was their both dishonour, and all theirs and his also, to suffer him in sanctuarie, as though the one brother stood in danger and perill of the other; and therefore more conuenient it were they should be together, than parted asunder; that the world may well thinke and saie both of their kinned and also of them, when they shall see and heare how they keepe continuall companie, and liue in mutuall amitie (as becometh brethren) which bringeth commodities with it, for number, infinite; and for

*Qualigat unanimis felix concordia fratres,  
O quales fructus utilitatis habet!*

The cardinall shewed him likewise, that the counsell therefore had sent him vnto him, to require him the deliuerie of him, that he might be brought vnto the kings presence at his libertie, out of that place, which they reckoned as a prison; and there should he be deemed according to his estate: and he in this doing, should both do great good to the realme, pleasure to the counsell, and profit to his selfe, succour to his friends that were in distresse, and ouer that (which he wist well the speciallie tendered) not onelie great comfort and honor to the king, but also to the yong duke himselfe, whose both great wealth it were to be together, as well for manie greater causes, as also for their both disport & recreation. Which thing the lord esteemed no slight, though it seeme light, well pondering that their youth without recreation and play cannot indure; nor anie stranger, for the conuenience of both their ages and estates, so meetlie in that point for anie of them, as either of them for other.

My lord (quoth the quene) I saie not naie, but that it were verie conuenient, that this gentleman, whome ye require, were in companie of the king his brother: and in god faith, me thinketh it were as great commoditie to them both, as for yet awhile, to bene in the custodie of their mother, the tender age considered of the elder of them both, but speciallie the yonger, which besides his infancie, that also needeth god looking to) hath awhile bene so sore diseased, vered with sicknesse, and is so newlie rather a little amended, than well recovered, that I dare put no per-

son earthlie in trust with his keeping, but my selfe onelie, considering that there is (as physicians saie) and as we also find, double the perill in the reciduation, than was in the first sicknesse, with which disease nature being sore laboured, sore wearied and weakened, wareth the lesse able to beare out and susteine a new surfet. And albeit there might be founden other that would happilie do their best vnto him, yet is there none that either knoweth better how to order him, than I that so long haue kept him: or is more tenderlie like to cherish him, than his owne mother that bare him.

So man denieth, god madame (quoth the cardinall) but that your grace were of all folke most necessarie about your chylzen: and so would all the counsell not onelie be content, but glad that ye were (if it might stand with your pleasure) to be in such place as might stand with their honour. But if you do appoint your selfe to tarrie here, then thinke they it more conuenient that the duke of Borge were with the king honourable at his libertie, to the comfort of them both: than here as a sanctuarie man, to their both dishonour and obloquie, sith there is not alwaie so great necessitie to haue the childe to be with the mother: but that occasion may sometime be such, that it should be more expedient to keepe him elsewhere. Which in this well appeareth, that at such time as your dearest sonne then prince, and now king, should for his honor, and good order of the countrie, keepe household in Wales, farre out of your companie: your grace was well content therewith your selfe.

Not verie well content (quoth the quene) and yet the case is not like, for the tone was then in health, and the tother is now sicke. In which case, I maruell greatlie, that my lord protectoz is so desirous to haue him in his keeping, where if the child in his sicknesse miscarried by nature, yet might he run into slander and suspicion of fraud. And where they call it a thing so sore against my chldes honor, and theirs also, that he bide in this place: it is all their honours there to suffer him bide, where no man doubteth he shall be best kept; and that is here, while I am here, which as yet intend not to come forth and teopard my selfe after other of my friends, which would God were rather here in suertie with me, than I were there in teopardie with them.

Whie madame (quoth another lord) knowe you anie thing whie they should be in teopardie? I saie verelie sir (quoth the) no; whie they should be in prison neither, as they now be. But it is (I trow) no great maruell though I feare, least those that haue not letted to put them in durelle without colour, will let us little to procure their destruction without cause. The cardinall made a countenance to the other lord, that he should harpe no more vpon that string; and then said he to the quene, that he nothing doubted, but that those lordz of his honorable kin, which as yet remained vnder arrest, should vpon the matter examined, do well inough: and as toward his noble person, neither was nor could be anie maner teopardie.

Whereby should I trust that (quoth the quene) in that I am guiltlesse? As though they were guiltie, in that I am with their enemies better loued than they? When they hate them for my sake, in that I am so neere of kin to the king? And how far they be off, if that would helpe, as God send grace it hurt not, and therefore as for me, I purpose not as yet to depart hence. And as for this gentleman my sonne, I mind that he shall be where I am, till I see further: for I assure you, for that I see some men so greedy, without anie substantiall cause to haue him, this maketh me much the more fearder to deliuer him.

A cruelle madame, quoth he, and the fearder that you

The quene  
is loth to part  
with his son.

The quenes  
mistrust of the  
lord protectoz.

The lord  
Howard, saith  
Edw. Hall.

The bte of  
sanctuarie.

Protectoz.

The quenes  
mistrust.

you be to deliuer him, the fearder bin other men to suffer you to keepe him, least your causelesse feare might cause you further to conueie him; and manie be there that thinke he can haue no priuilege in this place, which neither can haue will to aske it, nor malice to deserue it. And therefore, they reckon no priuilege broken, though they fetch him out; which if y<sup>e</sup> shall refuse to deliuer him, I verelie thinke they will. So much dread hath my lord his uncle, for the tender loue he beareth him, least your grace should hap to send him awaie.

The quene's  
reple upon  
the lord car-  
dinal.

A sir (quoth the quene) hath the protector; so tender zeale, that he feareth nothing but least he should escape him: Thinketh he that I would send him hence, which neither is in the plight to send out. And in what place could I reckon him sure, if he be not sure in this sanctuarie, whereof was there neuer tyrant yet so diuelish that durst presume to breake? And I trust God is as strong now to withstand his aduersaries, as ever he was. But my sonne can deserue no sanctuarie, and therefore he can not haue it. For soth he hath found a goodlie glofe, by which that place that may defend a theefe, may not saue an innocent. But he is in no leopordie, nor hath no need thereof, would God he had not.

Troweth the protector (I praise God he may proue a protector) troweth he that I perceiue not whereunto his painted procelle draweth? It is not honourable that the duke bide here: it were comfortable for them both, that he were with his brother, because the king lacketh a plaffellow. Be you sure: I praise God send them both better plaffellows than him, that maketh so high a matter upon such a trifling pterit: as though there could none be founden to plaie with the king, but if his brother that hath no lust to plaie for sicknesse, come out of sanctuarie out of his safegard to plaie with him. As though princes (as yong as they be) could not plaie but with their peres, or children could not plaie but with their kintred, with whom for the more part they agree much worse than with strangers.

But the child cannot require the priuilege. Who told him so? He shall heare him aske it, and he will. Notwith, this is a gaie matter. Suppose he could not aske it, suppose he would not aske it, suppose he would aske to go out. If I saie he shall not; if I aske the priuilege but for my selfe, I say he that against my will taketh him out, breaketh the sanctuarie. Serueth this libertie for my person onelie, or for my goods too? He may not hence take my horte fro me: and may you take my child fro me? He is also my ward: for as my learned counsell sheweth me, sith he hath nothing by descent holden by knights service, the law maketh his mother his gardian. When may no man I suppose take my ward fro me out of sanctuarie, with out the breach of the sanctuarie.

And if my priuilege could not serue him, nor he aske it for himselfe, yet sith the law committeth to me the custodie of him, I may require it for him, except the law giue a child a gardian onelie for his goods and lands, discharging him of the cure and safe keeping of his bodie, for which onelie both lands and goods serue. And if examples be sufficient to obteine priuilege for my child, I need not farre to seke. For in this place in which we now be (and which is now in question whether my child may take benefit of it) mine other sonne now king was bozne, and kept in his cradle, and preserved to a more prosperous fortune, which I praise God long to continue. And as all you know, this is not the first time that I haue taken sanctuarie.

For when my lord my husband was banished, and thrust out of his kingdome, I fled hither, being great with child, and here I bare the prince. And when my

lord my husband returned safe againe, and had the victorie, then went I hence to welcome him home, and from hence I brought my babe the prince unto his father, when he first toke him in his armes. And I praise God that my sonnes palace may be as great safegard unto him now reigning, as this place was sometime to the kings enfante. In which place I intend to keepe his brother, sith, &c. (.) Wherefore here intend I to keepe him, sith mans law scructh the gardian to keepe the infant.

The law of nature will the mother to keepe his child, Gods law priuilegeth the sanctuarie, and the sanctuarie my sonne, sith I feare to put him in the protector's hands that hath his brother already, and were (if both failed) inheritour to the crowne. The cause of my feare hath no man to do to examine. And yet feare I no further than the law feareth, which (as learned men tell me) forbiddeth euerie man the custodie of them, by whose death he maie inherit lesse land than a kingdome. I can no more, but whosoever he be that breaketh this holie sanctuarie, I praise God thostlie send him need of sanctuarie, when he maie not come to it. For taken out of sanctuarie would I not my mosttall enfante were.

The lord cardinal, perceiuing that the quene feared euer the longer the farther off, and also that she began to kinde and chafe, and spake more biting words against the protector, and such as he neither be leued, and was also loth to heare, he said to hir for a small conclusion, that he would no longer dispute the matter: but if she were content to deliuer the duke to him, and to the other lords present, he durst laie his owne bodie & soule both in pledge, not onelie for his suertie, but also for his estate. And if she would giue them a resolute answer to the contrarie, he would forthwith depart therwithall, and shifft the so would with this businesse afterwards: for he neuer intended more to moue hir in that matter, in which she thought that he & all other also (saue hir selfe) lacked either will or truth: wit, if they were so dull that they could nothing perceiue what the protector intended: truth, if they should procure hir sonne to be deliuered into his hands, in whom they should perceiue toward the child anie euill intended.

The quene with these words stood a good while in a great studie. And forsomuch as hir seemed the cardinal more readie to depart than some of the remnant, and the protector himselfe readie at hand; so that she verelie thought she could not keepe him, but that he should incontinentlie be taken thence: and to conueie him else-where, neither had the time to serue hir, nor place determined, nor persons appointed, all things vnreadie, this message came on hir so suddenlie, nothing lesse looking for, than to haue him fet out of sanctuarie, which she thought to be now beset in such places about, that he could not be conueied out vntaken, and partlie as she thought it might fortune hir feare to be false, so well the will it was either needlesse or bottlesse: wherefore if she should needs go from him, she deemed it best to deliuer him.

And ouer that, of the cardinals faith she nothing doubted, nor of some other lords neither, whom she there saw. Which as she feared least they might be deceived: so was she well assured they would not be corrupted. When thought she it should yet make them the more warlike to looke to him, and the more circumspectie to see to his suertie, if she with hir owne hands betooke him to them of trust. And at the last she toke the yong duke by the hand, and said diu to the lords: My lords (quoth she) and all my lords, I neither am so vnwise to mistrust your words, nor so suspicious to mistrust your truths: of which thing I purpose

The lord cardinal blurted out another word to perfwade the quene.

disimulation.

This that is here betweene this marke (.) & this marke (.) was not written by him in English but is translated out of his historie which he wrote in Latine.

This that is here betweene this marke (.) & this marke (.) was not written by him in English but is translated out of this historie which he wrote in Latine.

She said with a resolution touching her sonnes deliuerance.

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purpose to make you such a pzofo, as if either of both  
in you, might turne both you and me to great sorow,  
the realme to much harme, and you to great re-  
poch.

For lo, here is (quoth the) this gentleman, whom  
I doubt not but I could here kepe safe, if I would,  
what euer anie man say: & I doubt not also, but there  
be some abroad so deadlie enemies unto my blood,  
that if they will where anie of it late in their owne  
bodie, they would let it out. We haue also experience  
that desire of a kingdome knoweth no kindred. The  
brother hath bene the brothers bane: and maie the  
nepheues be sure of their vncle? Each of these children  
is the others defense while they be asunder, and each of  
their liues lieth in the others bodie. Keepe one safe  
and both be sure, and nothing for them both moze pe-  
rillous, than to be both in one place. For what wise  
merchant aduentureth all his goods in one ship?

All this notwithstanding, here I deliuer him and  
his brother in him, to keepe, into your hands, of whom  
I shall aske them both afoze God & the world. Faith-  
full ye be that wot I well, & I know well you be wise.  
Power and strength to keepe him (if you list) lacke ye  
not of your selfe, nor can lacke helpe in this cause.  
And if ye can not else-where, then maie you leaue  
him here. But onelie one thing I beseech you, for the  
trust which his father put in you euer, & for the trust  
that I put in you now, that as farre as ye thinke  
that I feare too much, be you well ware that you feare  
not as farre too little. And therewithall the said un-  
to the child; Fare well mine owne sweete sonne, God  
send you good keeping: let me kisse you yet once per  
you go, for God knoweth when we shall kisse toge-  
ther againe. And therewith the kissed him and blessed  
him, turned hir backe and wept and went hir waie,  
leaving the child weeping as fast. [Howbeit the dukes  
sore afterwards that the had so parted from hir  
son (when it was past hir power to procure remedie,  
& no hope of helpe left against afterclaps) which is the  
common case of all that kind, as the pzouerbe saith:

*Femineus veri dolor est post facta dolere.*

When the lord cardinall, and these other lords with  
him, had receiued this yong duke, they brought him  
into the Star chamber, where the protector toke him  
in his armes and kissed him with these wordes: How  
welcome my lord euen with all my vertie heart. And  
he said in that of likelihood as he thought. Thereupon  
forthwith they brought him vnto the king his brother  
into the bishops palace at Paules, and from thence  
thorough the citie honourable into the Tower, out  
of the which after that daie they neuer came abroad.

When the protector had both the children in his  
hands, he opened himselfe moze boldlie, both to cer-  
taine other men, and also chieflie to the duke of Buc-  
kingham. Although I know that manie thought  
that this duke was pzoie to all the protectors coun-  
sell, euen from the beginning; and some of the protec-  
tors friends said, that the duke was the first mouer  
of the protector to this matter, sending a pzoie mes-  
senger vnto him, straight after king Edwards death.

But others againe, which knew better the subtil-  
litie of the protector, denie that he euer opened his  
enterpryse to the duke, vntill he had brought to passe  
the things before rehearsed. But when he had impi-  
soned the queenes kindred, & gotten both hir sonnes  
into his owne hands, then he opened the rest of his  
purpose with lesse feare to them whome he thought  
meet for the matter, and speciallie to the duke, who  
being twome to his purpose, he thought his strength  
moze than halfe increased. The matter was broken  
vnto the duke by subtil folk, and such as were their  
craftes-masters in the handling of such wicked deu-  
ises: who declared vnto him that the yong king was  
offended with him for his kindredes sake, and if he

were euer able he would reuenge them, who would  
picke him forward therevnto if they escaped (for they  
would remember their imprisonment) or else if they  
were put to death, without doubt the yong k. would  
be carefull for their deaths, whose imprisonment was  
gracious vnto him.

Also that with repenting the duke should nothing  
auaile, for there was no waie left to redeeme his of-  
fense by benefites, but he should sooner destroye him-  
selfe than saue the king, who with his brother and his  
kindred he saw in such places imprisoned, as the  
protector might with a becke destroye them all: and  
that it were no doubt but he would do it in deed, if  
there were anie new enterpryse attempted. And that  
it was likelie, that as the protector had pzoided  
pzoie gard for himselfe, so had he spials for the duke,  
and traines to catch him, if he should be against him;  
and that peradventure from them, whome he lest su-  
spected. For the state of things and the dispositions  
of men were then such, that a man could not well tell  
whome he might trust, or whome he might feare.

These things and such like, being beaten into the  
dukes mind, brought him to that point, that where he  
had repented the way that he had entered, yet would  
he go forth in the same; and sith he had once begun,  
he would stoutlie go thorough. And therefore to this  
wicked enterpryse, which he beleued could not be bot-  
ted, he bent himselfe, and went thorough, and determi-  
ned, that sith the common mischefe could not be a-  
mended, he would turne it as much as he might to  
his owne commoditie. When it was agreed, that the  
protector should haue the dukes aid to make him king,  
and that the protectors onelie lawfull sonne should  
marrie the dukes daughter, and that the protector  
should grant him the quiet possession of the earldome  
of Hereford, which he claimed as his inheritance, and  
could neuer obtaine it in king Edwards time.

Besides these requests of the duke, the protector  
of his owne mind promised him a great quantitie of  
the kings treasure, and of his household stuffe. And  
when they were thus at a point betwene themsel-  
ues, they went about to prepare for the coronation of  
the yong king, as they would haue it seeme. And that  
they might turne both the eyes and minds of men  
from perceining of their diuers other-where, the lords  
being sent for from all parts of the realme, came  
thicke to that solemnitie. But the protector and the  
duke, after that they had sent the lord cardinall,  
the archbishop of Yorke then lord chancellor, the bi-  
shop of Ely, the lord Stanleie, and the lord Hastings  
then lord chamberlaine, with manie other noble  
men (\*) to common & deuise about the coronation in  
one place, as fast were they in an other place, con-  
triving the contrarie, and to make the protector  
king.

To which counsell albeit there were adhibited ve-  
rie few, and they were secret: yet began there here  
and there abouts, some maner of muttering among  
the people, as though all should not long be well,  
though they neither wist what they feared, nor where-  
fore: were it, that before such great things, mens  
hearts of a secret instinct of nature misgine them; as  
the sea without wind swelleth of himselfe sometime  
before a tempest: or were it that some one man, hap-  
pilie somewhat perceiuing, filled manie men with  
suspicion, though he shewed few men what he knew,  
Howbeit somewhat the dealing it selfe made men to  
muse on the matter, though the counsell were close.  
For by little and little all folke withdrew from the  
Tower, and drew vnto Crosbies in Bishops gates  
street, where the protector kept his household. The  
protector had the refozt, the king in maner desolate.

While some for their businesse made sute to them  
that had the doing, some were by their friends secret-  
lie

The dukes  
full resoluti-  
on, to go thro-  
ough with  
his enter-  
pryse.

William-

This that is  
here betwene  
this marke (\*)  
is this marke  
(\*) was not  
written by  
him in Eng-  
lish but is  
translated out  
of his billopie  
which he  
wrote in  
Latine.

She saith  
a resolution  
touching his  
sonnes bel-  
lieve.



he warned, that it might happilie turne them to no good, to be so much attendant about the king without the protectors appointment, which remoued also diuerse of the princes old seruants from him, and set new about him. Thus manie things comming together, partlie by chance, partlie of purpose, caused at length not common people onelie, that woud with the wind, but wise men also, and some lords eke to marke the matter and muse thereon; so farre forth that the lord Stanleie that was after earle of Derby, wiselie mistrusted it, and said unto the lord Hastings, that he much disliked these two seuerall counceils. For while we (quoth he) talke of one matter in the one place, little wot we wherof they talke in the tother place.

My lord (quoth the lord Hastings) on my life neuer doubt you: for while one man is there, which is neuer thense, neuer can there be thing once moued, that should sound amisse toward me, but it should be in mine eares per it were well out of their mouths. This ment he by Catesbie, which was of his neere secret counsell, and whome he verie familiarlie vsed, and in his most weightie matters put no man in so speciall trust, reckoning himselfe to no man so liefe, sith he well wist there was no man so much to him beholden as was this Catesbie, which was a man well learned in the lawes of this land, and by the speciall fauour of the lord chamberlaine, in god authoritie, and much rule bare in all the countie of Leicester, where the lord chamberlains power cheselie laie.

But suerlie great pitie was it, that he had not had either more truth, or lesse wit. For his dissimulation onelie kept all that mischeefe by. In whome if the lord Hastings had not put so speciall trust, the lord Stanleie & he had departed with diuerse other lords, and broken all the danse, for manie ill signes that he saw, which he now construes all to the best. So suerlie thought he, that there could be none harme toward him in that counsell intended, where Catesbie was. And of truth the protector and the duke of Buckingham made verie good semblance vnto the lord Hastings, and kept him much in companie. And vndoubtedlie the protector loued him well, and loth was to haue lost him, sauing for feare least his life should haue quailed their purpose.

For which cause he moued Catesbie to proue with some words cast out a farre off, whether he could thinke it possible to win the lord Hastings vnto their part. But Catesbie, whether he assaied him, or assaied him not, reported vnto them, that he found him so fast, and heard him speake so terrible words, that he durst no further breake. And of truth, the lord chamberlaine of verie trust shewed vnto Catesbie the distrust that others began to haue in the matter. And therefore he, fearing least their motion might with the lord Hastings minish his credence, wherevnto onelie all the matter leaned, procured the protector hastilie to rid him. And much the rather, for that he trusted by his death to obtaine much of the rule that the lord Hastings bare in his countie: the onelie desire wherof was the allectiue that induced him to be partner, and one speciall contriuer of all this horrible treason.

Whereupon some after, that is to wit, on the first daie [being the thirteenth of June] manie lords assembled in the Tower, and there sat in counsell, deuising the honourable solemnitie of the kings coronation, of which the time appointed then so neere approached, that the pageants and subtilties were in making daie & night at Westminster, and much bittels killed therefore, that afterward was cast awaie. These lords so sitting together communing of this matter, the protector came in amongst them, first about nine

of the clocke, saluting them courteously, and expressing himselfe that he had bene from them so long, saying merilie that he had bene a sleeper that daie.

After a little talking with them, he said vnto the bishop of Ely: My lord you haue verie good strawberries at your garden in Holbourne, I require you let vs haue a masse of them: Gladlie my lord (quoth he) would God I had some better thing as ready to your pleasure as that! And therewithall in all the hast he sent his seruant for a masse of strawberries. The protector let the lords fast in communing, & therupon praeleng them to spare him for a little while, departed thense. And some after one houre, betwene ten & eleuen he returned into the chamber amongst them all, changed with a wonderfull foure angrie countenance, knitting the browes, frowning and fretting, and gnawing on his lips: and so sat him downe in his place.

All the lords were much dismayed and sore maruelled at this maner of sudden change, and what thing should him aile. Then, when he had sitten still a while, thus he began: What were they worthe to haue that compassse and imagine the destruction of me, being so neere of blood vnto the king, and protector of his roiall person and his realme? At this question, all the lords sat sore astonied, musing much by whome this question should be meant, of which euerie man wist himselfe cleere. Then the lord chamberlaine (as he that for the loue betwene them thought he might be boldest with him) answered and said, that they were worthe to be punished as heinous traitors, whatsoeuer they were. And all the other affirmed the same. What is (quoth he) ponder for errie my brothers wife, and other with hir (meaning the queene.)

At these words manie of the other lords were greatly abashed, that fauoured hir. But the lord Hastings was in his mind better content, that it was moued by hir, than by anie other whome he loued better: albeit his heart somewhat grudged, that he was not afore made of counsell in this matter, as he was of the taking of hir kinred, and of their putting to death, which were by his assent before deuised to be beheaded at Westminster this selfe same daie, in which he was not ware that it was by other deuised, that he himselfe should be beheaded the same daie at London. Then said the protector: Ye shall all see it what wife that forceresse, and that other witch of hir counsell Shores wife, with their affinitie, haue by their forcerie and witchcraft wasted my bodie. And therewith he plucked by his dublet sleue to his elbow vpon his left arme, where he shewed a werthy withered arme, and small, as it was neuer other.

Hereupon euerie mans mind soze misgaue them, well perceiuing that this matter was but a quarell. For they well wist that the queene was too wise to go about anie such follie. And also if she would, yet would she of all folke least, make Shores wife of hir counsell, whome of all women the most hated, as that concubine whome the king hir husband had most loued. And also, no man was there present, but well knew that his arme was euer such since his birth. Pastheleste, the lord chamberlaine (which from the death of king Edward kept Shores wife, on whome he somewhat doted in the kings life, sauing (as it is said) he that while forbore hir of reuerence toward the king, or else of a certeine kind of sweettie to his friend) answered and said: Certainelie my lord, if they haue so heinoullie done, they be worthe heinous punishment.

What (quoth the protector) thou seruest me I towee with ifs and with ands, I tell thee they haue so done, and that I will make good on thy bodie traitor: and therewith as in a great anger, he clapped his fist vpon the bozd a great rap. At which token one cried,

Treason,

The lord  
Stanleie  
wounded.

Lord Hastings  
lord  
chamberlain  
beheaded.

Richard, in p/a  
15.

The lord  
chamberlain  
dies.

Richard  
the third  
the lord  
chamberlain  
beheaded.

The lord  
chamberleine  
was undere behauing  
ye lord pze  
of in the  
mblie of  
lordz.Lord the  
things lord  
chamberleine  
was underLord in gylt  
yeThe lord  
chamberleine  
was underThe lord  
chamberleine  
was under

Ercaſon, without the chamber. Therewith a doze clapped, and in come there ruſhing men in harnelle, as manie as the chamber might hold. And anon the proteſtor ſaid to the lord Haſtings: I arreſt the traitor: What me my lord? (quoth he.) Yea the traitor quoth the proteſtor. And another let ſlie at the lord Stanleie, which ſhynke at the ſtroke, & fell vnder the table, or elſe his head had bene cleſt to the teeth: for as ſhortlie as he ſhynke, yet ran the bloud about his ears.

Then were they all quickelie beſtowed in diuerſe chambers, except the lord chamberleine, whome the proteſtor had ſped and ſhryue him apace, for by ſaint Paule (quoth he) I will not to dinner till I ſee thy head off. It boted him not to aſke whie, but heauilie take a priefſt at adventure, & made a ſhort ſpiff: for a longer would not be ſuffered, the proteſtor made ſo much haſt to dinner, which he might not go to, untill this were done, for ſauing of his oth. So was he brought forth to the greene beſide the chapell within the Towre, and his head laid downe vpon a long log of timber, and there ſtriken off, and afterward his bodie with the head interred at Windſor beſide the bodie of king Edward, both whoſe ſoules our Lord pardon. Thus began he to eſtabliſh his kingdome in bloud, growing thereby in hatred of the nobles, and alſo abiding both the line of his life, and the time of his regiment: for God will not haue bloudthirſte tyrants daies prolonged, but will cut them off in their ruſſe; according to Dauids words:

*Impio, ſillaci, audoq; cecidi*

*Edmors rumpet viridi in iuuent a.]*

A maruellous caſe is it to heare either the warnings of that he ſhould haue voided, or the tokens of that he could not void. For the ſelfe night next before his death, the lord Stanleie ſent a truſtie meſſenger vnto him at midnight in all the haſt, requirung him to riſe and ride aſuaie with him, for he was diſpoſed utterly no longer to bide, he had ſo fearfull a dreame; in which him thought that a boare with his tuſkes ſo rased them both by the heads, that the bloud ran about both their ſhoulders. And ſo ſomuch as the proteſtor gaue the boare for his cognifſance, this dreame made ſo fearfull an impreſſion in his heart, that he was throughlie determined no longer to tarry, but had his horſe readie, if the lord Haſtings would go with him, to ride yet ſo farre the ſame night, that they ſhould be out of danger yer daie.

Ya good Lord (quoth the lord Haſtings to this meſſenger) leaneth my lord thy maſter ſo much to ſuch triſles, and hath ſuch faith in dreames, which either his owne feare fantaſieth, or do riſe in the nights reſt by reaſon of his daies thought: Tell him it is plaine witchcraft to beleue in ſuch dreames, which if they were tokens of things to come, why thinkeſt he not that we might be as likelie to make them true by our going, if we were caught & brought backe, as friends ſaile ſiers; for then had the boare a cauſe likelie to rase vs with his tuſkes, as folke that ſed for ſome falſehood. Therefore, either is there perill, or none there is in deed: or if anie be, it is rather in going than biding. And in caſe we ſhould needs fall in perill one waie or other, yet had I rather that men ſhould ſee that it were by other mens falſehood, than thinke it were either by our owne fault, or ſaint heart. And therefore go to thy maſter (man) and commend me to him, & praie him be merie & haue no feare: for I ſure him I am as ſure of the man that he woteth of, as I am of mine owne hand. God ſend grace fir (quoth the meſſenger) and went his waie.

Certeine is it alſo, that in riding towards the Towre, the ſame morning in which he was beheaded, his horſe ſawe or thruſt ſtumbled with him, almoſt to the falling. Which thing albeit eſch man wote well

daile happeneth to them, to whom no ſuch miſchance is toward; yet hath it bene of an old rite and cuſtome obſerued, as a token oftentimes notablie foregoing ſome great miſfortune. Now this that ſolloweth was no warning, but an ennious ſcorne. The ſame morning yer he was vp, came a knight vnto him, as it were of courteſie, to accompanie him to the counceill; but of truth ſent by the proteſtor to haſt him thitherwards, with whome he was of ſecret confederacie in that purpoſe; a meane man at that time, and now of great authoritie.

This knight (I ſay) when it happened the lord chamberleine by the waie to ſtate his horſe, & common a while with a priefſt whome he met in the Towre ſtreet, brake his tale, and ſaid merille to him: What my lord, I pray you come on, thereto talke you ſo long with that priefſt: you haue no need of a priefſt yet: and therewith he laughed vpon him, as though he would ſay, Ye ſhall haue ſome. But ſo little wiſt the tother what he ment, and ſo little miſtruſted, that he was neuer merier, nor neuer ſo full of god hope in his life, which ſelfe thing is oft ſene a ſigne of change. But I ſhall rather let anie thing paſſe me, than the baie ſuerie of mans mind ſo neere his death ſcattering himſelfe with deceitfull conceits of inward motions of life to be prolonged, euen in preſent caſes of deable danger, and heauie miſfortunes offering great miſtruſt; as he did that is noted for ſpeaking like a ſoule:

*Non eſt (crede mihi) ſapientis dicere, Futurum:*

*Nascentes mormur, ſiſq; ab origine pender.]*

Mani lib. 4.  
Aſtro.

Upon the verte Towre wharfe, ſo neare the place where his head was off ſome after, there met he with one Haſtings a purſeuant of his owne name. And at their meeting in that place, he was put in remembrance of another time, in which it had happened them before to meet in like manner together in the ſame place. At which other time the lord chamberleine had bene accuſed vnto king Edward by the lord Rivers the queenes brother, in ſuch wiſſe, as he was for the while (but it laſted not long) farre fallen into the kings indignation, & ſtood in great feare of himſelfe. And ſo ſomuch as he now met this purſeuant in the ſame place, that ieopardie ſo well paſſed, it gaue him great pleaſure to talke with him thereof, with whome he had before talked thereof in the ſame place, while he was therein.

And therefore he ſaid: Ya Haſtings, art thou remembered when I met thee here once with an heauie heart: Yea my lord (quoth he) that remember I well, and thanked be God, they gat no god, nor you no harme thereby. Thou wouldeſt ſay ſo (quoth he) if thou kneweſt as much as I know, which ſeto knoweſt elſe as yet, and mo ſhall ſhortlie. That meant he by the lords of the queenes kinred that were taken before, and ſhould that daie be beheaded at Doſmet: which he well wiſt, but nothing ware that the ar hung ouer his owne head. In ſaid man (quoth he) I was neuer ſo loyie, nor neuer ſtood in ſo great dread in my life, as I did when thou and I met here. And lo howe the world is turned, now ſtand mine enemies in the danger (as thou maiest hap to heare moze hereafter) and I neuer in my life ſo merrie, nor neuer in ſo great ſuertie.

O god God, the blindneſſe of our mortall nature, when he moſt feared, he was in god ſuertie; when he reckoned himſelfe ſureſt, he loſt his life, and that within two houres after. Thus ended this honorable man, a good knight and a gentle, of great authoritie with his prince, of living ſomewhat diſſolute, plaine and open to his enimie, & ſecret to his friend, eaſie to beguile, as he that of god heart and courage foreſtudied no perils, a louing man, and paſſing well beloved: verie faithfull, and truſtie inough, truſting to much. Now ſeto the ſame of this lords death

The deſcription  
of the  
lord Haſtings

swiftlie through the cite, and so forth further about like a wind in euerie mans care. But the protector, immediatlie after dinner, intending to set some colour upon the matter, sent in all the hall for manie substantiall men out of the cite into the Towre.

Now at their comming, himselfe with the duke of Buckingham, stood harnessed in old ill faring by-ganders, such as no man should weare, that they would vouchsafe to haue put upon their backs, except that some sudden necessitie had constrained them. And then the protector shewed them, that the lord chamberleine, and other of his conspiracie, had contrived to haue suddenly destroyed him, and the duke, there the same day in the councill. And what they intended further, was as yet not well knowne. Of which their treason he neuer had knowledge before ten of the clocke the same forenone, which sudden feare dyaue them to put on for their defense such harnesse as came next to hand. And so had God holpen them, that the mischief turned upon them that would haue done it. And this he required them to report.

Euerie man answered him false, as though no man mistrusted the matter, which of truth no man beleued. Yet for the further appeasing of the peoples minds, he sent immediatlie after diner in all the hall one herald of armes, with a proclamation to be made through the cite in the kings name, containing, that the lord Hastings, with diuerse other of his traitorous purpose, had before conspired the same day to haue slaine the lord protector, and the duke of Buckingham sitting in the councill; and after to haue taken upon them to rule the king & the realme at their pleasure, and therby to pill and spoile whome they list vncontrolled. And much matter there was in that proclamation, deuised to the slander of the lord chamberleine, as that he was an ill counsellor to the kings father, intising him to manie things highlie rebounding to the minishing of his honour, and to the vntuierfall hurt of the realme.

The meanes whereby, namely, his euill companie, sinister procuring, and vngratious example, as well in manie other things, as in the vicious liuing and inordinate abusion of his bodie, both with manie other, and also speciallie with Shores wife, which was one also of his most secret counsell in this most heinous treason, with whom he late nightlie, and namely the night last past next before his death. So that it was the leste maruell, if vngratious liuing brought him to an vnhappy ending, which he was now put vnto by the most dreed commandement of the kings highnesse, and of his honorable and faithfull counsell, both for his demerits, being so openlie taken in his falslie conceited treason, and also least the delaing of his execution might haue encouraged other mischievous persons, partners of his conspiracie, to gather and assemble themselves together, in making some great commotion for his deliuerance: whose hope being now by his well deserved death politike lie repelled, all the realme should (by Gods grace) rest in god quiet and peace.

Now was this proclamation made within two houres after that he was beheaded, and it was so curiously indited, & so faire written in parchment, in so well a set hand, and therewith of it selfe so long a processe, that euerie child might well perceiue that it was prepared before. For all the time, betwene his death and the proclaiming, could scant haue sufficed vnto the bare writing alone, all had it bene but in paper, and scribled forth in hast at aduventure. So that vpon the proclaiming thereof, one that was scholemaster of Dowles, of chance standing by, and comparing the shortnesse of the time with the length of the matter, said vnto them that stood about him; There

is a gaie goodlie cast foule cast awaite for; haist. And a merchant answered him, that it was written by prophesie.

Now then by and by, as it were for anger, not for couetise, the protector sent into the house of Shores wife (for hir husband dwelled not with hir) and spoiled hir of all that euer she had, about the value of two or thre thousand markes, and sent hir bodie to prison. And then he had a while laid vnto hir (for the manner sake) that she went about to bewitch him, and that she was of counsell with the lord chamberleine to destroy him: in conclusion, when that no colour could fallen vpon these matters, then he laid heinously to hir charge, that thing that hir selfe could not denie, and that all the world wist was true, and that nathelless euerie man laughed at, to heare it then so suddenly so highlie taken, that she was naught of hir bodie.

And for this cause (as a goodlie continent prince, cleane and faultlesse of himselfe, sent out of heauen into this vicious world for the amendment of mens manners) he caused the bishop of London to put hir to open penance, going before the crose in procession vpon a sundate with a taper in hir hand. In which she went in countenance and pale demure so womanlike; that albeit she were out of all araie, saue hir kirtle onelie, yet went she so faire and louelie, namely while the wondering of the people call a comelie rud in hir cheeks (of which she before had most misde) that hir great shame wan hir much praise among those that were more amorous of hir bodie, than curious of hir soule. And manie good folks also that hated hir liuing, & glad were to see sin corrected: yet pitied they more hir penance, than reioised therein, when they considered that the protector procured it, more of a corrupt intent, than anie vertuous affection.

This woman was borne in London, worshipfullie friended, honestlie brought vp, and verie well married, facing somewhat too soone, hir husband an honest citizen, pious and goodlie, & of god substance. But for so much as they were coupled yer they were well ripe, she not verie feruently loued him, for whome she neuer longed, which was happilie the thing that the more easilie made hir incline vnto the kings appetite, when he required hir. Whobest the respect of his roialtie, the hope of gaie apparell, ease, and other wanton wealth, was able to pearce a soft tender heart, [so that she became flexible and pliant to the kings appetite and will; being so blinded with the bright glorie of the present courtlie brauerie which she inioied, that she bitterlie forgot how excellent a treasure god name and fame is, and of what incomparable sweetnesse, euen by the iudgement of him, whose match for wisdom the world neuer bred vp, saing:

*Sunt optanda magis pura bona nomina fame,  
nobili vnguenti quam pretiosus odor.*

But when the king had abused hir, anon hir husband (as he was an honest man, and one that could his good, not presuming to touch a kings concubine) left hir vp to him altogether. When the king died, the lord chamberleine took hir, which in the kings daies, albeit he was soe inamour'd vpon hir, yet he forbare hir; ether for reuerence, or for a certaine friendlie faithfullnesse. Proper she was and faire, nothing in hir bodie that you would haue changed, but if ye would haue wished hir somewhat higher. Thus saie they that knew hir in hir youth. Albeit some that now see hir (for yet she liueth) deem hir neuer to haue bene well visaged: whose iudgement seemeth me somewhat like, as though men should gesse the beautie of one long before departed, by hir scalpe taken out of the charuell house.

For now is she old, leane, withered, and dried vp, nothing left but rindled skin, and hard bone. And yet being

The protector  
for his procla-  
mation.

The life and  
daies of the  
lord chamber-  
leine laid open

The desire  
of Shores  
wife.

Edw. the fifth  
died.

See Richard  
Ratcliffe.

Shores  
when this  
house was  
captured

Shoyes wyfe  
spilled of all  
that she had.

B. Edwards  
this conu-  
sion.

Shoyes wyfe  
put to open  
penance.

The descrip-  
tion of Shoyes  
wyfe.

Edw. the fift.  
ch. 34.

Edw. the fift.  
when this  
stone was  
spitten

being even such, who so well advise his visage, might  
gesse and deuisse, which parts how filled would make  
it a faire face. Yet delighted not men so much in his  
beautie, as in his pleasant behauiour. For a proper  
wit had he, and could both read well and write, mer-  
rie in companie, readie and quick of answer, nei-  
ther mute, nor full of bable, sometime talunting with  
out displeasure, and not without disport. The king  
would saie that he had thre concubins, which in thre  
diuerse properties diuersite excelled. One the mer-  
riest, another the wildest, the third the holiest harlot in  
his realme, as one whome no man could get out of  
the church lightlie to any place, but it were to his bed.

The other two were somewhat greater personages,  
and nathelesse of their humilitie content to be  
namelesse, and to forbeare the praise of those proper-  
ties: but the merriest was this Shoyes wyfe, in whom  
the king therefore toke speciall pleasure. For manie  
he had, but his he loued; whose fauour to say the truth  
(for sin it were to belie the diuell) she neuer abused  
to any mans hurt, but to manie a mans comfort  
and reliefe. Where the king toke displeasure, she  
would mitigate and appease his mind: where men  
were out of fauour, she would bring them in his  
grace. For manie that had highlie offended she ob-  
tained pardon. Of great forfeitures she gat men re-  
mission.

Finalle, in manie weightie sutes she stood ma-  
nie a man in great stead, either for none or verie  
small rewards, and those rather gate than rich; either  
that she was content with the deed if else well done;  
or for that she delighted to be sued vnto, and to shew  
what she was able to do with the king; or for that  
wanton women and wealthie be not alwaies coun-  
tous. I doubt not some shall thinke this woman too  
slight a thing to be written of, and set among the re-  
membances of great matters: which they shall spe-  
ciallie thinke, that happilie shall esteeme his onelie  
by that they now see hir.

But me seemeth the chance so much the more wor-  
thie to be remembred, in how much she is now in the  
more beggerlie condition, vnfreinded and woone out  
of acquaintance, after god substance, after as great  
fauour with the prince, after as great sute and see-  
king to with all those, that those daies had businesse  
to spend, as manie other men were in their times,  
which be now famous onelie by the infamie of their  
ill doings. His doings were not much lesse, albeit they  
be much lesse remembred, because they were not so  
uill. For men vse if they haue an euill turne, to write  
it in marble: and who so dooth vs a good turne, we  
write it in dust, which is not worst proued by hir: for  
at this daie she beggeth of manie at this daie liuing,  
that at this daie had begged if she had not bene.

Now was it so deuised by the protector and his  
councell, that the selfe daie, in which the lord cham-  
berleine was beheaded in the Tower of London,  
and about the selfe same houre, was there (not with-  
out his assent) beheaded at Pomfret, the foreremem-  
bered lords & knights that were taken from the king  
at Northampton and Stonie Stratford. Which  
thing was done in the presence, and by the order of  
sir Richard Ratcliffe knight, whose seruice the protec-  
tor speciallie vsed in that councell, and in the execu-  
tion of such lawlesse enterprises, as a man that had  
bene long secret with him, hauing experience of the  
world, and a shrewd wit, short & rude in speech, rough  
and boisterous of behauiour, bold in mischief, as far  
from pitie as from all feare of God.

This knight bringing them out of the prison to the  
scaffold, and shewing to the people about that they  
were traitors (not suffering them to declare & speake  
their innocencie, least their words might haue incli-  
ned men to pitie them, and to hate the protector and

his part) caused them hastilie, without iudgement,  
processe, or maner of order to be beheaded, and with-  
out other earthlie gilt, but onelie that they were god  
men, too true to the king, and too nigh to the quene.  
Now when the lord chamberleine & these other lords  
and knights were thus beheaded, and rid out of the  
waie: then thought the protector, that when men mu-  
ted what the matter meant, while the lords of the  
realme were about him out of their owne strength,  
while no man wist what to thinke, nor whom to trust,  
per euer they should haue space to dispute and digest  
the matter and make parties; it were best hastilie to  
pursue his purpose, and put himselfe in possession of  
the crowne, per men could haue time to deuise any  
waie to resist.

But now was all the studie by what meanes this  
matter, being of it selfe so heinous, might be first bro-  
ken to the people, in such wise that it might be well  
taken. To this councell they toke diuerse, such as  
they thought meetlie to be trusted, likelie to be indu-  
ced to that part, and able to stand them in stead either  
by power or policie. Among whome they made of  
councell Edmund Shaws knight then maior of Lon-  
don, which vpon trust of his owne aduancement,  
whereof he was of a proud heart highlie desirous,  
should frame the citie to their appetite. Of spirituall  
men they toke such as had wit, and were in authori-  
tie among the people for opinion of their learning,  
and had no scrupulous conscience. Among these had  
they John Shaw cleark brother to the maior, and  
srier Denker, prouinciall of the Augustine friers  
both doctours of diuinitie, both great preachers, both  
of more learning than vertue, of more fame than  
learning. For they were before greatlie esteemed a-  
mong the people: but after that neuer.

Of these two the one had a sermon in praise of the  
protector before the coronation, the other after, both so  
full of tedious flatterie, that no mans eares could a-  
bide them. Denker in his sermon so lost his voice,  
that he was faine to leaue off, and come downe in  
the midst. Doctor Shaw by his sermon lost his hone-  
stie, & some after his life, for verie shame of the world,  
into which he durst neuer after come abroad. But the  
srier forced for no shame, and so it harmed him the  
lesse. Howbeit some doubt, and manie thinke, that  
Denker was not of counsell in the matter before  
the coronation, but after the common maner fell to  
flatterie after: namelye sith his sermon was not in-  
continentlie vpon it, but at saint Maries hospitall at  
the Easter after.

But certeine it is, that doctor Shaw was of coun-  
sell in the beginning, so farre forth that they determi-  
ned that he should first breake the matter in a ser-  
mon at Paules crosse, in which he should (by the au-  
thoritie of his preaching) incline the people to the pro-  
tectors ghostlie purpose. But now was all the laboz  
and studie in the deuise of some conuenient pretext,  
for which the people should be content to depose the  
prince, and accept the protector for king. In which di-  
uerse things they deuised. But the chiefe thing & the  
weightiest of all that inuention rested in this, that  
they should alledge bastardie, either in king Ed-  
ward himselfe, or in his children, or both. So that he  
should seme disabled to inherit the crowne, by the  
duke of Bozke, and the prince by him.

To late bastardie in king Edward, sounded open-  
lie to the rebuke of the protector's owne mother, which  
was mother to them both; for in that point could be  
no other color, but to pretend that his owne mother  
was an adulteresse, which notwithstanding, to fur-  
ther this purpose he letted not. But neuerthelesse he  
would that point should be lesse and more fauoura-  
ble handled: not euen fullie plaine and directlie, but  
that the matter should be touched aslope craftilie, as

Thus b. f. though

The lord Shaw  
was a other  
beheaded.

Edmund  
Shaw maior  
of London.

Doct. Shaw,  
srier Den-  
ker.

The chiefe  
deuise to de-  
pose the  
prince.

though men spared in that point to speake all the truth, for feare of his displeasure. But the other point concerning the bastardie that they deuised to surmise in king Edwards children, that would he should be openlie declared and enforced to the uttermost. The colour and pretext thereof cannot be well perceiued, but if we first repeat you some things long before done about king Edwards marriage.

So before  
pag. 667, 668.

Dame Elizabeth Greie.

After that king Edward the fourth had deposed king Henrie the first, and was in peaceable possession of the realme, determining himselfe to marie (as it was met both for him selfe & the realme) he sent ouer in ambassage the erle of Warwicke, with other noble men in his companie to Spaine, to treat & conclude a marriage betwene h. Edward & the kings daughter of Spaine. In which thing the erle of Warwicke found the parties so toward & willing, that he speedily (according to his instructions without any difficultie) brought the matter to very good conclusion. Now happened it, that in the meane season there came to make a sute by petition to the king dame Elizabeth Greie, which was after his quene, at that time a widow, borne of noble blood, by his mother, duchess of Bedford, yet she married the lord Woodville, his father.

Nowbeit, this dame Elizabeth his selfe, being in seruice with quene Margaret, wife vnto king Henrie the first, was married vnto one [John] Greie an esquier, whome king Henrie made knight vpon the field that he had on [Barnet heath by saint Albons] against king Edward. But little while intoid he that knight: for he was at the same field slaine. After which done, and the erle of Warwicke, being in his ambassage about the afore remembred marriage, this poore ladie made humble sute vnto the king, that she might be restored vnto such small lands as his late husband had giuen her in iointure. Whome when the king beheld, and heard her speake, as she was both faire and of a goodlie fauor, moderate of stature, well made, and verie wise: he not onelie pitied her, but also was enamoured of her. And taking her afterward secretlie aside, began to enter in talking more familiarlie. Whose appetite when she perceiued, she vertuously denied him.

If wife answer of a chaste and continent lady.

But that did she so wisely, and with so good manner, and words so well set, that she rather kindled his desire than quenched it. And finally, after manie a meeting, much wooing, and many great promises, she well espies the kings affection toward her so greatly increased, that she durst somewhat the more boldly saie her mind, as to him whose hart she perceiued more seruientlie set, than to fall off for a word. And in conclusion, she shewed him plaine, that as she wist her selfe too simple to be his wife, so thought she her selfe too good to be his concubine. The king much maruelling at her constancie (as he that had not been wont elsewhere to be so stiffelie said naie) so much esteemed her continencie and chastitie, that he set her vertue in the stead of possession and riches: and thus taking counsell of his desire, determined in all possible hast to marie her.

The kings mother.

Now after he was thus appointed, and had betwene them twaine insared her: then asked he counsell of his other friends, and that in such manner, as they might then perceiue it bordered not greatly to say naie. Notwithstanding the duchess of Poike his mother was so fore moued therewith, that she dissuaded the marriage as much as she possible might; alledging that it was his honour, profit, and suertie also, to marie in a noble progenie out of his realme, where vpon depended great strength to his estate, by the affinity and great possibilitie of increase of his possession. And that he could not well otherwise do, seeing that the erle of Warwicke had so farre moued already: which were not likelie to take it well, if all

his voyage were in such wise frustrate, and his appointment deluded. And she said also, that it was not princelie to marie his owne subject, no great occasion leading thereto, no possessions, or other commodities depending thereupon; but onlie as it were a rich man that would marie his maid, onelie for a little wanton dosage vpon his person.

In which marriage manie mo commend the maidens fortune, than the maisters wisdom. And yet therein (she said) was more honestie than honour in this marriage. For so much as there is betwene no merchant and his owne maid so great difference, as betwene the king and this widow. In whose person, albeit there was nothing to be misliked; yet was there (she said) nothing so excellent, but that it might be found in diuerse other that were more mettlic (quoth she) for your estate, and maidens also; whereas the onelie widowhead of Elizabeth Greie, though she were in all other things conuenient for you, should yet suffice (as me seemeth) to retrain you from her marriage, sith it is an unfitting thing, and a verie blamish and high disparagement to the sacred maiestie of a prince, that ought as nigh to approach priesthood in cleanness as he doth in dignitie, to be defiled with bigamie in his first marriage.

The king, when his mother had said, made her answer, part in earnest, part in plaie merlic, as he that wist himselfe out of her rule. And albeit he would gladlie that she should take it well, yet was at a point in his owne mind, toke she it well or otherwise. Nowbeit somewhat to satisfie her, he said, that albeit marriage (being a spirituall thing) ought rather to be made for the respect of God, where his grace inclineth the parties to loue together, as he trusted it was in his, than for the regard of anie temporall aduantage: yet neuerthelesse, him seemed that this marriage, euen wooldie considered, was not vnpossible. For he reckoned the amitie of no earthly nation so necessarie for him, as the friendship of his owne, which he thought likelie to beare him so much the more hartie fauour, in that he disdeined not to marie with one of his owne land.

And yet if outward aliance were thought to requisite, he would find the means to enter therein, much better by other of his kin, where all the parties could be contented, than to marie himselfe whome he should happlie neuer loue; and for the possibilitie of more possessions, leese the fruit and pleasure of this that he had already. For small pleasure taketh a man of all that euer he hath beside, if he be loued against his appetite. And I doubt not (quoth he) but there be (as ye say) other, that be in euery point comparable with her. And therefore I let not them that like them to wed them. So more is it reason, that it mislike anie man, that I marrie where it liketh me. And I am sure that my coufine of Warwicke neither loueth me so little, to grudge at that I loue; nor is so vnreasonable, to looke that I should in choise of a wife, rather be ruled by his eie, than by mine owne: as though I were a ward that were bound to marie by the appointment of a gardian.

I would not be a king with that condition, to beare mine owne libertie in choise of mine owne marriage. As for possibilitie of more inheritance by new affinity in strange lands, is oft the occasion of more trouble than profit. And we haue already title by that means vnto so much, as sufficeth to get and keepe well in one mans daies. That she is a widow, and hath already children; by Gods blessed ladie, I am a bachelor, and haue some too, and so ech of vs hath a proofe that neither of vs is like to be barren. And therefore (madame) I prae you be content. I trust in God she shall bring forth a yong prince that shall please you. And as for the bigamie, let the bishop

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Elizabeth  
Lucie.

The kings  
marriage.

The king fled

The prince  
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King Henrie  
the first set up.

Of the erle  
of Warwicke.

The erle of  
Warwicke  
name.

I thought  
I should  
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Elizabeth  
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The kings  
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The king fled

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King Henrie  
the first dyed.

Of the earle  
of Marwarthe.

The earle of  
Marwarthe  
died.

hardlie late it in my waite when I come to take or-  
ders. For I understand it is forbidden a priest, but I  
neuer will it yet, that it was forbidden a prince.  
[This spake he as alluding to the libertie of princes,  
whose last standeth oftentimes for law, and their opi-  
nion for reason, according to the saying of the poet ;

*tunc omnia iure tenebis,*  
*Cum poteris rex esse.]*

The duchess with these words nothing appeased, and  
sawing the king so set thereon, that she could not pull  
him backe, so highlie she disdaind it, that under pre-  
text of hir dutie to Godward, she denieth to disturbe  
this marriage, and rather to helpe that he should ma-  
rie one dame Elizabeth Lucie, whome the king had  
also not long before gotten with child. Wherefore the  
kings mother openlie objected against his marriage,  
as it were in discharge of hir conscience, that the  
king was sure to dame Elizabeth Lucie and hir hus-  
band before God. By reason of which words, such ob-  
stacle was made in the matter, that either the bi-  
shops durst not, or the king would not proceed to the  
solemnization of this wedding, till these same were  
clearlie purged, and the truth well and openlie testi-  
fied. Whereupon dame Elizabeth Lucie was then  
sent for.

And albeit that she was by the kings mother and  
manie other put in good comfort, to affirme that she  
was ensured unto the king : yet when the was so-  
lemnlie sworn to saie the truth, she confessed that  
they were neuer ensured. Howbeit she said his grace  
spake so loving words unto hir, that the verelie ho-  
ped he would haue married hir. And that if it had not  
bene for such kind words, she would neuer haue  
shewed such kindnesse to him, to let him so kindlie  
get hir with child. This examination solemnlie ta-  
ken, when it was clerelie perceiued, that there was  
none impediment : the king with great feast and  
honourable solemnitie married dame Elizabeth  
Greie, and hir crowned queene that was his enemies  
wife, and manie times had praised full hartlie for his  
loffe, in which God loued hir better than to grant hir  
hir boune.

But when the earle of Marwarthe understood of  
this marriage, he took it so highlie that his ambas-  
sage was deluded, that for verie anger and disdain  
he (at his returning) assembled a great puissance  
against the king, and came so fast upon him per he  
could be able to resist, that he was faine to void the  
realme, and flee into Holland for succor, where he re-  
mained for the space of two yeares, leaving his new  
wife at Westmister in sanctuary, where she was  
delivered of Edward the prince, of whome we before  
haue spoken. In which meane time the earle of Mar-  
warthe took out of prison, and set by againe king  
Henrie the first, who was before by king Edward  
deposed, and that much what by the power of the earle  
of Marwarthe, which was a wise man, and a couragi-  
ous warriour, and of such strength, what for his lands,  
his alliance, and fauor with all people, that he made  
kings and put downe kings almost at his pleasure,  
and not impossible to haue attained it himselfe, if he  
had not reckoned it a greater thing to make a king  
than to be a king.

But nothing lasteth alwaie : for in conclusion,  
king Edward returned, and with much lesse number  
than he had at Barnet on the Casterdaie field, slue  
the earle of Marwarthe, with manie other great es-  
tates of that partie, & so stable attained the crowne  
againe, that he peaceable entoid it untill his deing  
daie : and in such plight left it, that it could not be lost  
but by the discord of his verie friends, or falsheid of  
his seined friends. I haue rehearsed this businesse  
about this marriage somewhat the more at length,  
because it might thereby the better appeare, upon how

slipprie a ground the protector builded his colour, by  
which he pretended king Edwards children to be  
bastards. But that inuention, simple as it was, it li-  
ked them to whome it sufficed to haue somewhat to  
saie, while they were sure to be compelled to no lar-  
ger prowe than themselves list to make.

Now then (as I began to shew you) it was by  
the protector and his counsell concluded, that this  
doctor Shato should in a sermon at Pauls crosse sig-  
nifie to the people, that neither king Edward him-  
selfe, nor the duke of Clarence, were lawfullie be-  
gotten, nor were not the verie children of the duke of  
Yorke, but gotten unlawfullie by other persons, in  
adulterie, of the duchess their mother. And that also  
dame Elizabeth Lucie was verelie the wife of king  
Edward, and so the prince and all his children ba-  
stards, that were begotten vpon the queene. Accord-  
ing to this deuise doctor Shato the fundaie after, at  
Pauls crosse in a great audience (as alwaie assem-  
bled great number to his preaching) he took for his  
theame; *Spuria vitilamina non agent radices altas*, that  
is to saie; Bastard slippes shall neuer take deepe  
root.

Thereupon when he had shewed the great grace  
that God giueth, and secretlie insundeth in right  
generation after the lawes of matrimonie, then de-  
clared he, that commonlie those children lacked that  
grace, and for the punishment of their parents were  
(for the more part) vnhappie, which were gotten in  
base, and speciallie in adulterie. Of which, though  
some, by the ignorance of the world and the truth hid  
from knowledge, inherited for the season other mens  
lands, yet God alwaie so prouideth, that it continueth  
not in their blood long : but the truth committing to  
light, the rightfull inheritors be restored, and the ba-  
stard slipp pulled by per it can be rooted dape. And  
so he did laie for the prowe and confirmation of this  
sentence certaine insamples taken out of the old tes-  
tament, and other ancient histories.

When began he to descend into the praise of the lord  
Richard late duke of Yorke, calling him father to  
the lord protector, and declared the title of his heires  
vnto the crowne, to whome it was (after the death of  
king Henrie the first) intailed by authoritie of parte-  
ment. Then shewed he that his verie right heire of  
his bodie lawfullie begotten was onelie the lord pro-  
tector. For he declared then, that king Edward was  
neuer lawfullie married vnto the queene, but was  
before God husband vnto dame Elizabeth Lucie, and  
so his children bastards. And besides that, neither  
king Edward himselfe, nor the duke of Clarence,  
among those that were secret in the household, were  
reckoned verie suerlie for the children of the noble  
duke, as those that by their famous more resembled  
other knowne men than him. From whose vertuous  
conditions he said also that the late king Edward  
was far off.

But the lord protector he said, the verie noble  
prince, the speciall paterne of knightlie prowesse, as  
well in all princelie behauor, as in the lineaments  
and fauour of his visage, represented the verie face  
of the noble duke his father. This is, quoth he, the fa-  
thers owne figure, this is his owne countenance, the  
verie print of his visage, the sure vndoubted image,  
the plaine expresse likenesse of that noble duke.  
Now was it before denieth, that in the speaking of  
these words, the protector should haue comen in a-  
mong the people to the sermon ward, to the end that  
those words meeting with his presence, might haue  
ben taken among the hearers, as though the Holie  
ghost had put them in the preachers mouth, & should  
haue moued the people euen there to crie; King Ri-  
chard, king Richard : that it might haue bene after  
said, that he was speciallie chosen by God, and in  
maner

Doc. Shaws  
sermon.

This pre-  
cher was  
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lesson per he  
came into the  
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R. Edward  
stander in  
a sermon.

A maruolous  
deuise to  
moue the  
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maner by miracle. But this deuise quailed, either by the protectors negligence, or the preachers ouermuch diligence.

It Richard commended by the preachers.

For while the protector found by the waie tarieng least he should preuent those words, and the doctoz fearing that he should come per his sermon could come to these words, hastned his matter the reso, he was come to them and past them, and entred into other matters per the protector came. Whome when he beheld comming, he suddenlie left the matter with which he was in hand, and without anie deduction therevnto, out of all order and out of all frame, began to repeat those words againe: This is the verie noble prince, the speciall patrone of knightlie prowesse, which as well in all princelie behauior, as in the lineaments & fauor of his visage, representeth the verie face of the noble duke of Yorke his father: this is the fathers owne figure, this is his owne countenance, the verie print of his visage, the sure vndoubted image, the plaine expresse likenesse of the noble duke, whose remembrance can neuer die while he liueth.

Note & course of Gods judgement.

While these words were in speaking, the protector accompanied with the duke of Buckingham, went through the people into the place where the doctozs commonlie stand in the vpper storie, where he stood to hearken the sermon. But the people were so farr from crieng; R. Richard, that they stood as they had bene turned into stones, for wonder of this shamefull sermon. After which once ended, the preacher gat him home, and neuer after durst looke out for shame, but kept him out of sight like an owle. And when he once asked one that had bene his old friend what the people talked of him, all were it that his owne conscience well shewed him that they talked no god; yet when the tother answered him, that there was in euerie mans mouth spoken of him much shame, it so strake him to the heart, that within few daies after he withered and consumed awaie [for verie thought and inward pine, procured by irreuerable cares, whose nature is noted by obseruation of their effects: 40

Ouid. lib. 3. met.

*Attendant vigilis corpus miserabile curat.*

Then on the tuesday following this sermon, there came to the Guildhall in London the duke of Buckingham, accompanied with diuerse lords and knights mo than hapilie knew the message that they brought. And there in the east end of the hall, where the maioz keepeth the Hustings, the maioz and all the aldermen being assembled about him, all the commons of the citie gathered before them. After silence commanded vpon great paine in the protectors name: the duke stood vp, and (as he was neither vblearned, and of nature maruelouslie well spoken) he said vnto the people with a cleare and lowd voice in this maner of wise.

The duke of Buckinghams oration to the assemblie of the maior, aldermen, and commoners.



Friends, for the zeale and heartie fauour that we beare you, we be comen to breake vnto you of a matter right great and weightie, and no lesse weightie than pleasing to God, and profitable to all the realme: noz to no part of the realme more profitable, than to you the citizens of this noble citie. For whie, that thing that we wote well ye haue long time lacked, and sore longed for, that ye would haue giuen great good for, that ye would haue gone farre to fetch; that thing we be come hither to bring you without your labour, paine, cost, aduen-

ture or leopardie. What thing is that? Certes the suertie of your owne bodies, the quiet of your wiues and your daughters, the safegard of your goods: of all which things in times past ye stood euermore in doubt. For who was there of you all, that would reckon himselfe lord of his own goods among so manie greins & traps as was set theretofore; among so much pil-ling and polling, among so manie taxes and tallages, of which there was neuer end, & oftentimes no need: Or if anie were, it rather grew of riot, and vnrasonable wast, than anie necessarie or honouerable charge.

So that there was daillie pilled fro good men and honest, great substance of goods, to be lashed out among vnthrifts; so far forth, that fifteen sufficed not, noz anie vniuersall names of knowne taxes: but vnder an easie name of beneuolence and good will, the commissioners so much of euerie man toke as no man could with his good will haue giuen. As though that name of beneuolence had signified, that euerie man should paie, not what himselfe of his owne good will list to grant, but what the king of his good will list to take. Which neuer asked little, but euerie thing was halued aboue the measure, amercements turned into fines, fines into ransoms, small trespasses into mispizon, mispizon into treason. Whereof (I thinke) no man looketh that we should remember you of examples by name, as though Burdet were forgotten, that was for a word spoken in hast cruelle beheaded, by the misconstruing of the laws of this realme, for the princes pleasure.

With no lesse honour to Markam then chiefe iustice, that left the benefit & dignitie of his office, rather than he would assent to the dishonestie of those, that either for feare or flatterie gaue that iudgement. What Coke, your owne worshipfull neighbour, alderman and maior of this noble citie, who is of you so either negligent that he knoweth not, or so forgetfull that he remembreth not, or so hard hearted that he pittieeth not that worshipfull mans losse: What speake we of losse? His better spoile and vnderferued destruction, onelie for that it hapned those to fauour him whome the prince fauoured not. We need not (I suppose) to rehearse of these anie mo by name, sith there be (I doubt not) manie here present, that either in themselves or in their nigh friends haue knowne, as well their goods as their persons greatlie endangered, either by feigned quarels, or small matters aggroued with heinous names. And also there was no crime so great, of which there could lacke a pretext.

For sith the king, preuenting the time of this inheritance, attained the crowne by battell: it sufficed in a rich man for a pretext of treason, to haue bene of kindred or alliance, neer familiaritie, or legier acquaintance with anie of those that were at anie time

An. Dom. 1481.

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Open warre  
not full as  
usual.

Civil warre  
the occasion of  
many great  
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Shores wife  
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time the kings enemies, which was at one time and other more than halfe the reime. This were neither your goods in suertie, and yet they brought your bodie in iopardie, beside the common aduenture of open warre, which albeit that it is euer the will and occasion of much mischæfe, yet is it neuer so mischæuous, as where any people fall at distance among themselves; nor in none earthlie nation so deadlie and so pestilent, as when it hapneth among vs, and among vs neuer so long continued dissention, nor so manie batels in that season, nor so cruell and so deadlie fought, as was in that kings daies that dead is, God forgive it his soule.

In whose time, and by whose occasion, what about the getting of the garland, keeping it, lasing and winning againe, it hath cost more English blood, than hath twice the winning of France. In which inward war among our selues, hath bene so great effusion of the ancient noble blood of this realme, that scarcely the halfe remaineth, to the great infæbling of this noble land, beside manie a good tobone ransacked and spoiled by them, that haue bene going to the field or coming from thence. And peace long after not much surer than war. So that no time was therein, which rich men for their monie, and great men for their lands, or some other for some feare, or some displeasure were not out of perill, for whom trusted he that mistrusted his owne brother? Whome spared he that killed his owne brother? Or who could persecutie loue him, if his owne brother could not?

What maner of folke he most fauoured we shall for his honour spare to speake of. Howbeit this were you well all, that who so was best, bare alwaie least rule; & more sure was in his daies to Shores wife, a bile and an abominable strumpet, than to all the lords in England: except unto those that made hir their protector. Which simple woman was well named & honest, till the king for his wanton lust and sinfull affection bereft hir from hir husband, a right honest substantiall young man among you. And in that point, which in good faith I am sozie to speake of, sauing that it is in baine to kepe in counsell that thing that all men know, the kings greedie appetite was insatiable, and euerie where ouer all the realme intollerable.

For no woman was there anie where, young or old, rich or poore, whome he set his eie vpon, in whome he anie thing liked, either person or fauour, spech, pale, or countenance, but without anie feare of God, or respect of his honour, murmur or grudge of the world, he would importunelie pursue his appetite, and haue hir, to the great destruction of manie a good woman, and great dolor to their husbands, and their other friends, which being honest people of them selues, so much regard the cleanness of their house, the chastitie of their wiues,

and their children, that them were leauer to lese all that they had beside, than to haue such a villanie done them. And all were it that with this and other importable dealing, the realme was in euerie part annoied: yet speciallie ye heere the citizens of this noble citie, as well for that amongest you is most plentie of all such things as minister matter to such iniuries as for that you were nearest at hand, with that neere heere abouts was commonlie his most abiding.

And yet he ye the people, to whome he had as singular cause well and kindlie to intreat, as anie part of his realme; not onelie for that the prince (by this noble citie, as his speciall chamber, & the speciall well renowned citie of this realme) much honourable fame receiue among all other nations: but also for that ye (not without your great cost, & sundrie perils & iopardies in all his warres) bare euen your speciall fauor to his part. Which your kind minds bozne to the house of Poike, with he hath nothing wortheilie acquitted, there is of that house that now by Gods grace better shall: which thing to shew you is the whole summe and effect of this our present errand. It shall not (I wot well) need that I rehearse you againe, that ye haue already heard of him that can better tell it, and of whome I am sure ye will better beleue it. And reason is that it so be.

I am not so proud, to loke therefore that ye should reckon my words of as great authority as the preachers of the word of God, namelie a man so cunning and so wise, that no man better woteth what he should saie, and thereto so good and vertuous, that he would not saie the thing which he wist he should not saie, in the pulpit namelie, into the which no honest man cometh to lie. Which honorable preacher, ye well remember, substantiallie declared vnto you at Daules crosse, on sundaie last passed, the right & title that the most excellent prince Richard duke of Gloucester, now protector of this realme, hath vnto the crowne and kingdome of the same. For as the worshipfull man groundlie made open vnto you, the children of king Edward the fourth were neuer lawfullie begotten, forsomuch as the king (leaving his verie wife dame Elizabeth Lucie) was neuer lawfullie married vnto the quene their mother, whose blood, sauing that he set his voluptuous pleasure before his honor, was full bmmetlie to be matched with his; and the mingling of whose bloods together, hath bene the effusion of a great part of the noble blood of this realme.

Wherby it may well seme the mariage not well made, of which there is so much mischæfe growne. For lacke of which lawfull coupling, & also of other things which the said worshipfull doctoz rather signified than fullie explained, & which things shall not be spoken for me, as the thing wherein euerie man forbere to say that he know-

He directeth  
his spech to  
the commonal-  
tie of the citie.

London the  
kings spect-  
all chamber.

Doct. Shaw  
commended  
by the duke of  
Buckingham.

A slanderous  
lie confirmed.

The title of  
R. Richard to  
the crowne.

eth in auoiding displeasure of my noble lord  
protector, bearing (as nature requireth) a  
filiall reuerence to the duchesse his mother.  
For these causes (I say) before remembred,  
that is to wit, for lacke of other issue law-  
fullie of the late noble prince Richard duke  
of Yorke, to whose roiall bloud the crowne  
of England and of France is by the high  
authoritie of parlement intailed, the right  
and title of the same is by the iust course of  
inheritance (according to the comon lawes  
of the land) deuolued & comen vnto the  
most excellent prince the lord protector, as  
to the verie lawfullie begotten sonne of the  
fore remembred noble duke of Yorke.

Which thing well considered, and the  
great knightlie prowesse pondered, with  
manifest vertues, which in his noble per-  
son singularlie abound; the nobles and  
commons also of this realme, and speciallie  
of the north part, not willing anie bastard  
bloud to haue the rule of the land, nor the  
abusions before in the same bled anie lon-  
ger to continue, haue condescended and ful-  
lie determined, to make humble petition to  
the most puissant prince the lord protector,  
that it maie like his grace (at our humble  
request) to take vpon him the guiding and  
gouernance of this realme, to the wealth  
and increase of the same, according to his  
verie right and iust title. Which thing I  
wote it well, he will be loth to take vpon  
him, as he whose wisdom well perceiueth  
the labor and studie both of mind and bodie,  
that come therewith, to whomsoever so  
will occupie the same, as I dare say he  
will, if he take it. Which come I warne  
you well is no childes office. And that the  
great wise man well perceiued, when he  
said: *Veregno cuius rex puer est*: Who is that  
realme that hath a child to their king.

The dignitie  
and office of a  
king full of  
care & studie.

Wherefore so much the moze cause haue  
we to thanke God, that this noble perso-  
nage, which is so rightlie intituled therun-  
to, is of so sad age, & thereto so great wise-  
dome ioined with so great experience,  
which albeit he will be loth (as I haue  
said) to take it vpon him, yet shall he to our  
petition in that behalfe moze gracioullie  
incline, if ye the worshipfull citizens of this  
the chiefe citie of this realme, ioine with  
vs the nobles in our said request. Which  
for your owne weale (we doubt not) but ye  
will: and nathelesse I heartlie pray you  
so to do, whereby you shall do great profit  
to all this realme beside, in choosing them  
so good a king, and vnto your selues speciall  
commoditie, to whom his maiestie shall e-  
uer after beare so much the moze tender  
fauor, in how much he shall perceiue you  
the moze prone and beneuolentlie minded  
toward his election. Wherin deere friends  
what mind you haue, we require you  
plainlie to shew vs.

When the duke had said, and looked that the people,  
whome he hoped that the maior had framed before,  
should after this proposition made, haue cried; King  
Richard, king Richard; all was hush and mute, and

not one word answered therunto. Wherewith the  
duke was maruellouslie abashed, and taking the  
maior nether to him, with other that were about him  
prieue to that matter, said vnto them softly. What  
meaneth this, that the people be so still? Sir (quoth  
the maior) perchance they perceiue you not well. What  
shall we mend (quoth he) if that will helpe. And by this  
somewhat louder he rehered to them the same mat-  
ter againe in other order, and other words, so well  
and ornatlie, and nathelesse so euidentlie and plaine,  
with voice, gesture, and countenance so comelie, and  
so conuenient, that euerie man much marvelled that  
heard him, and thought that they neuer had in their  
liues heard so euill a tale so well told (inasmuch that  
he seemed as cunning an orator, as he, of whome the  
poet spake to his high praise & comendation, saying:  
*Quilibet eloquio causa fit apta suo.*)

But were it for wonder or feare, or that each looked  
that other should speake first: not one word was  
there answered of all the people that stood before, but  
all was as still as the midnight, not so much as royn-  
ing amongst them, by which they might seme to  
commune what was best to do. When the maior saw  
this, he with other partners of that counsell drew a-  
bout the duke, and said that the people had not bene  
accustomed there to be spoken vnto, but by the re-  
corder, which is the mouth of the citie, and hapilie to  
him they will answer. Whith that the recorder, cal-  
led Fitz William, a sad man, & an honest, which was  
so new come into that office, that he neuer had spo-  
ken to the people before, and loth was with that mat-  
ter to begin, notwithstanding therunto commanded  
by the maior, made rehearfall to the commons of  
that the duke had twise rehearsed to them himselfe.

But the recorder so tempered his tale, that he  
shewed euerie thing as the dukes words, and no part  
his owne. But all this nothing no change made in the  
people, which alwaie after one stood as they had bene  
men amazed. Whereupon the duke royned vnto the  
maior, and said; This is a marvellous obstinate  
lence: and therewith he turned vnto the people a-  
gain with these words; Deere friends, we come to  
moue you to that thing, which peradventure we not  
so greatlie needed, but that the lords of this realme,  
and the commons of other parties might haue suffi-  
ced, saying that we such loue beare you, and so much  
set by you, that we would not gladlie do without  
you, that thing in which to be partners is your weale  
and honor, which (as it seemeth) either you see not, or  
weie not. Wherefore we requite you giue vs an  
swer one way or other, whether you be minded, as  
all the nobles of the realme be, to haue this noble  
prince, now protector, to be your king or not.

At these words the people began to whisper among  
themselves secretly, that the voice was neither loud  
nor distinct, but as it were the sound of a swarme of  
bees, till at the last in the nether end of the hall, an  
ambushment of the dukes seruants and halberds,  
and other belonging to the protector, with some priu-  
ties and lads that thrust into the hall amongst the  
people, began suddenly at mens backs to crie out,  
as loud as their throates would giue; King Richard,  
king Richard: and threw vp their caps in token of  
ioy. And they that stood before, cast backe their heads  
maruelling therof, but nothing they said. Now when  
the duke and the maior saw this manner, they wiselie  
turned it to their purpose, and said it was a godlie  
crie, & a ioisfull, to heare euerie man with one voice,  
no man saying nate.

Wherefore friends (quoth the duke) sith we per-  
ceiue it is all your whole minds to haue this noble  
man for your king (whereof we shall make his grace  
so effectuell report, that we doubt not but it shall  
redound vnto your great weale and commoditie) we  
require

The election  
of R. Richard  
perceiued by  
the recorder.

Fitz William  
recorder.

R. Richards  
election pro-  
ceeded by the  
cries of con-  
federates.

The maior  
comming to  
Richard's ca-  
del into the  
lord protector.

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require ye, that ye to morrow go with vs, and we with you vnto his noble grace, to make our humble request vnto him in maner befoze remembred. And therewith the lordes came downe, and the companie dissolved and departed, the moze part all sad: some with glad semblance that were not verie metrie, and some of those that came thither with the duke not able to dissemble their sorow, were satine at his backe to turne their face to the wall, while the dolor of their hearts burst out of their eyes.

The moze  
comming to  
Barnard's ca-  
stell vnto the  
late protectoꝝ.

Then on the morrow after, the mayoꝝ with all the aldermen, and chiefe commoners of the citie, in their best maner apparelled, assembling themselves togither, resorted vnto Barnard's castell, where the protectoꝝ laie. To which place repaired also (according to their appointment) the duke of Buckingham, and diuerse noble men with him, beside manie knights and other gentlemen. And thereupon the duke sent word vnto the lord protectoꝝ, of the being there of a great and honourable companie, to moue a great matter vnto his grace. Whereupon the protectoꝝ made difficultie to come out vnto them, but if he first knewe some part of their errand, as though he doubted and partlie mistrusted the coming of such a number vnto him so suddenlie, without anie warning or knowledge, whether they came for good or harme.

Then the duke, when he had shewed this to the mayoꝝ and other, that they might thereby see how little the protectoꝝ looked for this matter, they sent vnto him by the messenger such louing message againe, and therewith so humble besought him, to vouchsafe that they might resort to his presence to propose their intent, of which they would vnto none other person anie part disclose; that at the last he came forth of his chamber, and yet not downe vnto them, but stood above in a gallerie ouer them, where they might see him, and speake to him, as though he would not yet come too nere them till he wist what they ment. And therupon the duke of Buckingham first made humble petition vnto him on the behalfe of them all, that his grace would pardon them, and licence them to propose vnto his grace the intent of their coming, without his displeasure, without which pardon obtained, they durst not be bold to moue him of that matter.

In which albeit they ment as much honor to his grace, as wealth to all the realme beside, yet were they not sure how his grace would take it, whome they would in no wise offend. When the protectoꝝ (as he was verie gentle of himselfe, and also longed soze to wit what they ment) gaue him leaue to propose what him liked, verelie trusting (for the good mind that he bare them all) none of them anie thing would intend vnto himward, wherewith he ought to be graued. When the duke had this leaue and pardon to speake, then wared he bold to shew him their intent and purpose, with all the causes mouing them thereto (as ye befoze haue heard) and finally to beseech his grace, that it would like him, of his accustomed goodnesse and zeale vnto the realme, now with his eye of pitie to beholde the long continued distresse and decaye of the same, and to set his gracions hands to redresse and amendment thereof.

All which he might well do, by taking vpon him the crowne and gouernance of this realme, according to his right and title lawfullie descended vnto him, and to the laud of God, profit of the land, & vnto his noble grace so much the moze honour, and lesse paine, in that, that neuer prince reigned vpon anie people, that were so glad to liue vnder his obediens, as the people of this realme vnder his. When the protectoꝝ had heard the proposition, he looked verie strangelie thereat, and answered: that all were it that he part-

lie knewe the things by them alledged to be true; yet such entire loue he bare vnto king Edward and his children, that so much moze regarded his honour in other realmes about, than the crowne of anie one of which he was neuer desirous, that he could not find in his hart in this point to incline to their desire. For in all other nations, where the truth were not well knowne, it should peraduenture be thought, that it were his owne ambitious mind and deuise, to depose the prince, and take himselfe the crowne.

With which infamie he would not haue his honour stained for anie crowne, in which he had euer perceiued much moze labour and paine, than pleasure to him that so would vse it, as he that would not, were not woorthie to haue it. Notwithstanding, he not onlie pardoned them the motion that they made him, but also thanked them for the loue and hartlie fauour they bare him, praiseng them for his sake to giue and beare the same to the prince, vnder whom he was, and would be content to liue, and with his labour and counsell (as farre as should like the king to vse him) he would do his uttermost deuoir to set the realme in good state, which was already in this little while of his protectoꝝship (the praise giuen to God) well begun, in that the malice of such as were before occasion of the contrarie, and of new intended to be, were now partlie by god policie, & partlie moze by Gods speciall prouidence, than mans prouision, repressed.

Upon this answer giuen, the duke by the protectoꝝs licence, a little rownded aswell with other noble men about him, as with the mayoꝝ and recorder of London. And after that (vpon like pardon desired & obtained) he shewed aloud vnto the protectoꝝ, that for a finall conclusion, that the realme was appointed R. Edwards line should not anie longer reigne vpon them, both for that they had so farre gone, that it was now no suertie to retreat, as for that they thought it for the weake vniuersall to take that waie, although they had not yet begun it. Wherefoze, if it would like his grace to take the crowne vpon him, they would humble beseech him thereto. If he would giue them a resolute answer to the contrarie, which they would be loth to heare, then must they needs seeke and should not faile to find some other noble man that would. These words much moued the protectoꝝ, which else (as euerie man may well) would neuer of likelihood haue inclined thereto.

But when he saw there was none other waie, but that either he must take it, or else he and his both go from it, he said vnto the lordes and commons: With we perceiue well that all the realme is so set, thereof we be verie sozie, that they will not suffer in any wise king Edwards line to gouerne them, whom no man earthly can gouerne against their willes; & we well also perceiue, that no man is there, to whome the crowne can by iust title apperteine, as to our selues, as verie right here lawfully begotten of the bodie of our most deere father Richard late duke of Yorke, to which title is now ioined your election, the nobles and commons of this realme, which we of all titles possible take for the most effectuell: we be content and a grā sauourable to incline to your petition and request, and (according to the same) here we take vpon vs the rofall estate, preheminentie and kingdome of the two noble realmes, England and France: the one from this daie forthward by vs and our heires to rule, gouerne, and defend; the other by Gods grace, and your good helpe, to get againe and subdue, and establish for ener in due obedience vnto this realme of England, the aduancement wherof we neuer aske of God longer to liue than we intend to procure.

With this there was a great shout, crying: King Richard, king Richard. And then the lordes went by to the

A singular  
dissimulation  
of king Ri-  
chard.

R. Richard  
spake other-  
wise than he  
meant.

The election  
of R. Richard  
hardly to be  
preferred.

R. William  
recoꝝder.

R. Richards  
election pro-  
ferred by voles  
of con-  
sideration.

The protectoꝝ  
saweth vpon  
him to be  
king.



I made match  
to content the  
people.

Inuenerat. fac. 2.

the king (for so was he from that time called) and the people departed, talking diuerslie of the matter, euerie man as his fantasie gaue him. But much they talked and marvelled of the maner of this dealing, that the matter was on both parts made so strange, as though neither had euer communed with other thereof before, when that themselves wist there was no man so dull that heard them, but he perceiued well enough that all the matter was made betwene them. Wholpbeit some excused that againe, and said

non facile est tibi

Decipere Vlysses.]

For at the consecration of a bishop, euerie man woteth well by the pateng for his buls, that he purpo

seth to be one, & though he pale for nothing else. And yet must he be twise asked whether he will be bishop or no, and he must twise saie naie, and the thirde time take it, as compelled thereunto by his owne will. And in a stage plate, all the people know right well, that one plaieng the Solban, is percase a soluter; yet if one should can so little god, to thew out of season what acquaintance he hath with him, and call him by his owne name while he standeth in his maiestie, one of his tormentors might hap to breake his head (and twishe) for marring of the plate. And so they said, that these matters be kings games, as it were stage plates, and for the moze part plated vpon scaffolds, in which poze men be but the lookers on. And they that twise be will meddle no further. For they that sometime step bp, and plate with them, when they can not plaie their parts, they disorder the plate, and do themselves no good.

Thus farre Edward the fift, who was neuer king crowned, but shamefullie by his vnclie slaine, as in the proceffe following appeereth.



## Richard the third, third sonne to Richard duke of Yorke, and vnclie to Edward the fift.

Anno Reg. 1

1483

This that is here betwene this marke (\*) was not written by maister More in this historie written by him in English, but is translated out of this historie which he wrote in Latine.

The next daie the protector, with a great traine went to Westmister hall, & there when he had placed himselfe in the court of the kings bench, declared to the audience, that he would take vpon him the crowne in that place there, where the king himselfe sitteth and ministrereth the law, because he considered that it was the chiefest dutie of a king to minister the lawes. Then with as pleasant an oration as he could, he went about to win vnto him the nobles, the merchants, the artificers, and in conclusion all kind of men, but especiallie the lawiers of this realme. And finally, to the intent that no man should hate him for feare, and that his deceitfull clemencie might get him the good will of the people, when he had declared the discommodities of discord, & the comodities of concord & vnitie, he made an open proclamation, that he did put out of his mind all enimities, and that he there did openlie pardon all offenses committed against him.

And to the intent that he might thew a pzoofe thereof, he commanded that one fog, whom he had long deadlie hated, should be brought then before him, who being brought out of the sanctuarie (for thither had he fled for feare of him) in the sight of the people, he took him by the hand. Which thing the common people reioysed at, and praised, but wise men took it for a vanitie. In his returne homeward, whom so euer he met, he saluted. For a mind that knoweth it selfe guiltie,

is in a manner delected to a seruile flatterie (which refuseth no dutifullnesse, tend the same to neuer so vie a degree of indignitie; which one noteth, saieing:

rides? maiore cachinno

Concussur; flet, silachrymas asperxit amicos;

Frigeris? friger; si dixeris, astus; sudat.]

When he had begun his reigne in the moneth of June, after this mockish election, then was he crowned king in the verie same moneth. And that sollemnitie was furnished, for the most part, with the selfe same poussion that was appointed for the coronation of his nephew. (\*) But here to thew the maner of his coronation, as the same is inserted in this pamphlet of sir Thomas More, by maister Edward Hall and Richard Grafton (although not found in the same pamphlet) thus we find it by them reported.

(\*) First, to be sure of all enimies (as he thought) he sent for fise thousand men of the north against his coronation, which came by euill apparelled, and worse harnessed, in rustie harnesse, neither defensible, nor scotized to the sale, which mustered in ffinshurie field to the great disdain of the lookers on. By which be grinning it appeared to the world that he had his state in suspition, otherwisse he would not haue procured such a power to be attendant at his commandment, and that at such time as (all weapons laid aside) peace and tranquillitie should haue bene sought after for the comforts of the peoples minds, & the safetie of his owne person; but being verie mistrustfull & fraught with careful thoughts, he was in a mize betwene hope and feare, according to this verie true saieing:

Sollicita

Benetene  
nights of  
the bath crea-  
re by king  
Richard.

what peers &  
ates were  
attendant on  
going to  
his corona-  
tion.

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lord  
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Tire  
sir  
Geri  
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Debi  
don,  
ward  
am  
field,  
Charl  
John  
Bech  
sir  
Ludi  
sir  
Ewa  
ton, si  
Phillip  
Gress  
ris, si  
sir Jo  
Cour  
medil

*Sollicita mentes speque metuque pauent.*

The fourth daie of Iulie he came to the Towber by  
water with his wiife, and the fift daie he created Tho-  
mas lord Howard duke of Norfolk, and sir Tho-  
mas Howard his sonne he created earle of Surrie,  
and William lord Berkeleie was then created erle  
of Nottingham, and Francis lord Louell was then  
made viceroy Louell, and the king his chamber-  
leine, and the lord Stanleie was deliuered out of  
ward, for feare of his sonne the lord Strange, which  
was then in Lancashire, gathering men (as men  
said) and the said lord was made steward of the king  
his household: likewise the archbishop of Poze was  
deliuered, but Dorset bishop of Eli was commit-  
ted to the duke of Buckingham to keepe in ward,  
which sent him to his manour of Beeknocke in  
Wales, from whence he escaped to king Richard his  
confusion.

The same night, the king made seventene knights of the Bath, whose names insue : Sir Edmund the duke of Suffolke sonne, sir George Creie, the earle of Berks sonne, sir William, the lord Zouches sonne, sir Henrie Aburgavennie, sir Christopher Willoughbbie, sir William Berkeleye, sir Henrie Babington, sir Thomas Arundell, sir Thomas Bologne, sir Serueis of Clifton, sir William Saie, sir Edmund Bedingfield, sir William Corderbie, sir Thomas Lekenoz, sir Thomas of Wiman, sir John Browne, sir William Berkeleye. The next daie, being the first daie of Iulie, the king rode through the cite of London toward Westminster with great pompe, being accompanied wifh these dukes, earles, lords, and knights, whose names follow. Edward prince of Wales, the kings onelie sonne. Dukes : the duke of Posfolke, the duke of Buckingham, the duke of Suffolke. Earles : the earle of Possumberland, the earle of Arundell, the earle of Kent, the earle of Surrie, the earle of Wiltshire, the earle of Huntington, the earle of Nottingham, the earle of Warwike, the earle of Lincoln. Lords : the lord Lisle vicount, the lord Louell vicount, the lord Stanleie, the lord Audleie, the lord Daeres, the lord Ferrers of Chartleie, the lord Powes, the lord Scroppe of Upfall, the lord Scroppe of Bolton, the lord Greie Conner, the lord Greie of Wilton, the lord Sturton, the lord Cobham, the lord Horleie, the lord Aburgavennie, the lord Zouch, the lord Ferrers of Grobie, the lord Welles, the lord Lomleie, the lord Patreuers, the lord Herbert, the lord Bedham. Knights : sir James Tirell, sir William Kneuet, sir Thomas Abozou, sir William Stanleie, sir William Aparre, sir George Browne, sir Robert Middleton, sir John Penningham, sir Nicholas Latimer, sir Thomas Montgomerie, sir Thomas Delamer, sir Gilbert Debnam, sir Terrie Kobsart, sir William Handon, sir John Sauell, sir Henrie Wentford, sir Edward Stanleie, sir Henrie Sentmount, sir William Hong, sir Thomas Bowser, sir Henrie Winkefield, sir Thomas Moxleie, sir John Sentlow, sir Charles of Pilkington, sir James Harrington, sir John Aleie, sir Thomas Berkeleye, sir Richard Becham, sir William Hopton, sir Thomas Persie, sir Robert Dimmocke, sir John Cheinie, sir Richard Ludlow, sir John Eldington, sir William Sands, sir Richard Audleie, sir William Sentlow, sir Thomaswaights, sir Edmund of Audleie, sir Kase Ash-ton, sir Richard Charlington, sir Thomas Greie, sir Philip Berkeleye, sir Robert Harrington, sir Thomas Grefleie, sir Richard Harecourt, sir William Porris, sir Thomas Selenger, sir Richard Hobbeson, sir John Conias, sir William Stoner, sir Philip Courtneie, sir William Cascoigne, sir Richard Asmediton, sir Roger fines, sir George Ware, sir

fir Henric Perſie, fir John Wood, fir John Sparre,  
 fir John Grete, fir John Danbie, fir Richard Taile-  
 buſh, fir John Kudet, fir John Herring, fir Richard  
 Cuderbie, fir John Berkeleie, fir James Stran-  
 guith, fir Raſe Carnbreche, fir John Conſtable,  
 fir Robert Eliard, fir Richard Werell, fir John Gifford,  
 fir John Lchenoz, fir John Poileie, fir John Hurc,  
 fir John Bologne, fir Edmund Shawalderman.

On the morowe, being the first daie of Julie, the  
king with quene Anne his wife, came downe out  
of the White hall into the great hall at Westmin-  
ster, and went directlie into the kings Bench. And  
from thence, the king and the quene going upon rai-  
cloth barefooted, went vnto saint Edwards shrine,  
and all his nobilitie going with him, euerie lord in  
his degree. And first went the trumpets, and then the  
heralds of armes in their rich coates, & next followed  
the crosse with a solemne procession, the priests ha-  
uing fine surplices and graie amisses vpon them.  
The abbats and bishops mitred and in rich copes,  
euerie of them carried their crosiers in their hands.  
The bishop of Rochester bare the crosse before the  
cardinal. Then followed the earle of Huntington  
bearing a pale of gilt spurres, signifieng bright-  
hood. Then followed the earle of Bedford bearing saint  
Edwards staffe for a relike.

After them came the earle of Northumberland bare-headed, with the pointlesse sword naked in his hand, which signified mercie. The lord Stanleie bare the mace of the constableness. The earle of Kent bare the second sword on the right hand of the king naked, with a point, which signified iustice vnto the temporalltie. The lord Louell bare the third sword on the left hand with a point, which signified iustice to the cleargie. The duke of Suffolke followed with the scepter in his hand, which signified peace. The earle of Lincolne bare the ball and crosse, which signified a monarchie. The erle of Surrie bare the fourth sword before the king in a rich scabbard, and that is called the sword of estate. Then went thre together, in the midst went Warter king & t armes in his rich cote : and on his left hand went the maior of London, bearing a mace : and on his right hand went the gentleman usher of the priue chamber. Then followed the duke of Northfolke, bearing the kings crowne betwene his hands.

Then followed king Richard in his robes of purple velvet, and ouer his head a canopie, boine by foure barons of the cinque ports. And on euerie side of the king there went one bishop, that is to saie, the bishop of Bath, and the bishop of Durham. Then followed the duke of Buckingham bearing the kings traine, with a white staffe in his hand, signifieng the office of the high steward of England. Then there followed a great number of earles and barons befoze the queene. And then came the earle of Huntington, who bare the queenes scepter, and the vicount Lille bearing the rod with the dove. And the earle of Wilshire bare the queenes crowne. Then followed queene Anne daughter to Richard earle of Warwike in robes like to the king, betwene two bishops, and a canopie ouer hir head boine by the barons of the ports. On hir head a rich coronet set with stones and pearle.

After hit followed the countesse of Richmond  
heire to the duke of Summerfet, which bare vp the  
quenes traine. After followed the duchesse of Suff-  
folke and Pozzfolke, with countesses, baronesses, la-  
dies, and manie faire gentlewomen. In this order  
they passed through the palace, and entered the abbete  
at the west end; and so came to their seats of estate.  
And after diuerse songs solemnelie song, they both  
ascended to the high altar, and were shifed from  
their robes, and had diuerse places open from the  
middle

The solemn  
ceremonies  
performed at  
King  
Richard's  
coronation.

Queene Anne  
wife to king  
Richard and  
daughter to  
Richard earle  
of warwike,  
and hir traine,

The king &  
queen crowne  
1483.

middle byward, in which places they were annoyned. Then both the king and the queene changed them into cloth of gold, and ascended to their seats, where the cardinal of Canturburie, & other bishops them crowned according to the custome of the realme, giuing him the scepter in the left hand, & the ball with the crosse in the right hand; and the queene had the scepter in hir right hand, and the rod with the dove in hir left hand.

On euerie side of the king stood a duke, and before him stood the earle of Surrie with the sword in his hands. And on euerie side of the queene standing a bishop, & a ladie kneeling. The cardinal song masse, and after par, the king and the queene descended, and before the high altar they were both houseled, with one host diuided betwene them. After masse finished, they both offered at saint Edward his thyrine, and there the king left the crowne of saint Edward, and put on his owne crowne. And so in order as they came, they departed to Westminster hall; and so to their chambers for a season: during which time the duke of Norfolk came into the hall, his horse trapped to the ground in cloth of gold, as high marshall, and voided the hall. About foure of the clocke, the king and queene entered the hall, and the king sate in the middle, and the queene on the left hand of the table, and on euerie side of hir stood a countesse, holding a cloth of pleasure, when the list to drinke.

And on the right hand of the king sat the bishop of Canturburie. The ladies sat all on one side, in the middle of the hall. And at the table against them sat the chancellor, and all the lords. At the table next the cupbord, sat the maior of London; and at the table behind the lords, sat the barons of the ports: and at the other tables sat noble and worshipfull personages. When all persons were set, the duke of Norfolk, earle marshall, the earle of Surrie, constable for that daie, the lord Stanlie lord steward, sir William Hopton treasurer, & sir Thomas Perre controller, came in and serued the king solemnely, with one dish of gold, and an other of silver, and the queene all in gilt vessel, and the bishop all in silver.

Sir Robert  
Dinmoke  
the kings  
champion his  
challenge in  
the behalfe of  
king Richard.

At the second course came into the hall sir Robert Dinmoke the kings champion, making proclamation, that whosoever would saie, that king Richard was not lawfull king, he would fight with him at the utterance, and threw downe his gantlet, and then all the hall cried, King Richard. And so he did in three parts of the hall, and then one brought him a cup of wine covered, and when he had drunke, he cast out the drinke, and departed with the cup. After that, the heralds cried a largesse thys in the hall, and so went by to their stage. At the end of dinner, the maior of London serued the king & queene with swete wine, and had of each of them a cup of gold, with a couer of gold. And by that time that all was done, it was darke night. And so the king returned to his chamber, and euerie man to his lodging.

It gaue pre-  
sentie of iustice  
and equitie.

When this feast was thus finished, the king sent home all the lords into their countries that would depart, except the lord Stanlie, whom he retained, till he heard what his sonne the lord Strange went about. And to such as went home, he gaue stright charge and commandement, to see these countries well ordered, and that no wrong nor extortion should be done to his subiects. And thus he taught other to erecte iustice and equitie, the contrarie wherof he hadlly exercised. He also with great rewards giuen to the northermen, which he sent for to his coronation, sent them home to their countrie with great thanks: wherof diuerse of them (as they be all of nature verie greedie of authoritie, & speciallie when they thinke to haue anie comfort or fauour) toke on them to highlie, and wrought such manerles, that

the king was faine to ride thither in his first peere, and to put some in execution, and staie the countrie, or else no small mischeefe had ensued.

Not fell there mischeefe thicke. And as the thing euill gotten is neuer well kept, thorough all the time of his reigne neuer ceased there cruell death and slaughter, till his owne destruction ended it. But as he finished his time with the best death and the most righteous, that is to wit, his owne; so began he with the most pitious and wicked; I meane the lamentable murder of his innocent nephues, the young king and his tender brother: whose death and final infortune hath nathelesse comen so farre in question, that some remaine yet in doubt, whether they were in his daies destroyed or no. Not for that onlie that Perkin Warbecke by manie folks malice, and mo folks folie, so long space abusing the world, was as well with princes as the poorer people reputed and taken for the younger of these two; but for that also that all things were in late daies so couertlie demeaned, one thing pretended, and an other meant.

Insomuch that there was nothing so plaine and openlie proued, but that yet for the common custome of close and couert dealing, men had it euer inwardlie suspect; as manie well counterfitted iewels make the true mistrusted. Whobbeit, concerning the opinion, with the occasions mouing either partie, we shall haue place more at large to intreat, if we hereafter happen to write the time of the late noble prince of famous memorie king Henrie the seauenth, or percase that historie of Perkin in anie compendious processe by it selfe. But in the meane time, for this present matter, I shall rehearse you the dolorous end of those babes, not after euerie waie that I haue heard, but after that waie that I haue so heard by such men and by such meanes, as me thinketh it were hard but it should be true.

King Richard after his coronation, taking his waie to Gloucester to visit (in his new honour) the towne of which he bare the name of his old, deuised (as he rode) to fulfill the thing which he before had intended. And forsomuch as his mind gaue him, that his nephues liuing, men would not reckon that he could haue right to the realme: he thought therefore without delaie to rid them, as though the killing of his kinsmen could amend his cause, and make him a kindle king. Whereupon he sent one John Greene, (whom he speciallie trusted) vnto sir Robert Wakerberie, constable of the Tower, with a letter and credence also, that the same sir Robert should in anie wife put the two children to death.

This John Greene did his errand vnto Wakerberie, kneeling before our ladie in the Tower. Who plainelie answered, that he would neuer put them to death to die therefore. With which answer John Greene returning, recounted the same to king Richard at Warwicke yet in his waie. Wherewith he toke such displeasure & thought, that the same night he said vnto a secret page of his: Ah! whom shall a man trust? Those that I haue brought by my selfe, those that I had went would most fuerlie serue me, euen those false me, and at my commandement will do nothing for me. Sir (quoth his page) there lieth one on your pallet without, that I dare well saie, to do your grace pleasure, the thing were right hard that he would refuse. Hearing this by sir James Tirrell, which was a man of right goodlie personage, and for natures gifts worthe to haue serued a much better prince, if he had well serued God, and by grace obtained as much truth and good will as he had strength and wit.

The man had an high heart, & soze longed byward, not rising yet so fast as he had hoped, being hindered & kept vnder by the meanes of sir Richard Ratcliffe,

Sir Thomas  
More 1483

Perkin Warbecke.

Close dealing  
to euery  
partie.

John Greene  
Robert Wakerberie  
constable of the  
Tower.

The number  
of the new  
young prince  
set aspych.

Sir James  
Tirrell  
serued.

Richard Ratcliffe  
with no good  
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Sir Thomas  
More againe.

Perkin was  
becke.

Cole dealing  
to euer his  
specta.

John Grene  
Robert St.  
kenberie con:  
table of the  
Tower.

John Grene  
Robert St.  
kenberie con:  
table of the  
Tower.

The murder  
of the two  
young prince  
let abjork.

Sir James  
Cirell de:  
scribed.

Anthony de  
neth no possi:  
ners.

and sic William Catesbie, which longing for no mo parteners of the princes favour; and namely, not for him, whose pldie they wist would beare no piers, kept him by secret byss out of all secret trust, which thing this page well had marked and knotone. Wherefore this occasion offered, of verie speciall friendship he took his time to put him forward, and by such wise do him god, that all the enemies he had (except the de will) could neuer haue done him so much hurt. For upon this pages words king Richard arose (for this communication had he sitting at the draught, a conuenient carpet for such a counsell) and came out in to the pallet chamber, on which he found in bed sir James and sir Thomas Cirells, of person like, and brethren of blood, but nothing of kin in conditions.

Then said the king merilie to them; What sirs, be ye in bed so lone? And calling by sir James, brake to him secretlie his mind in this mischeuous matter. In which he found him nothing strange. Wherefore on the morow he sent him to Wakenberie with a letter, by which he was commanded to deliuer sir James all the keyes of the Tower for one night, to the end he might there accomplish the kings pleasure, in such things as he had given him commande ment. After which letter deliuered, the keyes receiued, sir James appointed the night next insuing to despoile them, decking before and preparing the means. The prince (as some as the protecto; left that name, and take himselfe as king) had it the wood vn to him, that he should not reigne, but his vnckle shuld haue the crowne. At which word the prince soze abashed, began to sigh, and said: Alas, I would my vnckle would let me haue my life yet, though I lese my kingdom.

Then he that told him the tale, bled him with good words, and put him in the best comfort he could. But forthwith was the prince and his brother both shut vp, & all other remoued from them, onelic one (called Blacke Will, or William Slaughter) excepted, let to serue them and see them sure. After which time the prince neuer tied his points, nor ought rought of himselfe, but with that yong babe his brother, lingers with thought and heavinesse, untill this traitorous death deliuered them of that wretchednesse. For sir James Cirell deuised, that they should be murdered in their beds. To the execution whereof, he appointed Miles Forrest, one of the four that kept them, a fellow fleshed in murder before time. To him he loined one John Dighton his owne horse keeper, a big, broad, square, and strong knaue.

Then all the other being remoued from them, this Miles Forrest, and John Dighton, about midnight (the selie children lieng in their beds) came in to the chamber, & suddenlie lapping them vp among the clothes, so to betrapped them and intangled them, heaping downe by force the feather-bed and pillowes hard onto their mouths, that withyn a while, smothered and stifled, their bzeath failing, they gaue vp to God their innocent soules into the ioies of heauen, leaving to the tormentors their bodies dead in the bed. Which after that the wretches percelued, first by the strugling with the paines of death, and after long lieng still, to be thoroughlie dead, they laid their bodies naked out upon the bed, and fetched sir James to see them; which upon the sight of them caused those murderers to burie them at the staire foot, maillie dape in the ground, vnder a great heape of stones.

Then rode sir James in great hast to king Richard, and shewed him all the manner of the murder; who gaue him great thanks, and (as some saie) there made him knight. But he allowed not (as I haue heard) the burieng in so vile a corner, saieing, that he would haue them buried in a better place, because they were a kings sonnes. To the honourable cou-

courage of a king. Whereupon they saie, that a priest of sir Robert Wakenberies took vp the bodies againe, and secretlie interred them in such place, as by the occasion of his death, which onelic knew it, could neuer since come to light. Verie truth is it, and well knowne, that at such time as sir James Cirell was in the Tower, for treason committed against the most famous prince king Henrie the seauenth, both Dighton and he were examined, and confessed the murder in maner aboue written: but whether the bodies were remoued, they could nothing tell.

And thus (as I haue learned of them that much knew, and little cause had to lie) were these two noble princes, these innocent tender children, borne of most rofall blood, brought vp in great wealsh, likelic long to lue, reigne, and rule in the realme, by traitorous tyzannie taken, deprived of their estate, shortly shut vp in prison, and priuillie slaine and murdered, their bodies cast God wot where, by the cruell ambition of their vnaturall vnckle & his despitesus tormentors. Which things on euerie part well pondered, God neuer gaue this world a more notable example, neither in that vnfortunate standeth this world lie weale; or that mischance worketh the proud enterprife of an high heart; or finallie, what wretched end insueth such despitesous crueltie.

For first, to begin with the ministers, Miles Forrest, at St. Martins peccemcale rotted auaile. Dighton in ded yet walketh on alieue in god possibilitie to be hanged yer he die. But sir James Cirell died at the Tower hill beheaded for treason. King Richard himselfe, as ye shall hereafter heare, slaine in the field, hacked and helmed of his enemies hands, hanged on horse-backe dead, his haire in despite torne and tugged like a curie dog; and the mischance that he took, withyn lesse than thre peares of the mischance that he did: and yet all (in the meane time) spent in much paine & trouble outward, much feare, anguish and sorow within. For I haue heard by credible report of such as were secret with his chamberlerie, that after this abhominable deed done, he neuer had a quiet mind. Than the which there can be no greater torment. For a guiltie conscience inwardlie accusing and bearing witness against an offendo; is such a plague and punishment, as hell it selfe (with all the fiends therein) can not afford one of greater horror & affliction; the poet implieng no lesse in this tristichon;

Pana autem uehemens, ac multo senior illis,  
Quis Ceditus graui inuenit & Radamanthus,  
Nocte dieque sum gressu in pectore lessem.

Perf. sa. 3.

He neuer thought himselfe sure. Where he went abroad, his eies whirled about, his bodie priuillie sensed, his hand euer upon his dagger, his countenance and maner like one alwaies ready to strike againe, he took ill rest a nights, late long waking and musing, soze wearied with care and watch, rather stumbled than slept, troubled with fearefull dreames, suddenlie sometime start vp, lept out of his bed, and ran about the chamber; so was his restless heart continually tossed and tumbled with the tedious impression and stozmie remembrance of his abhominable deed. Now had he outward no long time in rest. For hereupon, some after began the conspiracie, or rather god confederation, betwene the duke of Buckingham and manie other gentlemen against him. The occasion whereupon the king and the duke fell out, is of diuerse folke in diuerse wise pretended.

This duke (as I haue for certeine bene informed) as lone as the duke of Gloucester, upon the death of king Edward, came to Poike, & there had solemn funeral service for king Edward, sent thither in the most secret wise he could, one Perfall his trustie servant, who came to John Ward a chamberer of like secret trust with the duke of Gloucester, desiring that

The murder  
confessed.

The last  
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God seuerlie  
reueing the  
murder of the  
innocent prince  
upon the  
malefactor.

The outward  
and inward  
troubles of  
tyrants by  
means of a  
gnawing  
conscience.

Perfall, his  
saith Ed. Hall.

in the most close and covert maner, he might be admitted to the presence and speech of his maister. And the duke of Gloucester advertised of his desire, caused him in the dead of the night (after all other folke asleeped) to be brought vnto him in his secret chamber, where Desall (after his maisters recommendations) shewed him that he had secret sent him to shew him, that in this new world he would take such part as he would, & wait vpon him with a thousand good fellows, if need were.

The messenger sent backe with thanks, & some secret instruction of the protectors mind, yet met him againe with further message from the duke his maister within few daies after at Nottingham: whither the protector from Poike with manie gentlemen of the north countrie, to the number of six hundred horses, was come on his waie to London-ward, & after secret meeting and communication had, espies departed. Whereupon at Northampton, the duke met with the protector himselfe with three hundred horses, and from thence still continued with him partner of all his deuises; till that after his coronation, they departed (as it seemed) verie great friends at Gloucester. From thence as soone as the duke came home, he so lightlie turned from him, and so highlie conspired against him, that a man would maruell whereof the change grew. And suerlie, the occasion of their variance is of diuerse men diuerselie reported.

Causes of the duke of Buckingham and Richard falling out,

Some haue I heard say, that the duke a little before his coronation, among other things, required of the protector the duke of Herefords lands, to the which he pretended himselfe iust inheritor. And for so much as the title, which he claimed by inheritance, was somewhat interlaced with the title to the crowne by the line of king Henrie before depeined, the protector conceiued such indignation, that he reiected the dukes request with manie spitefull and minatorie words. Which so wounded his heart with hatred and mistrust, that he neuer after could indure to looke aright on king Richard, but euer feared his owne life; so far forth, that when the protector rode through London toward his coronation, he feined himselfe sicke, because he would not ride with him. And the other also taking it in euill part, sent him word to rise, and come ride, or he would make him be caried. Whereupon he rode on with euill will, and that notwithstanding on the morow, rose from the feast, feeling himselfe sicke, and king Richard said it was done in hatred and despite of him.

The duke of Buckingham and king Richard mistrust each other.

And they said, that euer after continuallie, each of them liued in such hatred and distrust of other, that the duke verelie looked to haue bene murdered at Gloucester: from which nathelesse, he in faire maner departed. But suerlie some right secret at that daie denie this: and manie right wise men thinke it verelike (the deepe dissembling nature of both those men considered, and what need in that Greene world the protector had of the duke, and in what perill the duke stood, if he fell once in suspicion of the tyrant) that either the protector would giue the duke occasion of displeasure, or the duke the protector occasion of mistrust. And verelie, men thinke, that if king Richard had anie such opinion conceiued, he would neuer haue suffered him to escape his hands. Verie truth it is, the duke was an high minded man, and euill could beare the glozie of another; so that I haue heard of some that say they saw it, that the duke, at such time as the crowne was first set vpon the protectors head, his eye could not abide the sight thereof, but turned his head another way.

But men say, that he was of truth not well at ease, and that both to king Richard well knowne, and not euill taken; nor anie demand of the dukes

uncourteousie reiected; but he both with great gifts, and high behests, in most loving and trustie maner departed at Gloucester. But some after his coming home to Brecknocke, hauing there in his custodie by the commandement of king Richard doctor Poxton bishop of Ely, who (as ye before heard) was taken in the counsell at the Tower, waied with him familiar, whose wisdomne abused his pride to his owne deliuerance, and the dukes destruction. The bishop was a man of great naturall wit, verie well learned, and honorable in behauior, lacking no wise waies to win fauour. He had bene fast vpon the part of king Henrie, while that part was in wealt; and nathelesse left it not, nor forsooke it in wo, but fled the realme with the quene & the prince, while king Edward had the king in prison, neuer came home, but to the field.

After which loss, and that part bitterlie subdued, the other (for his fast faith and wisdomne) not onlie was content to receiue him, but also wooed him to come, and had him from thenceforth both in secret trust, and verie speciall fauour, which he nothing deceiued. For he being (as ye haue heard) after king Edwards death, first taken by the tyrant for his truth to the king, found the meane to set this duke in his top, joined gentlemen together in the aid of king Henrie, deuising first the marriage betwene him & king Edwards daughter: by which his faith he declared the good seruice to both his masters at once, with infinit benefit to the realme by the coniunction of those two blouds in one, whose severall titles had long disquieted the land, he fled the realme, went to Rome, neuer minding more to meddle with the world; till the noble prince king Henrie the seventh gat him home againe, made him archbishop of Canturburie, and chancellor of England, whereunto the pope joined the honour of cardinal. Thus liuing manie daies in as much hono as one man might well wish, ended them so godlie, that his death with Gods mercie well changed his life.

This man therefore (as I was about to tell you) by the long & often alternate pofe, as well of prosperitie as aduerse fortune, had gotten by great experience (the verie mother and mistress of wisdomne) a deepe insight in politike worldlie diffis. Whereby perceiuing now this duke glad to commune with him, fed him with faire words, and manie pleasant praises. And perceiuing by the pofesse of their communications, the dukes pride now and then belking out a little breath of enuie toward the glozie of the king, and thereby feeling him easie to fall out if the matter were well handled: he craftilie sought the waies to picke him forward, taking alwaies the occasion of his coming, and so keeping himselfe so close within his bounds, that he rather seemed to follow him, than to lead him. For when the duke first began to praise and boast the king, and shew how much profit the realme should take by his reigne: my lord Poxton answered thus.

Suerlie, my lord, follie were it for me to lie, for if I would sweare the contrarie, your lordship would not (I waene) beleue; but that if the world would haue gone as I would haue wished, king Henries sonne had had the crowne, and not king Edward. But after that God had ordered him to lese it, and king Edward to reigne, I was neuer so mad that I would with a dead man strue against the quicke. So was I to king Edward a faithfull chapleine, & glad would haue bene that his child had succeeded him. Howbeit, if the secret iudgment of God haue otherwise provided, I purpose not to spurne against a picke, nor labour to set by that God pulleth downe. And as for the late protector and now king, And even there he left, saying that he had already medled too much

Doctor Poxton bishop of Ely, a wise pageant in plain.

princes most perilous middle in.

The high court of law.

Bishop Poxton said to the duke.

There endeth the Thomas More, & this that followeth is taken out of mother Hall.



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much with the world, and would from that date med-  
dle with his bowe and his beads, and no further.  
Then longed the duke to heare what he would  
have said, because he ended with the king, and there  
so suddenlie stopped, and exhorted him so familiarlie  
betwene them twaine to be bold to saie whatsoever  
he thought; whereof he faithfullie promised there  
should neuer come hurt, and peradventure more good  
than he would weene; and that himselfe intended to  
use his faithfull secret aduise & counsell, which he said  
was the onelie cause for which he procured of the  
king to haue him in his custodie, where he might rec-  
kon himselfe at home, and else had he bene put in the  
hands of them with whom he should not haue found  
the like fauour. The bishop right humble thanked  
him, and said: In god faith my lord, I lone not to  
talke much of princes, as a thing not all out of perill,  
though the word be without fault: for so much as it  
shall not be taken as the partie ment it, but as it  
pleaseth the prince to construe it.

And euer I thinke on Aescops tale, that when the  
lion had proclaimed that (on paine of death) there  
should no horned beast abide in that wood: one that  
had in his forech a bunch of fless, fled alwaie a great  
pace. The fox that saw him run so fast, asked him whi-  
ther he made all that hast: And he answered, In  
faith I neither wrote, nor recke, so I were once hence,  
because of this proclamation made of horned beasts.  
What sole (quoth the fox) thou maiest abide well i-  
nough; the lion ment not by thee, for it is no horne  
that is in thine head. So marie (quoth he) that wrote  
I well inough. But what and he call it an horne,  
where am I then? The duke laughed merilie at the  
tale, and said: Appo, I warrant you, neither the li-  
on nor the boze shall pike anie matter at anie thing  
here spoken: for it shall neuer come nere their  
care.

In god faith sir (said the bishop) if it did, the thing  
that I was about to say, taken as well as (as for God)  
I ment it, could deserue but thanke: and yet taken  
as I weene it would, might happen to turne me to  
to little good, and you to lesse. Then longed the  
duke yet much more to wit what it was. Where-  
upon the bishop said: In god faith (my lord) as for  
the late protector, sith he is now king in possession, I  
purpose not to dispute his title; but for the weale of  
this realme, whereof his grace hath now the gouer-  
nance, and whereof I am my selfe one poze member,  
I was about to wit, that to those god habilitie  
whereof he hath already right manie, little needing  
my praise, it might yet haue pleased God, for the bet-  
ter store, to haue giuen him some of such other excel-  
lent vertues, meet for the rule of a realme, as our  
Lord hath planted in the person of your grace: and  
there left againe.

The duke somewhat maruelling at his sudden  
panes, as though they were but parentheses, with a  
high countenance said: Appo, I euidentlie per-  
ceiue, and no lesse note your often breathing, and sud-  
den stopping in your communication; so that to my  
intelligence, your words neither come to anie direct  
or perfect sentence in conclusion, whereby either I  
might perceiue and haue knowledge, what your in-  
ward intent is now toward the king, or what affecti-  
on you beare toward me. For the comparison of god  
qualities ascribed to vs both (for the which I my  
selfe acknowledge and recognise to haue none, nor  
loke for no praise of anie creature for the same) ma-  
keth me not a little to muse, thinking that you haue  
some other priuie imagination, by loue or by grudge,  
ingrauen and imprinted in your heart, which for feare  
you dare not, or for chylidish shamefastnesse you be a-  
bashful to disclose and reueale; and speciallie to me  
being your friend, which on my hono: do assure you,

to be as secret in this case, as the deafe and dumbe  
person is to the finger, or the tre to the hunter.

The bishop being somewhat bolder, considering  
the dukes promise, but most of all animated and in-  
couraged: because he knew the dukes desires to be  
exalted and magnified; and also he perceiued the in-  
ward hatred and priuie rancor which he bare toward  
king Richard: was now boldened to open his sto-  
mach euen to the verie bottome, intending thereby  
to compass how to destitute, and vtterlie confound  
king Richard, and to depriue him of his dignitie ro-  
all; or else to set the duke so on fire with the desire of  
ambition, that he himselfe might be safe and escape  
out of all danger and perill. Which thing he brought  
shortlie to conclusion, both to the kings destruction,  
and the dukes confusion; and to his owne safeguard,  
and finalle to his high promotion.

And so (as I said before) vpon trust and confidence  
of the dukes promise, the bishop said: Appo singular  
god lord, since the time of my captiuitie, which being  
in your graces custodie, I may rather call it a libe-  
rall libertie, more than a strict imprisonment, in  
auoiding idlenesse, mother and nourisher of all vi-  
ces, in reading bookes and ancient pamphlets I haue  
found this sentence written, that no man is bozne  
free, and in libertie of himselfe onelie: for one part of  
dutie he oweth or should owe to his parents for his  
procreation, by a verie naturall instinct and fillall  
courtesie: another part to his friends and kinsfolke;  
for proximity of blood and naturall amitie doth eue-  
rie dutie chalenge and demand: but the native coun-  
trie, in the which he passed first the sweet aires of this  
pleasant and flattering world after his natiuitie, de-  
mandeth as a debt by a naturall bond, neither to be  
forgotten, nor yet to be put in oblivion.

Which sayeng causeth me to consider in what case  
this realme my native countrie now standeth, and in  
what estate and assurance (before this time) it hath  
continued: what gouernour we now haue, and what  
ruler we might haue. For I plainelie perceiue the  
realme being in this case, must needs decaye, and be  
brought to vtter confusion, and final extermination.  
But one hope I haue incorporat in my breast, that is,  
when I consider, and in my mind do diligentlie re-  
member, and dallie behold your noble personage,  
your iustice, and indifferencie, your seruent zeale, and  
ardent loue toward your naturall countrie, and in  
like manner, the loue of your countrie toward you,  
the great learning, pregnant wit, and goodlie elo-  
quence, which so much doth abound in the person of  
your grace, I must needs thinke this realme fortu-  
nate, yea twise more than fortunate, which hath such a  
prince in store, meet and apt to be a gouernour, in  
whose person (being indued with so manie princelie  
qualities) consisteth and resteth the verie vndoubted  
similitude and image of true honour.

But on the other side, when I call to memorie the  
god qualities of the late protector, and now called  
king, so violated and subuerted by tyrannie, so chan-  
ged and altered by usurped authoritie, so clouded and  
shadowed by blind and insatiable ambition; yea, and  
so suddenlie (in manner by a metamorphosis) trans-  
formed from politike ciuilitie, to detestable tyrannie:  
I must needs saie, & iustlie affirme, that he is neither  
meet to be a king of so noble a realme, nor so famous  
a realme meet to be gouerned by such a tyrant (whose  
kingdome (if it were of more amplenesse than it is)  
could not long continue; neither would the Lord suf-  
fer him in his bloudthirstines to abuse the holie and  
diuine estate of a prince by the cruell title of tyran-  
nie. For such he will ouerthrow, yea he will bring  
most horrible slaughter vpon them, as it is prophesied:

*Impius ad summo: quamuis ascendat honore,  
Aspicit quas cludes tempora seculi rehent.*

¶ Cccc. j.

¶ Was

Bishop Appo-  
ton buildeth  
vpon the dukes  
ambition.

The duke of  
Buckingham  
highly com-  
mended.

Dispraise of  
the lord pro-  
tector or king  
in this.

Was not his first enterprize to obtaine the crowne begun and incepted by the murdher of diuerse noble, valiant true, and vertuous personages? A holie beginning to come to a mischeuous ending! Did he not secundarily proceed (contrarie to all lawes of honestie) shamefullie against his owne naturall mother, being a woman of much honour and more vertue, declaring hir openlie to be a woman giuen to carnall affection, and dissolute living? Whiche thing if it had bene true, as it was not indeed, euerie good & naturall child would haue rather murthered at it, than haue blasted it abroad, and especiallie the being alieue. Declaring furthermore his two brethren, and his two nephews to be bastards, and to be borne in adulterie: yet was he not with all this content.

After that he had obtayned the garland, for the which he so long thirsted, he caused the two poore innocents his nephews, committed to him for especiall trust, to be murthered and shamefullie to be killed. The blood of which feeble and little babes, daile crieth to God from the earth for vengeance. Alas, my hart sobbeth, to remember this bloodie butcher, and cruell monster. What suertie shall be in this realme to anie person, either for life or goods vnder such a cruell prince, which regardeth not the destruction of his owne blood, and then lesse the losse of others? And most especiallie (as oftentimes it chanceth) where a couetous or a cruell prince taketh suspicion, the smallest swearing that is possible (if the thing be misconstrued) may be the cause of the destruction of manie guiltlesse persons: and in especiall of noble and wealthie personages, hauing great possessions and riches: such a lord is Lucifer when he is entered into the hart of a proud prince, giuen to couetousnesse and crueltie.

But now my lord to conclude what I meane to toward your noble person, I saie and affirme, if you loue God, your linage, or your native countrie, you must your selfe take vpon you the crowne and imperiall diademe of this noble empire, both for the maintenance of the honour of the same (which so long hath flourished in fame and renowne) as also for the deliuerance of your naturall countymen, from the bondage and thraldome (worse than the captiuitie of Egypt) of so cruell a tyrant and arrogant oppressor. For thus I dare saie, if anie foren prince or potentate, yea the Turke himselfe would take vpon him the regiment here, and the crowne, the commons would rather admit and obeye him, than to liue vnder such a bloudsucker and child-killer. But how much more ioyfull and glad would they be to liue vnder your grace, whome they all know to be a ruler meet and conuenient for them, and they to be loving and obedient subiects, meet to liue vnder such a gouernour? Despise not, nor for sake not so manifest an occasion so louinglie offered.

And if you your selfe, knowing the paine and trouble that apperteyneth to the office of a king, or for any other consideration, will refuse to take vpon you the crowne and scepter of this realme: then I aduise you, by the faith that you owe to God, by your hono- 60 and by your oth made to saint George, patron of the noble order of the garter (whereof you be a companion) and by the loue and affection that you beare to your native countrie, and the people of the same; to deuiſe some waie, how this realme (now being in miserie) may by your high discretion and princelie policie, be brought and reduced to some suertie and conuenient regiment, vnder some good gouernour by you to be appointed: for you are the verie patrone, the onelie helpe, refuge and comfort for the poore amazed and desolate commons of this realme.

For if you could either deuiſe to set vp againe the linage of Lancaster, or aduance the eldest daughter of king Edward to some high and puissant prince,

not onelie the new crowned king shall small time inioy the glorie of his dignitie; but also all ciuill war should cease, all domesticall discord should cease, and peace, profit and quietnesse should be set forth and imbraced. When the bishop had thus ended his saying, the duke sighed, and spake not of a great while, which soe abashed the bishop, and made him change colour. Which thing when the duke perceived, he said, I am not afraid my lord, all psonages shall be kept, to morrow we will common more: let vs go to supper. So that night they communed no more, got a little to the disquieting of the bishop, which now was euen as they strove to know the dukes mind and intent, as the duke longed the daie before to know his opinion and meaning.

So the next daie, the duke sent for the bishop, and rehearsed to him in maner (for he was both witty and eloquent) all the communication had betwene them before, and so paused a while, and after a little season, putting off his bonet, he said: O Lord God creator of all things, how much is this realme of England, and the people of the same, bounden vnto thy goodnesse! For where we now be in veration and trouble with great stormes oppressed, sailing and tossing in a desperate ship, without good maister or gouernour: yet by thy helpe good Lord I trust per long time passe, that we shall prouide for such a ruler, as shall be both to thy pleasure, and also to the securitie and safegard of this noble realme.

And then he put on his bonet, saying to the bishop: My lord of Glouc, whose true hart and sincere affection toward me at all times I haue euidentlie perceived and knowen, and now most of all in our last priue communication and secret deuilings; I must needs in hart thinke, and with mouth confesse and saie, that you be a sure friend, a trustie counsellor, a vigilant foreser, a verie lover of your countrie, and a naturall countreiman: for which kindnes for my part, I most louinglie render to you my hartie thanks now with words, hereafter trying to recompense and remunerate you with deaps, if life and power shall serue.

And last, at our last communication, you haue disclosed and opened the verie secrets and priuities of your stomach, touching the duke of Gloucester now usurper of the crowne; and also haue a little touched the aduancement of the two noble families of York and Lancaster: I shall likewise not onelie declare and manifest vnto you all my open acts, attempts, and doings, but also my priue intents, and secret cogitations. To the intent that as you haue vnbuckled the bouget of your priue meanings, and secret purposes to me: so shall all my cloudie workings, close deuises, and secret imaginations be (as cleere as the sunne) revealed, opened, and made lightsome to you.

And to begin, I declare, that when king Edward was deceased, to whome I thought my selfe little or nothing beholden (although we two had married two sisters) because he neither promoted, nor preferred me, as I thought I was worthy, and had deserved, neither fauoured nor regarded me, according to my degree and birth for suertie I had by him little authority, and lesse rule, and in effect nothing at all: which caused me lesse to fauour his children, because I found small humanitie, or none in their parent) I then began to studie, and with ripe deliberation to ponder and consider, how and in what manner this realme should be ruled and gouerned. And first I remembered an old pource woorthie of memorie, that often rueth the realme where children rule, and women gouerne.

This old adage so sanke and settled in my head, that I thought it a great error, and extreme mischiefe

Suspicion in a prince how mischeuous it is.

The bishop aduise the duke to release the realme by some deuiſe from the present euill state.

The duke after betwene the bishop and the duke.

An unhappie picture reminding to Naugher a bloudshed.

The duke partly honeste and his secrets in the bishop.

The duke complacently of fauour of preferment in king Edward's time.

chiefe to the whole realme, either to suffer the yong king to rule, or the queene his mother to be a gouernesse ouer him, considering that his brethren, and his first children (although they were not extract of high and noble linage) toke more vpon them, and more exalted themselves, by reason of the queene, than did the kings brethren, or any duke in his realme: which in conclusion turned to their confusion. Then I being perswaded with my selfe in this point, thought it necessarie both for the publike and profitable wealth of this realme, and also for mine owne commoditie and emolument, to take part with the duke of Gloucester; whom I asseyre you I thought to be as cleane without dissimulation, as tractable without iniurie, as mercifull without crueltie; as now I know him perfectly to be a dissembler without veritie, a tyrant without pitie, yea & worse than the tyrant Phalaris, destitute of all truth and clemencie.

And so by my meanes, at the first counsell holden at London, when he was most suspected of that thing that after happened (as you my lord know well enough) he was made protector and defender both of the king and of the realme, which authoritie once gotten, & the two children partlie by policie brought vnder his gouernance, he being moued with that gnawing and couetous serpent desire to reigne, neuer ceased p'p'itie to exhort and require, yea and sometimes with minatorie tearmes to perswade me and other lords, as well spirituall as temporall, that he might take vpon him the crowne, till the prince came to the age of foure and twentie yeares, and were able to gouerne the realme, as a ripe and sufficient king.

Which thing when he saw me somewhat sicke at, both for the strangenesse of the example (because no such president had bene seene) and also because we remembered that men once ascended to the highest type of honour and authoritie, will not gladiely descend againe; he then brought in instruments, autentike doctors, proctors, and notaries of the law, with depositions of diuerse witnesses, testifying king Edwards children to be bastards. Which depositions then I thought to be as true, as now I know them to be feined; and testified by persons with rewards butrillie suborned. When the said depositions were before vs read and diligentlie heard, he stood by bare-headed, saying: Well my lords, even as I and you (sage and discreet counsellors) would that my nephue should haue no wrong; so I praye you doe me nothing but right. For these witnesses & sayings of famous doctors being true, I am onelie the vndubitate heire to lord Richard Plantagenet duke of Boke, adiudged to be the verie heire to the crowne of this realme by authoritie of parlement.

Which things so by learned men to vs for a veritie declared, caused me and other to take him for our lawfull and vndoubted prince and soueraigne lord. For well we knew that the duke of Clarence sonne, by reason of the atteindor of his father, was disabled to inherite; and also the duke himselfe was named to be a bastard, as I my selfe haue heard spoken, and that vpon great presumptions more times than once: so againe, by my aid and fauour, he of a protector was made a king, and of a subject made a gouernor. At which time he promised me on his fidelitie (laicng his hand in mine at Bainsards castell) that the two yong princes should liue, and that he would so provide for them, and so mainteine them in honorable estate, that I and all the realme ought and should be content. But his words wanted weight, which is a soule discredit to a prince, to a p'ere, yea to a priuat and meane common man, as testifieth this sentence:

*Dedecus est rebus cum bona verba current.*

For when he was once crowned king, and in full

possession of the whole realme, he cast auaie his old conditions as the adder doth his skin, verifieng the old proverbe; Honours change manners, as the parish priest remembreth that he was neuer parish cleahe. For when I my selfe sued vnto him for my part of the earle of Herefords lands which his brother king Edward wrongfullie detained and withheld from me; and also required to haue the office of the high constableness of England, as diuerse of my noble ancestors before this time haue had, and in long descent continued; in this my first sute shewing his good mind toward me; he did not onelie first delate me, and afterward denaie me, but gaue me such unkind words, with such taunts & retorts, yea in manner cheeke and checkmate, to the vttermost proofe of my patience: as though I had neuer furthered him, but hindered him; as though I had put him downe, and not set him vp.

Yet all these ingratitude and vnderferued vnderkindnes I bare closelie, & suffered patientlie, and couertlie remembred, outwardlie dissembling that I inwardlie thought: and so with a painted countenance, I passed the last summer in his last companie, not without manie faire promises, but without any god deeds. But when I was credibly informed of the death of the two yong innocents, his owne natural nephews, contrarie to his faith and promise, to the which (God be my iudge) I neuer agreed, nor condescended; O Lord, how my veines panted, how my bodie trembled, and how my heart inwardlie grudged! In so much that I so abhorred the sight, and much more the companie of him, that I could no longer abide in his court, except I should be openlie reuenged: the end whereof was doubtfull. And so I feined a cause to depart, and with a merrie countenance and a despightfull heart I toke my leaue humble of him (he thinking nothing lesse than that I was displeased) and so returned to Beeknocke to you.

But in that iournie (as I returned) whether it were by the inspiration of the Holie-ghost, or by melancholious disposition, I had diuerse and sundrie imaginations how to depeyne this unnatural uncle, and bloudie butcher, from his roial seat, and princelie dignitie. First I fantasied, that if I list to take vpon me the crowne, and imperiall scepter of the realme, now was the time propice and conuenient. For now was the waie made plaine, and the gate opened, and occasion giuen: which now neglected, should peraduenture neuer take such effect and conclusion. For I saw he was disdained of the lords temporall, abhorred and accursed of the lords spirituall, detested of all gentlemen, and despised of all the commonalitie: so that I saw my chance as perfectlie as I saw mine owne image in a glasse, that there was no person (if I had bene greedie to attempt the enterprize) could not should haue wonne the ring, or got the gale before me. And on this point I rested in imagination so crestlie with my selfe two daies at Tewkesburie.

From thence so iournieng, I mused and thought that it was not best nor conuenient to take vpon me as a conqueror. For then I knew that all men, and especiallie the nobilitie, would with all their power withstand me, both for relieuing of possessions and tenures, as also for subuerting of the whole estate, laws and customes of the realme: such a power hath a conqueror, as you know well enough my lord. But at the last, in all this doubtfull case there sprang a new branch out of my head, which surelie I thought should haue brought forth faire flowers; but the sunne was so hot, that they turned to drie weeds. For I suddenlie remembered that the lord Edmund duke of Summerset my grandfather, was with king Henric the first in the two and three degrees, from John

The prince's fall cause why the duke of Buckingham coveted such inward grudge against king Richard.

The imagination of the duke of Buckingham to depeyne R. Richard.

Note the working of ambition in the duke.

duke of Lancaster lawfullie begotten: so that I thought sure, my mother being eldest daughter to duke Edmund, that I was next heire to king Henrie the first of the house of Lancaster.

This title pleased well such as I made priue of my counsell, but much more it encouraged my foolish desire, and eleuated my ambitious intent: insomuch that I clerelie iudged, and in mine owne mind was determinatlie resolu'd, that I was indubitate heire of the house of Lancaster, and thereupon concluded to make my first foundation, and erect my new building. But whether God so ordeined, or by fortune it so chanced, while I was in a maze either to conclude suddenly on this title, & to set it open amongst the common people, or to keepe it secret a while, for the chance: as I rode betwene Worcester and Bridgenorth, I encountered with the lady Margaret countesse of Richmond, now wife unto the lord Stanlie, which is the verie daughter and sole heire to lord John duke of Summerset, my grandfather's elder brother, which was as cleane out of my mind, as though I had neuer sene hir: so that she and hir sonne the earle of Richmond be both bulworne and portuicillie betwene me and the gate, to enter into the maiestie rotall and getting of the crowne.

Now when we had communed a little concerning hir sonne, as I shall shew you after, and were departed, the to our lady of Worcester, and I to Shrewsburie: I then new changed, and in maner amazed, began to dispute with my selfe, little considering that thus my earnest title was turned to a tittell not so good as *Christ Amen*. Whom I imagined whether were best to take vpon me, by election of the nobilitie and communalitie, which me thought easie to be done, the usurper king thus being in hatred and abhorred of this whole realme: or to take it by power, which standeth in fortunes chance, and difficult to be achieved and brought to passe. Thus tumbling and tossing in the waues of ambiguitie, betwene the stone and the sacrifice, I considered first the office, dutie, and paine of a king, which suerlie thinke I that no mortal man can iustlie and trulie obserue, except he be called, elected, and speciallie appointed by God as *David*, and diuerse other haue bene.

But further, I remembred that if I once toke on me the scepter, and the gouernance of the realme; that of two extreame enmities I was dailie sure, but of one trustie friend (which now a daies be gone a pilgrimage) I was neither assured nor crediblie ascertained; such is the world's mutation. For I manifestlie perceived, that the daughters of king Edward, and their allies and friends, which be no small number, being both for his sake much beloued, and also for the great iniurie & manifest tyrannie done to them by the new usurper, much lamented and pittied, would neuer cease to barke if they cannot bite at the one side of me. Semblable, my cosine the earle of Richmond, his aids and kinsfolks, which be not of little power, will suerlie attempt like a fierce greihound, either to bite or to pearse me on the other side. So that my life and rule should euer hang by a haire, neuer in quiet, but euer in doubt of death, or deposition.

And if the said two linages of York and Lancaster, which so long haue strived for the imperfall diadem, should ioine in one against me, then were I suerlie mated, and the game gotten. Wherefore I haue clerelie determined, and with my selfe concluded, bitterlie to relinquish all such fantastickall imaginations, concerning the obtaining of the crowne. But all such plagues, calamities and troubles, which I feared and suspected might haue chanced on me if I had taken the rule and regiment of this realme, I shall with a reredemaine so make them rebound to

to our common enemie that calleth himselfe king, that the best hope that he hath at Venice shall not well stop without a fault.

For (as I told you before) the countesse of Richmond in my returne from the new named king, making me in the high waie, praised the first for his red sake, secondlie for the love that I bare to my grandfather duke Humfris, which was her brother to her father, and thus the king to be good to her sonne Henrie duke of Richmond, and to licence him with his fauour to returne againe into England. And if it were his pleasure to do so, she promised that the earle hir sonne should marrie one of king Edwards daughters, at the appointment of the king, without any thing to be taken or demanded for the said espousals, but onelie the kings fauour: which request I some oierpassed, and gaue hir faire words, and so departed.

But after in my lodging, when I called to memorie with a deliberate studie, and did circumspectly ponder them, I fully adiudged, that the Holie-ghost caused hir to make a thing (the end whereof she could not consider) both for the securitie of the realme, as also for the preferment of hir child, and the destruction and small confusion of the common enemie king Richard. Which thing, she neither then thought (I am sure) as I by hir words could make coniecture, nor I my selfe did not hir desire to be so profitable to the realme, as I now doe perceive. But such a Lord is God, that with a little sparkle he kindleth a great fire, and (to the admiration of the world) of impossibilities he maketh possibilitie, of small beginnings mightie increasings, of drops great floods.

And so finally to declare to you the verie conclusion, to the which I am both bent and set, my mind is, and my power and purse shall helpe, that the earle of Richmond, verie heire of the house of Lancaster (in the quarrell of the which linage, both my father and grandfather lost their liues in battell) shall take to wife lady Elizabeth eldest daughter to king Edward, by the which marriage both the houses of York and Lancaster may be ioined and united in one, to the clere establishment of the title to the crowne of this noble realme. To which conclusion if the mothers of both parts, and especiallie the earle himselfe, and the lady will agree: I doubt not but the bragging boze, which with his rushes raseth euery mans skin, shall not onelie be brought to confusion (as he hath deserued) but that this empire shall euer be certelie of an indubitate heire, & then shall all ciuill and intestine warre cease, which so long hath continued to the pating of many mens crownes, and this realme shall be reduced againe to quietnesse, renoume and glorie.

This inuention of the duke manie men thought after, that it was more imagined for the inward hatred that he bare to king Richard, than for any fauour that he bare to the earle of Richmond. But of such doubtfull matter it is not best to iudge, for erring too farre from the mind and intent of the author. But what soeuer he intended, this deuise once opened to king Richard was the verie occasion, that he was rounded sposter by the whole head, without attaining to iudgement. When the duke had said, the bishop which fauoured euery the house of Lancaster, was wonderous iollull, and much reioiced to heare this deuise. For now came the wind about euen as he would haue it, with all his imagination tended to this effect, to haue king Richard subdued, and to haue the lines of king Edward, and king Henrie the first againe raised and aduanced.

But lord how he reioiced, to thinke how that by this marriage the linages of York and Lancaster should be conioined in one, to the verie steadfastnesse of

The office of a king verie hard to discharge.

The dukes resolution not to meddle in seeking to obtaining the crowne.

The duke of Burgundie refused to be hye to the pole king Richard, and to prefer the crowne of Richmond to the crowne.

The duke of Gloucestre now king.

The duke of Gloucestre now king.

The duke of Gloucestre now king.

The mention of the countesse of Lancaster & her death: as by yowle's mothered.

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the le eth to tainu stoze king with haue cret, pziut thing cret but t So u Regi nock ching in the wher mas which sage r of W red to in a q ment and n obtai hir eli ter fo clare wouli as he Regi thing god f miste W fall bi nothi duke the dr make if he t little trie to be tri part was counl the bi depa mics. Th lie, o sembl (to th of El

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of the publike wealth of this realme. And least the  
dukes courage should swage, or his mind should a-  
gaine alter, as it did often befoze (as you may easilie  
perceiue by his owne tale) he thought to set vp all  
the sailes that he had, to the intent that the ship of  
his pretended purpose might come shoztly to some  
sure port, and said to the duke: App loyd, sith by Gods  
prouision and your incomparable wisdomme and po-  
licie, this noble confusion is first moued, now is  
it conuenient, yea and necessarie, to consider what  
perillages, and what friends we shall first make  
pziue of this high deuise and politike conclusion:  
(which is not rashlie & without aduiselement to be ad-  
uentured, for therein is danger, as the wiseman saith:  
*Semper habet damnium mentis temerarius ardor.*)

By my truth, quoth the duke, we will begin with  
the ladie Richmond, the earles mother, which know-  
eth where he is, either in captiuitie, or at large in Brit-  
taine. For I heard saie, that the duke of Britaine re-  
stored him to libertie, immediatly after the death of  
king Edward, by whose means he was restrained:  
Sith you will begin that waie (said the bishop) I  
haue an old friend with the countesse, a man sober, se-  
cret, and well witted, called Reginald Bzaie; whose  
pudent policie I haue knowne to haue compassed  
things of great importance, for whome I shall se-  
cretly send, if it be your pleasure; and I doubt not  
but he will gladly come and that with a good will.  
So with a little diligence the bishop wrote a letter to  
Reginald Bzaie, requiring him to come to Bzeck-  
nocke with speed, for great and urgent causes con-  
cerning his mistresse: and no other thing was declared  
in the letter. So the messenger rode into Lancashire  
where Bzaie was with the countesse, and lord Tho-  
mas Stanlie his husband, and deliuered the letter:  
which when he had read, he took it as a signe or pre-  
sage of some good fortune to come.

When he (with the messenger) came to the castell  
of Bzecknocke, where the duke and the bishop decla-  
red what thing was deuised, both for to set the relme  
in a quiet steadfastnesse, as also for the high prefer-  
ment of the earle of Richmond, sonne to his ladie  
and mistresse: willing hir first to compass how to  
obtaine the good will of quene Elizabeth, and also of  
hir eldest daughter bearing the same name: and af-  
ter secretly to send to hir sonne into Britaine, to de-  
clare what high honoz was prepared for him, if he  
would sweare to marrie the ladie Elizabeth asone  
as he was king, and in totall possession of the relme.  
Reginald Bzaie with a glad heart, forgetting no-  
thing giuen to him in charge, in great hast and with  
good speed returned to the countesse his ladie and  
mistresse.

When Bzaie was departed, and this great doubt  
full besell once set abroach, the bishop thirsting for  
nothing more than for libertie: when he saw the  
duke pleasant and well minded toward him; he told  
the duke, that if he were in his Ile of Elie, he could  
make manie friends to further their enterprise: and  
if he were there and had but foure daies warning, he  
little regarded the malice of king Richard, his coun-  
trie was so strong. The duke knew well all this to  
be true, but yet loth he was that the bishop should de-  
part: for he knew well, that as long as the bishop  
was with him, he was sure of politike aduise, sage  
counsell, and circumspect proceeding. And so he gaue  
the bishop faire words, saing, that he should shoztly  
depart, and that well accompanied for feare of en-  
mies.

The Bishop being as witty as the duke was tol-  
lie, did not tarrie till the dukes companie were as-  
sembled, but secretly disguised, in a night departed  
(to the dukes great displeasure) and came to his see  
of Elie; where he found manie and friends; and so

sailed into Flanders, where he did the earle of Rich-  
mond good seruice, and neuer returned againe, till  
the earle of Richmond (after being king) sent for him,  
and shoztly promoted him to the see of Cantuarburie.  
Thus the bishop wound himselfe from the duke when  
he had most need of his aid, for if he had tarried still,  
the duke had not made so manie blabs of his coun-  
sell, nor put so much confidence in the Welshmen,  
nor yet so temerariouly set forthward (without know-  
ledge of his friends) as he did, which things were his  
sudden ouerthrowe (as they that knew it did report)  
[and might perhaps haue bene auoided by the bi-  
shops wisdomme for the dukes sake, as his owne sith  
*Qui sapit, ille potest alios sapuisse docere.*]

When Reginald Bzaie had declared his message  
and pziue instruction to the countesse of Richmond  
his mistresse, no maruell though she were ious and  
glad, both of the good newes, and also for the obtain-  
ing of such a high friend in hir sonnes cause as the  
duke was. Wherefore she willing not to sleepe this  
matter, but to further it to the bittermost of hir pow-  
er and abilitie, deuised a means how to breake this  
matter to quene Elizabeth then being in sanctua-  
rie at Westminster. And theretupon she, hauing in  
hir familie at that time (for the preservation of hir  
health) a certaine Welshman called Lewes, learned  
in physike, which for his grauitie and experience,  
was well knowne, and much esteemed amongst  
great estates of the realme, brake hir mind to him.

For with this Lewes she used sometime liberallie  
and familiarly to talke, and now hauing oportuni-  
tie and occasion to expresse hir hart vnto him in this  
weightie matter, declared that the time was come  
that hir sonne should be ioined in marriage with la-  
die Elizabeth, daughter and heire to king Edward;  
and that king Richard being taken and reputed of  
all men for the common enimie of the relme, should  
out of all honoz & estate be detected, & of his crowne  
and kingdome be cleerly spoiled and expelled: and  
required him to go to quene Elizabeth (with whome  
in his facultie he was of counsell) not as a messen-  
ger, but as one that came friendly to visit and conso-  
late hir, and (as time & place should require) to make  
hir pziue of this deuise; not as a thing concluded, but  
as a purpose by him imagined.

This physician did not long linger to accomplish  
hir desire, but with good diligence repaired to the  
quene, being still in the sanctuarie at Westminster.  
And when he saw time pziue and conuenient for his  
purpose, he said vnto hir: Madame, although my  
imagination be verie simple, and my deuise more  
folish; yet for the entier affection that I beare toward  
you and your children, I am so bold to utter vnto you  
a secret and pziue conceit that I haue cast and com-  
passed in my fantastick braine. When I well re-  
membred and no lesse considered the great losse and  
damage that you haue sustained, by the death of your  
noble and louing husband; and the great dolour and  
sorrow that you haue suffered and tolerated, by the  
cruell murder of your innocent children: I can no  
lesse do both of bounden duetie and christlian charitie,  
than dailie to studie, and hourely imagine, not one-  
lie how to bring your hart to comfort and gladnesse,  
but also deuise how to reuenge the righteous quarell  
of you and your children on that bloudie blouspurer,  
and cruell tyrant king Richard.

And first consider, what battell, what manslaugh-  
ter, what mischefe hath risen in this realme by the  
dissention betwene the two noble houses of York  
& Lancaster. Which two families (as I haue contri-  
ued) if they may be ioined in one, I thinke, yea and  
doubt not, but your line shall be againe restored to  
the pziuate estate and degre; to your great iaise  
and comfort, and to the better confusion of your nio-  
C c c. ij. talk

The bishop of  
the saileth  
into Flan-  
ders to the  
earle of Rich-  
mond.Lewes the  
physician  
sheweth the  
quene the  
whole con-  
ceit and de-  
uise of the  
matter.



The confu-  
tion of the two  
families mo-  
ued to the Q.  
by the phys-  
cian.

fall enimie the usurper king. You know verie well madame, that of the house of Lancaster, the earle of Richmond is next of blood, who is living, and a lustie yong batcheler, and to the house of Yorke your daughters now are heires. If you could agree and inuent the meane how to couple your eldest daughter with the yong earle of Richmond in matrimonie, no doubt but the usurper of the realme should be shortly deposed, and your heire againe to his right restored.

When the quene had heard this friendlie motion (which was as farre from his thought; as the man that the rude people saie is in the moone) how his spirits reuiued, and how his heart leapt in his bodie for ioy and glorie. And first giuing laud to almightie God, as the chiefe author of his comfort, se combastie to maister Lewes, as the deuiler of the se god newes & tidings, the instantlie besought him, that as he had bene the first inuenter of so great an enterpryse, so now he would not relinquish nor de-  
sist to follow the same: requirring him further (be-  
cause he was appertaining to the countesse of Rich-  
mond mother to the erle Henrie) that he would with  
all diligent celeritie resort to him, then lodging in his  
husbands place, within the citie of London: and to  
declare on the quenes behalfe to the countesse, that  
all the friends and fantas of king Edward his hus-  
band, should assist and take part with the earle of  
Richmond his sonne, so that he would take a corpo-  
rall oth after the kingdome obtained, to espouse and  
take to wife the ladie Elizabeth his daughter, or else  
ladie Cicilie, if the eldest daughter were not then  
living.

The quenes  
readinesse to  
set forward  
this conclusion.

Maister Lewes with all dexterity so sped his busi-  
nesse, that he made and concluded a finall end and de-  
termination of this enterpryse betwene the two mo-  
thers. And because he was a physician, and out of all  
suspicion and misdeeming, he was the common cur-  
or and dailie messenger betwene them, aiding and  
setting forth the inuented conspiracie against king  
Richard. So the ladie Margaret countesse of Rich-  
mond, brought into a good hope of the preferment of  
his sonne, made Reginald Braie his most faithfull  
seruant, chiefe solicitor and priue procuror of this  
conspiracie, giuing him in charge secretly to inuegle  
and attract such persons of nobilitie to ioyne with him  
and take his part, as he knew to be ingenuous, faith-  
full, diligent, and of activitie. This Reginald Braie  
within few daies brought vnto his lare (first of all  
taking of euerie person a solemne oth to be true and  
secret) sir Giles Daubene, sir John Cheinie knight,  
Richard Gilford, and Thomas Kame esquiers, and  
diuers other. The countesse of Richmond was not so  
diligent for his part, but quene Elizabeth was as  
vigilant on the other side, and made friends, and ap-  
pointed counsellors to set forward and aduance his  
businessse.

The countesse  
of Richmond  
bittereth the  
matter to Maister  
Lewes his chap-  
leine, swearing  
him to be  
secret.

In the meane season, the countesse of Richmond  
tooke into his seruice Christopher Urswike, an honest  
and wise priest, and (after an oth of him for to be se-  
cret taken and sworne) he bitered to him all his  
mind and counsell, aduising him the more confi-  
dence and truth, that he all his life had fauoured and  
taken part with king Henrie the first, and as a speci-  
all ielwell put to his seruice by sir Lewes his phys-  
cian. So the mother, studious for the prosperitie of  
his son, appointed this Christopher Urswike to saile  
into Britaine to the earle of Richmond, and to de-  
clare and reueale to him all pacts and agrements  
betwene him & the quene agreed and concluded. But  
suddenlie she remembryng that the duke of Buc-  
kingham was one of the first inuentors, and a secret  
founder of this enterpryse, determined to send some  
personage of more estimation than his chapleine.

Whereupon the elected for a messenger Hugh Con-  
weie esquier, & sent him into Britaine with a great  
sum of monie to his sonne, giuing him in charge, to  
declare to the earle the great loue and especial fauor  
that the most part of the nobilitie of the realme bare  
toward him, the louing hearts & beniuolent minde  
which the whole commonaltie of their owne free will  
frankelie offered, and liberallie exhibited to him, wil-  
ling and aduising him not to neglect so good an occa-  
sion apparantlie offered; but with all speed and dili-  
gence, to addit and settle his mind & full intention  
how to returne home againe into England, where he  
was both wished and looked for: giuing him further  
monition and counsell, to take land and arrivall in  
the principallitie of Wales, where he should not  
doubt to find both aid, comfort and friends.

Richard Gilford, least Hugh Conweie might  
fortune to be taken, or stopped at Plimmouth, where  
he intended to take his nauigation, sent out of Kent  
Thomas Kame with the same instructions: and both  
made such diligence, and had such wind and weather,  
the one by land from Calis, and the other by water  
from Plimmouth, that within lesse than an houre  
both arrived in the duke of Britains court, and spake  
with the earle of Richmond, which (from the death  
of king Edward) went at pleasure and libertie,  
and to him counted and manifested the cause and  
effect of their message and ambassage. When the  
earle had receiued this message (which was the more  
pleasant, because it was vnloked for) he rendered to  
Jesu his fauour, his most humble & heartie thanks,  
being in firme credence and beleefe, that such things  
as hee with busie mind and laborious intent had  
wished & desired, could neuer haue taken anie effect,  
without the helpe and preferment of almightie God.  
And now being put in comfort of his long longing,  
he did communicate & breake to the duke of Britaine  
all his secrets; and priue messages, which were to  
him declared; aduertising him that he was entered  
into a sure and stedfast hope, to obtaine and get the  
crown and kingdome of the realme of England,  
desiring him both of his good will and friendlie helpe  
toward the atchaining of his offered enterpryse, pro-  
mising him when he came to his intended purpose, to  
render to him againe equall kindnes, and condisigne  
recompente. Although the duke of Britaine before  
that daie, by Thomas Hutton ambassadour from  
king Richard, had both by monie and prayers bene  
solicited and moued to put againe into safe custodie  
the earle of Richmond, he neuertheless promised  
faithfullie to aid him; and his promise hee trulie per-  
formed.

Whereupon the earle with all diligence sent into  
England againe Hugh Conweie, and Thomas  
Kame, which should declare his comming hostile in-  
to England: to the intent that all things, which by  
counsell might be for his purpose provided, should  
be speedilie and diligentlie done; and that all things  
doubtfull, should of his friends be prudentlie fore-  
seene, in avoiding all engines or snares which king  
Richard had or might set in disturbance of his pur-  
pose: and he in the meane season would make his a-  
bode still in Britaine, till all things necessarie for his  
tourne were prepared, and brought in a readinesse.  
In the meane season, the chieffes of the confurati-  
on in England began together manie enterprisses:  
some in conuentent fortresses put strong garrisons,  
some kept armed men priuillie, to the intent that  
when they should haue knowledge of the earles lan-  
ding, they would begin to stir by the war: other did  
secretlie moue and solicit the people to rise & make  
an insurrection: other (amongst whom John Morton  
bishop of Ely then being in Flanders was chiefe)  
by priue letters and cloked messengers did stirre  
and

The duke  
sent out for  
the same pur-  
pose for feare  
of intercepting

The earle of  
Richmond  
maketh the  
duke of Bri-  
taine priue in  
the matter.

Hugh Con-  
weie and Thomas  
Kame returne  
into England  
and deliver  
their answer

Separation  
to being in the  
citie, & once  
the earle of  
Buckingham.

The duke of  
Buckingham  
conspireth a-  
gainst king  
Richard.

The duke of  
Buckingham  
is offered  
to come to king  
Richard.

Richard  
put in the  
disposing of  
his armie.

Con: Hugh Cour-  
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and moue to this new confuration, all such which they certeinly knew to haue a costed hatred, or to beare cankered malice toward king Richard and his proceedings.

Although this great enterpryse were neuer so priuily handled, and so secretlie amongst so circumspect persons treated, compassed and conueied; yet knowledge therof came to the eares of king Richard, who with the sudden chance was not a little moued and astonished. First, because he had no host readie prepared; secondlie, if he should raise an armie so suddenly, he knew not where to meet his enemies, or whither to go, or where to tarrie. Wherefore he determined to dissemble the matter, as though he knew nothing, till he had assembled his host; and in the meane season either by the rumour of the common people; or by the diligence of his espials to search out all the counsels, determinations, intents, and compasses of his close abusers; or else by policie to intercept and take some person of the same confuration, considering that there is no more secret nor hid espiall, than that which lurketh in dissimulation of knowledge and intelligence, or is hidden in name and shadow of counterfeit humanitie and feined kindnesse. But yet wisdom hath a deuise to auoid & shift off all such deceiters, as the poet well saith:

*Dissimulatores vitia prudentia vafros.*

And because he knew the duke of Buckingham to be the chiefe head and aid of the confuration, he thought it most necessarie to plucke him from that part, either by faire promises or open warre. Whereupon he addrest his louing letters to the duke, full of gentle words, & most friendly speech; giuing further in charge to the messenger that carried the letter to promise the duke (in his behalfe) golden hilles, and floure riuers, and with all gentle and pleasant means to persuaade and exhort the duke to come to the court. But the duke as wilie as the king, mistrusting the faire flattering words, and the gaie promises to him so suddenly without any cause offered, knowing the craftie crafts of king Richards bow, which in diuerse affaires before time he had seene practised, required the king to pardon him, excusing himselfe that he was so diseased in his stomach, that scant he could either take refection or rest.

King Richard not being content with this excuse, would in no wise admit the same; but incontinent directed to the duke other letters, of a more rougher and haunter sort, not without taunting and biting tearmes, and checking words, commanding him (all excuses set apart) to repaire without anie delay to his roiall presence. The duke made to the messenger a determinate answer, that he would not come to his most tall enemy, whom he neither loued, nor favoured: and immediatly prepared open warre against him, and persuaaded all his complices and partakers, that euery man in his quarter, with all diligence should raise by people & make a commotion. And by this means almost in one moment Thomas marques Doyset came out of sanctuary, where since the beginning of his Richards daies he had continued, whose life by the onelie helpe of sir Thomas Louell was preserved from all danger & perill in this troublous world, gathered together a great band of men in Northshire.

Sir Edward Courtenie, and Peter his brother bishop of Excester, raised an other armie in Devonshire and Cornewall. In Kent Richard Gilsford and other gentlemen collected a great companie of souldiers, and openly began warre. But king Richard, who in the meane time had gotten together a great strength and puissance, thinking it not most for his part beneficiall, to disperse and diuide his great armie into small bandes, and particularlie to

persecute anie one of the confuration by himselfe, determined (all other things being set aside) with his whole puissance to set on the chiefe head, which was the duke of Buckingham. And so remouing from London, he took his iournie toward Salisbury, to the intent that in his iournie he might set on the dukes armie, if he might know him in anie place incamped, or in order of battell arraied.

The king was scarce two daies iournie from Salisbury, when the duke of Buckingham accompanied with a great power of wild Welshmen, whom he (being a man of great courage and sharpe speech) in manner against their willes had rather thereto incited and compelled by lordlie and strict commandement, than by liberall wages and gentle demerour, which thing was the verie occasion why they left him desolate, & cowardlie forsooke him. The duke with all his power marched through the Forrest of Deane, intending to haue passed the riuer Seuerne at Gloucester, & there to haue joined his armie with the Courtenies, and other westerne men of his confederacie and affinitie. Which if he had done, no doubt but king Richard had bene in great leopordie, either of priuation of his realme, or losse of his life, or both.

But see the chance. Before he could attaine to Seuerne side, by force of continuall raine and moisture, the riuer rose so high that it ouerflowed all the countrie adjoining, inso much that men were drowned in their beds, and houses with the extreame violence were ouerturned, children were carried about the fields swimming in cradels, beasts were drowned on hills. Which rage of water lasted continuallie ten daies, inso much that in the countrie adjoining they call it to this daie, The great water; or the duke of Buckingham's great water. By this flood the passages were so closed, that neither the duke could come ouer Seuerne to his adherents, nor they to him. During the which time, the Welshmen lingring idelie, and without monie, vittels, or wages, suddenly scattered and departed: and for all the dukes faire promises, threatnings, and inforcements, would in no wise either go further nor abide.

The duke (being thus left almost post alone) was of necessitie compelled to flie, and in flight was with this sudden fortune maruellouslie dismayed: and being unpurueied what counsell he should take, and what waie he should follow, like a man in despaire, not knowing what to do, of verie trust & confidence conueied himselfe into the house of Humfrey Banasther his seruant beside Shrewsburie, whom he had tenderlie brought up, and whom he about all men loued, fauoured, and trusted; now not doubting but that in his extreame necessitie he should find him faithfull, secret, and trustie, intending there couertly to lurke, till either he might raise againe a new armie, or else thorowly to saile into Britaine to the earle of Richmond. [But alas (good duke) the meanes (by occasion of Gods prouidence, shaking men out of their thiffs of supposed safetie) failed him, and he fell infortunatly into the hands of the coming boze, that tare him in peces with his tuskes.]

Now when it was knowne to his adherents, which were ready to giue battell, that his host was scattered, and had left him almost alone, and was fled, & could not be found; they were suddenly amazed & stricken with a sudden feare, that euery man like persons desperate shifted for himselfe & fled. Some went to sanctuary, and to solitarie places; some fled by sea, where of the most part within a few daies after arrived safelie in the duchie of Britaine. Among which number were these persons: Peter Courtenie bishop of Excester, and sir Edmund Courtenie his brother, by king Henrie the seventh after created earle of Devonshire; Thomas marquisse Doyset, John lord Welles,

The duke of  
Buckingham  
power of wild  
welshmen  
(falsehearted)  
do saile him.

A foze flow  
or high water  
drowning much  
harne, called  
the duke of  
Buckingham's  
great water.

The dukes  
adherents &  
their powers  
dispersed,



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he cometh to  
the duke of  
Buckingham  
beheaded with  
out arraignment  
of judgment.

he duke of  
Buckingham  
beheaded with  
out arraignment  
of judgment.

The earle of  
Richmond  
swearth to  
marrie Eli  
zabeth daugh  
ter to Ed  
ward the  
fourth, after  
possession of  
the crowne.

Charles the  
first of France  
his benevo  
lence to the  
earle of Rich  
mond.

The earle of  
Richmonds  
preparation  
of ships and  
souldiers to  
the sea.  
his ships be  
parked by  
tempest.

The earle la  
menteth and  
mouleth.

that no person should once presume to take land, and go to shore, untill such time as the whole nauie were assembled and come together. And while he taried and lingered, he sent out a shipboate toward the land side, to know whether they, which stood there in such a number, and so well furnished in apparell defensue, were his foes and enemies, or else his friends and comfortors.

They that were sent to inquire, were instantlie desired of the men of warre keeping the coast (which thereof were before instructed & admonished) to descend and take land, affirming that they were appointed by the duke of Buckingham there to await and tarry for the arrivall and landing of the earle of Richmond, and to conduct him safelie into the campe, where the duke not far of late incamped with a mighty armie, and an host of great strength and power, to the intent that the duke and the earle, joining in puissances and forces together, might prosecute and chase king Richard being destitute of men, and in manner desperate, and so by that meanes, and their owne labours, to obtaine the end of their enterpryse which they had before begun.

The earle of Richmond suspecting their flattering request to be but a fraud (as it was in deed) after he perceived none of his ships to appeare in sight, he twiced by his anchores, halled by his sailes, & hauing a prosperous and streinable wind, and a fresh gale sent euen by God to deliuer him from that perill and teopardie, arrived safe and in all securitie in the duchie of Normandie, where he (to refresh and solace his soldiers and people) took his recreation by the space of thre daies, and cleerlie determined with part of his companie to passe all by land againe into Britaine. And in the meane season he sent ambassadores to the French king; called Charles the eight, which newlie succeeded his father king Lewis the eleventh, not long before departed to God, requesting of him a safe conduct and licence to passe thorough his countrie of Normandie into Britaine.

This young king, hauing compassion of the misfortune of the earle of Richmond, not onelie gentlie granted and assigned to him a passport; but also liberallie disbursed to him a great summe of monie for his conduct and expences necessarie in his long tourne and passage. But the earle trusting in the French kings humanitie, aduentured to send his ships home into Britaine, and to set forward himselfe by land on his tourne, making no great hast till his messengers were returned. Which being with that benefit comforted, and with hope of prosperous successe encouraged, marched towards Britaine with all diligence, intending there to consult further with his louers & friends of his affaires and enterprises. When he was returned againe into Britaine, he was certified by credible information, that the duke of Buckingham had lost his head; and that the marquess Dowset, and a great number of noble men of England, had a little before inquired and searched for him there, and were now returned to Vannes.

When he had heard these newes thus reported, he first sorrowed and lamented his first attempt and setting forward of his friends, and in especiall of the nobilitie, not to haue more fortunatelie succeeded. So condantlie, he reioiced on the other part, that God had sent him so manie valiant and prudent capitaines to be his companions in his martiall enterprises, trusting surelie and nothing doubting in his owne opinion, but that all his businesse should be wiselie compassed, and brought to a good conclusion. Wherefore he determining with all diligence to set forward his new begun businesse, departed to Rheims, and sent certaine of his priue seruitors to conduct and bring the marquess and other noble men to his pre

sence. When they knew that he was safelie returned into Britaine, Lord how they reioiced! for before that time they missed him, and knew not in what part of the world to make inquirie or search for him. For they doubted and no lesse feared least he had taken land in England, & fallen into the hands of king Richard, in whose person they knew well was neither mercie nor compassion.

Wherefore in all speedie maner they galoped toward him, and him reuerentlie salated. Which meeting after great joy and solace, and no small thanks giuen and rendered on both parts, they aduisedlie debated and communed of their great businesse and weightie enterpryse. In the which season the feast of the Nativite of our saviour Christ happened, on which daie all the English lords went with their solemnitie to the chiefe church of the citie, and there each gaue faith and promise to other. The earle himselfe first took a corporall oth on his honor, promising that incontinent after he should be possessed of the crowne and dignitie of the realme of England, he would be conioined in matrimonie with the ladie Elizabeth daughter to king Edward the fourth. Then all the companie swore to him fealtie, and did to him homage (as though he had bene that time the crowned king, and annointed prince) promising faithfullie, and firmelie affirming, that they would not onelie lose their worldlie substance; but also be deprived of their liues and worldlie felicitie, rather than to suffer king Richard that tyrant longer to rule and reigne ouer them.

Which solemne oths made and taken, the earle of Richmond declared and communicated all these doings to Francis duke of Britaine, desiring & most heartilie requirring him to aid him with a greater armie to conduct him into his countrie, which so sore longed and looked for his returne, and to the which he was by the more part of the nobilitie and communalitie called and desired. Which (with Gods aid, and the dukes comfort) he doubted not in that time to obtaine; requiring him further to prest to him a convenient summe of monie; affirming that all such summes of monie which he had receiued of his especiall friends, were spent and consumed in preparation of his last tourne made toward England; which summes of monie, after his enterpryse once atchiued, he in the word of a prince faithfullie promised to repaie and restore againe. The duke promised him aid and helpe. Upon confidence thereof he rigged his ships, and set forth a nauie well decked with ordnance, and warlike furnished with all things necessarie, to the intent to saile forward thortlie, and to lose no time.

In the meane season king Richard apprehended in diuerse parts of the realme certaine gentlemen of the earle of Richmonds faction, & confederation, which either intended to saile into Britaine toward him, or else at his landing to assist and aid him. Amongst whome sir George Browne, sir Roger Cusford, and foure other were put to execution at London, and sir Thomas Sentleger which had married the duchesse of Excester the kings owne sister, and Thomas Kame, and diuerse other were executed at Excester. Beside these persons, diuerse of his household seruants, whome either he suspected or doubted, were by great crueltie put to shameful death. [By the obseruation of which mens names, the place, and the action here mentioned, with the computation of time, I find fit occasion to interlace a note (newlie receiued from the hands of one that is able to saie much by record) deliuering a summarie (in more ample sort) of their names, whome king Richard did so tyrannicallie persecute and execute: as followeth.]

King Richard (saith he) came this yeare to the citie,

The English  
lords giue  
faith and pro  
mise either to  
other.

The earle of  
Richmond  
swearth to  
marrie Eli  
zabeth daugh  
ter to Ed  
ward the  
fourth, after  
possession of  
the crowne.

Diuerse of the  
earle of Rich  
monds faction  
apprehended  
and executed.

Abr. Fleming,

John Hooker,  
alias Vowel.  
Is Richard  
commeth to  
Excester, and  
is receiued  
with pre-  
sents.

A prophetic,  
the inclosure  
whereof did  
appall the  
kings spirits.

tie, but in verie secret maner, whome the maior & his  
brethren in the best maner they could did receiue, and  
then presented to him in a purse two hundred nobles;  
which he thankfullie accepted. And during his abode  
here he went about the citie, & viewed the seat of the  
same, & at length he came to the castell: and when he  
understood that it was called Rugemont, suddenlie  
he fell into a dumper, and (as one affonied) said; Well,  
I see my daies be not long. He spake this of a pro-  
phetic told him, that when he came once to Rich-  
mond, he should not long liue after: which fell out in  
the end to be true, not in respect of this castle, but in  
respect of Henrie earle of Richmond, who the next  
yeare following met him at Bosworth field where  
he was slaine. But at his being here, he did find the  
gentlemen of this countrie not to be best affected to-  
wards him, and after his departure, did also heare  
that the marquess of Dorset, the bishop of Excester,  
and sundrie other gentlemen were in a confederacie  
against him for the assisting of the erle of Richmond.

Lord Scrope  
by the kings  
commission  
kept a session  
against di-  
uerse indicted  
of high treason.

More than  
five hundred  
indicted,  
whereof some  
escaped, and  
some were ex-  
ecuted.

1484  
The earle of  
Richmond at-  
tainted in par-  
liament, and all  
other that fled  
ouer sea to  
take his part.

Anno Reg. 2.

King Richard  
chargeth the  
lord Stanleie  
to keepe his  
wife in some  
secret place  
from dealing  
against him.

In this troublous season, nothing was more mar-  
uelled at, than that the lord Stanleie had not bene  
taken, and reputed as an enemie to the king; con-  
sidering the working of the ladie Margaret his wife,  
mother to the earle of Richmond. But forsomuch as  
the enterpryse of a woman was of him reputed of no  
regard or estimation; and that the lord Thomas his  
husband had purged himselfe sufficientlie to be inno-  
cent of all doings and attempts by hir perpetrated  
and committed: it was giuen him in charge to keepe  
hir in some secret place at home, without hauing a-  
nie seruant or companie: so that from thence forth  
she should neuer send letter or messenger vnto hir  
sonne, nor anie of his friends or confederats, by the  
which the king might be molested or troubled, or anie  
hurt or prejudice might be attempted against his  
realme and commonaltie. Which commandement  
was a while put in execution and accomplished, accor-  
ding to his dreadfull commandement.

Yet the wild woman of vengeance waunting  
his head, could not be content with the death of di-  
uerse gentlemen suspected of treason; but also he  
must extend his bloody furie against a poye gentle-  
man called Collingborne, for making a small rime  
of three of his unfortunate counsellors, which were  
the lord Louell, sir Richard Ratcliffe his mische-  
uous minion, and sir William Catesbie his secret  
seducer, which matter of rime was thus framed:

The Cat, the Rat, and Louell our dog,  
Rule all England vnder an hog.

Meaning by the hog, the dreadfull wild boare,  
which was the kings cognifance. But because the first  
line ended in dog, the metrickian could not (observing  
the regiments of meter), end the second verse in  
boare, but called the boare an hog. This poetickall  
schollemaster, corrector of breets and longs, caused  
Collingborne to be abbreviated shorter by the head,  
and to be diuided into foure quarters.

There is to be noted, that beside the rime which is  
reported by some to be the onelie cause for which this  
gentleman suffered, I find in a register booke of in-  
dicaments concerning felonies and treasons by  
sundry persons committed, that the said Colling-  
borne (by the name of William Collingborne) late  
of Liddard in the countie of Wilshire esquier, and o-  
ther his associats were indicted in London: for that  
they about the tenth date of Iulie, in this second  
yeare of king Richards reigne, in the parish of saint  
Botolphes in Dorsetoken ward had solicited and re-  
quested one Thomas Hate, offering to him for his  
paines eight pounds, to go ouer into Britaine vnto  
Henrie earle of Richmond, Thomas marquess of Dor-  
set, John Cheineie esquier, and others, which in the  
last parliament holden at Westminster had bene  
attainted of sundrie high treasons by them pyanished  
with in the kings dominion.

Wherefore, to declare vnto them that they should  
do verie well, to returne into England with all such  
power as they might get before the feast of S. Luke  
the euangelist next ensuing; for so they might recou-  
er all the whole reuenues of the realme due at the feast  
of saint Michaell next before the said feast of saint  
Luke. And that if the said earle of Richmond and his  
partakers, following the counsell of the said Colling-  
borne, would arriue at the haue of Pole in Dor-  
setshire, he the said Collingborne and other his asso-  
ciats would cause the people to rise in armes, and to  
leue warre against king Richard, taking part with  
the said earle and his friends; so that all things should  
be at their commandements. Whereupon, to moue  
the said earle to send the said John Cheineie vnto the  
French king, to auertise him that his ambassadors  
sent into England should be dallied with, onlie to  
driue off the time till the winter season were past, and  
that then in the beginning of summer king Richard  
meant to make warre into France, inuading that  
realme with all puissance: and so by this meanes to  
persuade the French king to aid the earle of Rich-  
mond and his partakers, in their quarrell against king  
Richard.

Further, that the said William Collingborne, be-  
ing confederate with the said earle and other his ad-  
herents, as well within the realme as without, the  
eighteenth day of Iulie, in the said second yeare, with-  
in the parish of saint Gregories in Faringdon ward  
within, had deuised certeine bills and writings in  
rime, to the end that the same being published, might  
stir the people to a commotion against the king. And  
those bills and writings in rime so deuised and writ-  
ten, the same Collingborne the daie and yeare last  
mentioned, had fastened and set vpon diuerse doores  
of the cathedrall church of saint Paule, for the moore  
spedie furthering of his intended purpose. Thus  
farre

An. Dom. 1484

An. Reg. 2.

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Collingborne  
executed.

Collingborne  
indicted.

Collingborne  
a famous  
of Richmond.

Collingborne  
purpose to  
the erle of  
arrivals  
Pole in Dor  
setshire.

Collingborne  
indicted  
a libel  
against  
king  
Richard.

King Richard  
attempts  
the duke of  
Bretagne  
to  
winne  
the  
estate of Rich-  
mond into his  
hands.



Dom. 1484.

An. Reg. 2.

farre the indictment. But whether he was guiltie in part or in all, I haue not to saie.

King Richard being thus disquieted in mind, and doubtfull for the suertie of his owne estate, called to remembrance that confederations, honest bands and pacts of amitie, concluded and had betwixt princes and gouernours, are the efficient cause that realmes and common wealths are strengthened with double power, that is, with aid of friends abroad, and their owne forces at home. Whereupon he deuised how to conclude a league and amitie with his neighbour the king of Scots: who not long before had made diuerse incursions and roads into the realme of England. And although he had not much gotten; yet verelie he lost not much. And now when as king Richard could haue wished, he of himselfe made safe for peace or truce to be had betwixt him and king Richard; who willinglie giuing eare to that suite, commissioners were appointed to meete about the treatie thereof, as in the historie of Scotland it maie appeare.

At length they agreed vpon a truce for three yeeres, and withall for a further increase of firme friendship and sure amitie (betwixt him and the king of Scots) king Richard entered into a treatie also of alliance for the concluding of a marriage betwixt the duke of Northfolke (eldest sonne to the king of Scots) and the ladie Anne de la Pole daughter to John duke of Suffolke and the duchesse Anne, sister to king Richard: which sister he so much fauoured, that studying by all waies and meanes possible how to aduance hir linage, he did not onelie thus seeke to preferre hir daughter in marriage; but also after the death of his sonne, he proclaimed John earle of Lincoln hir sonne and his nephue, heire apparent to the crowne of England, disheriting king Edwards daughters, whose brethren (as ye haue heard) he most wickedlie had caused to be murdered and made awaie.

The king of Scots standing in need of friends, although not so greatlie as king Richard, did willinglie consent to that motion of marriage, first broched by king Richard, inasmuch that it toke effect, and by commissioners was passed and concluded, in manner as in the historie of Scotland it likewise appeareth. But albeit that by this league and amitie thus conuernted and concluded, it might be thought, that all conspiracies, coniuurations, and confederacies against king Richard had bene extinct, especiallie considering the duke of Buckingham and his allies were dispatched out of the waie, some by death, and some by flight and banishment into farre countries: yet king Richard, more doubting than trusting to his owne people and friends, was continually vered and troubled in mind for feare of the earle of Richmonds returne: which daillie dread and horrible agonie caused him to liue in dolefull miserie, euer vniquiet, and in manner in continuall calamitie.

Wherefore he intending to be relieved, and to haue an end of all his doubtfull dangers, determined clerelie to extirpate and plucke vp by the roots all the matter and ground of his feare and doubts. Inasmuch that (after long and deliberate consultation had) nothing was for his purpose and intent thought either more necessarie or expedient than once againe with price, praier, and rewards, to attempt the duke of Britaine, in whose territorie the earle of Richmond then abode, to deliuer the said earle into his hands: by which onelie meanes he should be discharged of all feare and perill, and brought to rest and quietnesse both of bodie and mind. Wherefore incontinent he sent certeine ambassadoys to the duke of Britaine, which toke vpon them (beside the great and

ample rewards that they brought with them into Britaine) that king Richard should yearelie paie and answer the duke of all the reuenues, rents, and profits of the seignories, lands, and possessions, as well belonging and appertaining to the erle of Richmond, as to anie other noble or gentleman, which then were in the earles companie; if he after that time would keepe them in continuall prison, and restraine them from libertie.

The ambassadoys (furnished with these and other instructions) arrived in Britaine, and came to the dukes house; where with him they could haue no manner of communication concerning their weightie affaires: by reason that he being faint and weakened by a long and daillie infirmitie, began a little to waxe tole and weake in his wit and remembrance. For which cause Peter Landoise his cheefe treasurer, a man both of pregnant wit and great authoritie, ruled and aduised all things at his pleasure and commandement, for which cause (as men set in authoritie be not best beloued) he excited & prouoked against him the malice and euill will of the nobilitie of Britaine, which afterwarde (for diuerse great offences by him during his authoritie perpetrate & committed) by these meanes was brought to death & confusion.

The English ambassadoys moued their message and request to Peter Landoise, and to him declared their masters commandement, instantlie requiring and humble desiring him (in whose power it late to do all things in Britaine) that he would frendlie assent to the request of king Richard: offering to him the same rewards and lands, that they should haue offered to the duke. This Peter (which was no lesse despised than hated almost of all the people of Britaine) thought that if he did assent & satisfie king Richards petition and desire, he should be of power and abilitie sufficient to withstand and repell the malicious attempts and dissembling inuentions of his enuious aduersaries. Wherefore he faithfullie promised to accomplish king Richards request & desire: so that he kept promise with him, that he might be able to withstand the cankered malice of his secret enemies.

This act that he promised to do, was not for anie grudge or malice that he bare vnto the erle of Richmond: for (as you haue heard before) he deliuered him from the perill of death at saint Palos, when he was in great doubt of life, and leoparde. But as cause artlesse we euer offend, and that cursed hunger of gold, and execrable thirst of lucre, and inward feare of losse of authoritie, dulleth the blind minds of couetous men, & ambitious persons to euils and mischiefes innumerable, not remembering losse of god name, obloquie of the people, nor in conclusion the punishment of God for their merits and deserts. [Which vengeance of God for such fallshood was more to be feared, than the gaie offers of the king to be desired; for the one was sure to fall, the other was likelie to faile. Wherefore it is wisdom to make choise of a friend, by the rule of the wiseman to be observed in wine, which is drunke with pleasure when it is old. Neither doth it stand with a mans safetie to trust a friend too farre: for occasions maie fall out wherby he shall become an enimie, as the poet saith:

*Hostis erit forsan qui tunc hospes erat.*

But fortune was so fauourable to the publike wealth of the realme of England, that this deadlie and dolorous compact toke none effect or place. For while postes ran, and letters were sent to and fro for the finishing of this great enterprize betwene king Richard and Peter Landoise, John Spozton bishop of Elic (sojourning then in Flanders) was of all this craftie conuiance certified by his secret and sure friends. Wherefore he sent Christopher Urswike (which at that verie season was come out of Britaine into

A great temptation with large offers.

Peter Landoise is moued by the ambassadoys of king Richard in their suite.

Note what loue of lucre or greedie gasping after rewards doth.

See page 701.

Abr. Fl.

Bishop Spozton preuenteth & defeateth the practices of king Richard and Peter Landoise.

Collingborne executed.

Collingborne indicted.

Collingborne a fauourer of the earle of Richmond.

Collingborne purpose to ad the erle at his arrival at Pole to Doytshire.

Collingborne directed to be libeller against king Richard.

into fflanders) to declare to the earle of Richmond how all the deceit and craftie working was conuicted and compassed, giuing him charge to counsell and aduise the earle in all haile possible with all his companie to retire out of Britaine into France.

When these newes were brought to the earle, he then kept house in Calnes, and incontinent dispatched againe Christopher Urswike vnto Charles the French king, requiring him that he and his might safelie passe into France. Which desire being obtained, the messenger shortly returned to his lord and prince. The earle, well perceiuing that it was expedient and necessarie, with all speed and diligence to looke to this weightie matter, calling verie few to counsell, he made inquirie and search of all secret & by-waies, & sent before all his noble men, as though for a certaine familiaritie and kindnesse they should visit and comfort the duke, which then (for recreation and change of aire) late on the borders and confines of France. And secretlie he gaue charge to the earle of Penbrooke, which was the leader and conductor of his companie, that when they approached the marches and limits of Britaine, they should diuert and take the next waie into France.

The earle of Penbrooke conductor of the earle of Richmond's companie.

The noble men somewhat suspicious of things newlie imagined, without any tarieng, scowring the waies as fast as their horses could runne, came out of the duchie of Britaine into the duchie of Anjou in the dominion of France, where they taried the erles coming, which two daies after departed out of Calnes, onelie accompanied with five seruitors, as though he had gone secretlie to visit a familiar friend of his, in a small village adioining. No man suspected that he would depart, considering that a great multitude of Englishmen were left and continued in the citie. But after that he had passed three or four miles forward, he suddenlie turned into a solitarie wood next adioining, where clothing himselfe in the simple coat of his page seruant, made and appointed his said minister leader and maister of his small companie, & he as an humble page diligentlie followed and serued his counterfeit gouernor, neither resting nor refreshing themselves, except the basking of their horses, till they by waies vnknewne, now this way, now turning that way, came to their companie abiding them in Angiers.

The earles small traine for a policie.

The earle appeared like a page attended by one of his men as his maister.

The fourth day after the earle of Richmond was thus departed, that craftie merchant Peter Landois, thirsting still after his prize promised by king Richard, was ready to set forward his crew of soldiers, which he priuily had consigned, with certaine trafficke captaine for that onelie purpose appointed and elected, to performe and atchieue his pretended enterprise; dissembling and feining them to be conducted and hired by him to serue the earle of Richmond, and him to conduct in his returne toward his native countrie: meaning no other thing but to apprehend him, and the other noble men in his retinue, which no such fraud suspected, nor yet anie treason imagined, vnto and vnprovided, and destitute of all aid, and them to cast and commit suddenlie into continuall captiuitie and bondage, to the intent that by this his wretched and naughtie act, he might satisfie the charitable request and longing desire of good king Richard, more for his owne profit than king Richards gaine.

Peter Landois his expectation: disappointed by the priuie and vnknewne departing of the earle.

But when this craftie dissembler Peter Landois, which was no wittier than an old fox, perceiued that the earle was departed (thinking that to be true that he imagined) Lord how light horsemen galloped in euery street! how light horsemen galloped in euery street! to follow and deteine him, if by anie possibilitie he could be met with and ouertaken, and him to apprehend and bring captiue into the citie of Calnes. The

horsemen made such diligence, and with such celeritie set forward their iournie, that nothing was more likelie than they to haue obtained, yea and seized their prize. For the earle of Richmond was not entered into the realme of France scarce one houre, but the followers came to the limits and confines of Britaine, and durst adventure no further, but baine (without their desire) sorrowfullie returned.

At which season were left at Calnes about the number of three hundred Englishmen, which not being called to counsell, and vnto of this enterprise, but knowing of the earles sudden departure, were so incontinentlie affonied, that in maner they were all in despair, both of him, and their owne libertie and safeguard. But fortune turned his faile, and otherwise it happened than their feare them incumbered. For the duke of Britaine, now being somewhat recovered, was soe displeased, and nothing contented, that the earle of Richmond was in his dominion so courteously used and intreated, that he should be by fraud and vntruth compelled to leave and flie out of his duchie and countrie, contrarie to his honour. Wherefore he toke verie great displeasure with Peter Landois his treasurer, to whom (although he knew not, and was ignorant that all the day was devised and deuised by him) he laid the fault, and imputed the crime.

Hereupon he sent for Edward Mowbray, and Edward Poynings, valiant esquires of England, and deliuered vnto them monie sufficient for their conduct, willing them to conuie the rest of the Englishmen being in Britaine, to the earle of Richmond's presence. When the earle was thus furnished, and appointed with his trustie companie, and was escaped all the dangers, labinthos, and snares that were set for him: no maruell though he were iocund and glad of the prosperous successe that happened in his affaires. Wherefore, least he should seeme to be blotted with the note of ingratitude, he sent diners of his gentlemen to the duke of Britaine, the which should publish and declare to him on the behalfe of the earle, that he and his were onelie by his benefit and fauour conserued and deliuered from the imminent danger that they were like to be trapped in. Wherefore at that time he rendered vnto him his most hartie thanks in words, trusting and not doubting, but in time to come liberallie to recompense him with acts and deeds.

After this, the earle toke his iournie to Charles the French king, lieng then at Langes vpon the river of Loire, to whom (after great thanks giuen for manifold pleasures by him to the earle shewed) he disclosed and manifested the cause and occasion of his access and repaire to his person. After that, he required of him helpe and succour, to the intent that by his immortall benefit to him at that time shewed, he might safelie returne vnto the nobilitie of his realme; of whom he was generallie called to take vpon him the crowne & scepter of the realme, which much hated and abhorred the tyrannie of king Richard. King Charles promised him aid and comfort, and bade him be of good courage, and make good cheare; for he assured him that he would glablie shew to him his beneuolent mind and bountifull liberallitie. Which king from thence remoued to Spountargis, leading with him the earle of Richmond, and all the noble personages of his retinue and faction.

This is that Charles the French king, in whose time France was all adant, for the state of that realme is said, that then it was verie populous in multitudes of men, for wealth and riches euery particular region most fertile and plentifull, for glorie in armes most flourishing & renowned, a policie well directed, discipline administered, an authoritie dreadfull, and

The duke of Britaine to the earle of Richmond, the cause of his safety.

Edw. Mowbray & Edw. Poynings to the earle of Richmond, the cause of his safety.

Ab. Fl. ex L.S. p. 73.

The earle of Richmond's power and strength into England.

The earle of Richmond's power and strength into England.

Ab. Fl. ex L.S. p. 73.

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John here earle of Richmond's power and strength into England.

John here earle of Richmond's power and strength into England.

John here earle of Richmond's power and strength into England.

in opinion and hope most mightie; lastlie their general conditions and faculties so well furnished, as perhaps it was not more happie in these mortall felicities since the daies of Charlemaine. It was newlie amplified in euerie one of the three parts wherein all Gall was diuided by the ancients: for fortie yers before vnder Charles the tenth (a prince for his victories obtained with great dangers called Haplie) Normandie and the duchie of Gales, holden by the Englishmen, were reduced to the obedience of the French crowne. And in the last daies of Lewis the eleuenth, the earldome of Prouince, the dukedome of Burgognie, almost all Picardie, together with the duchie of Britaine, were by a new marriage inueiled in the power of Charles the eight.]

While the earle was thus attendant in the French court, John Acre earle of Orford, which (as you haue heard before) was by king Edward kept in prison within the castell of Hammes, so perswaded James Blunt capteine of the same fortresse, and sir John Fortescue porter of the towne of Calis, that he himselfe was not onelie dismissed and set at libertie, but they also abandoning and leauing their fruitfull offices, did condescend to go with him into France to the earle of Richmond, and to take his part. But James Blunt, like a wise capteine, because he left his wife remaining in the castell before his departure, did fortifie the same both with new munitions, and fresh souldiers. [And here because the names of Acre and Fortescue are remembred, it shall not be amisse, somewhat out of due place, yet better a little out of order than altogether to omit the same, to adde a supplement for the further perfecting of a report recorded in page 693, and adding some light also to this present place touching the said persons, with others.]

Know you therefore, that this sir John Acre earle of Orford (that withpore himselfe from Barnet field, and with all speed fled into Scotland) in the yere 1473, and the thirteenth of Edward the fourth, did (after he had sometime sojourned there) saile into France, about the borders whereof he was continually hounding, as hoping to win some price (to support his estate) of such passengers as for merchandise cause or otherwise must keepe their course a long the sea. Whose good successe therein did not deceiue his mind. For in the end (what of one and other) he got such riches and other furniture, as he was able to support a chosen number of followers. Wherewith he (being released and encouraged to aduenture to set forth in his countrie in despite of king Edward) did with his companie of 397 persons, and with his sale of ships land in the west countrie the last of September, where (partite by force of his, and partly through feare of the inhabitants, but mostly by a subtil shift) he gat and entered the castell of saint Michaels mount, a place of strength, and such an harbourough, as he determined to keepe the same against all assaillants. During the time of his remaine there, he would with his companie manie times descend the hill, and come abrode in the countrie, where (for his loue, for his honour, and for the hatred they bare to king Edward) he was well interteined of manie gentlemen and others of the countrie.

But this matter vnpossible long to be kept in secret, was at the length brought to the knowledge of king Edward; who being somewhat moued, thought in the beginning to withstand such mischance, least suffering too long, & the earle growing to strength, he might be put to as great plunge for the crowne as he had bene wise before: wherewith seeing he was perswaded, he grew resolute to keepe it both by policie and puissance, maugre the open violence and private practices as well of his professed as secret enemies.

For he ran through the pikes per he could obtaine it, and offered his bodie to manie desperate perils in hope to get it: which if he had either feared or shunned, it is a matter of demand whether he had euer had it. For pretious things, as principalities and such like, vnlesse they be hereditarie, as they are hardlie kept, so are they not easilie gotten: for he that desireth to gather a rose, must not be tender ouer his fingers because of thornes; and he that would tast honte fresh out of the hieue, must not be scared with the stinging of bees, as the poet verie sweetlie noteth:

*Non quisquam fruitur veris odoribus,*

*Et ybleas latebris nec spoliat fauos,*

*Sis fronti caueat sitimeat rubos,*

*Armat spina rosas, mella regunt apes.*

Wherefore king Edward gave in charge to Boztingham, ruler of Shire of Cornewall, to assemble such powder as he could; and besieging the mount, he should either take or kill the earle of Orford. The which the Shire did accordingly, but that so feintlie and sauourable, as he permitted the earle of Orford (now in distresse) to reuittell the mount, knowing that there was no waie to expell the earle from thence but by famine. These things thus done (the king not pleased, and the earle not displeased) one Fortescue (which surname is deduced from the strength of his shield, whereof that familie had first originall) was with a stronger and faithfuller companie sent by king Edward to laie siege to the castell; which he did, and long continued. For it was not easie to be had, being (of it selfe) by nature stronglie set, by policie well vittelled, and by manhood valiantlie defended: which moued the king to assay an other means therefore, and to see if policie might do that which force could not.

For which cause, as Fortescue still continued the said siege, the king supposed it best (if possible he might) to weaken the earles part, by withdrawing the strength and hearts of his people from him: which might not be done but with rich promises and strong pardons. On which consideration he sent liberallie pardons to them, and in the end so secretlie wrought with the earles men: that if the earle/feared the worst, and iudging it better to trie the kings mercie, than to hazard the extremitie of taking, in which rested nothing but assured death) had not wholie submitted himselfe to king Edward, he had bene by his owne men most dishonestlie betrayed, and suddenlie taken prisoner. Wherupon the earle comming forth to Fortescue, did there yield himselfe and the castell into the kings hands. At what time/being the sixteenth of February, which from the first entrance of the earle into that castell being the last of September, was about foure moneths and foureteene daies) the same Fortescue entered the mount, & toke possession thereof, finding it yet sufficientlie vittelled to haue sustained an other siege more than one halfe yere. After all things were thus quieted, the earle, the lord Beaumont, two brothers of the said earle, and Thomas Cliffe, were brought vp as prisoners vnto king Edward. And now to our present historie againe.]

When the earle of Richmond saw the earle of Orenford, he was causthed with an incredible gladnesse, that he being a man of so high nobilitie, of such knowledge and practices in seates of warre, and so constant, trustie and assured (which alwaie had stood for the maintenance and preferment of the house of Lancaster) was now by Gods prouision deliuered out of captiuitie and imprisonment; and in time so necessarie and conuenient come to his aid, succour, and aduancement; in whome more surer than anie other he might put his trust and confidence, and take lesse paine and travell in his owne person. For it

And so. Was

Shirriff Boztingham besiegeth the mount that the earle had taken.

The name of Fortescue wherupon it grew.

Deuises to withdraw the earles power from him.

The earle of Orford submitted himselfe & yielded the castell into the kings hands.

he Duke of  
Bretagne  
the earle of  
Richmond,  
care of his  
reue.

the Duke of  
Bretagne  
the earle of  
Richmond,  
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the Duke of  
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the Duke of  
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he earle of  
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the earle of  
Richmond,  
care of his  
reue.

the Duke of  
Bretagne  
the earle of  
Richmond,  
care of his  
reue.

was not hid from him, that such as euer had taken part with king Edward before this time, came to do him seruice, either for malice they bare king Richard, or else for feare to liue vnder his cruell rule and tyrannous gouernance.

Not long after, the French king returned againe to Paris, whome the earle of Richmond followed, intending there to solicit his matter to the conclusion. Whereupon he brought king Charles to take vpon him the whole tuition and defense of him and his cause, so that he and his companie being (by his means) aided and comforted, should confesse and saie, their wealth, victorie, and advancement to haue flowed and budded forth of his bountifullnesse and liberalitie, which they would (God willing) shortly acquite. In the meane season, diuerse Englishmen, which either fled out of England for feare, or were at Paris to learne and studie goddly literature and vertuous doctrine, came voluntarie and submitted themselves to the earle of Richmond, and bowed & swore to take his part. Amongst whom was Richard for a priest, a man of great wit and no lesse learning, whome the earle incontinent received into secret familiarity, and in brasse time erected and advanced him to high dignities and promotions, and in conclusion made him bishop of Winchester.

In the meane season, king Richard was credibly advertised, what promises and othes the earle and his confederates had made and sworn together at Reims, and how by the earles means all the Englishmen were passed out of Britaine into France. Wherefore being sore dismayed, and in a manner desperate, because his craftie chieftenance took none effect in Britaine, he imagined & deuised how to intrigue and disturbe the earles purpose by an other meane; so that by the marriage of ladie Elizabeth his nece, he should pretend no claime nor title to the crowne. For he thought if that marriage failed, the earles chiefe combe had bene clearely cut. And because that he being blinded with the ambitious desire of rule before this time in obtaining the kingdome, had committed and done manie cursed acts, and detestable tyrannies, yet according to the old proverbe: Let him take the ball that scale awaite the calfe: he thought all facts by him committed in times passed to be but of small moment, and not to be regarded in comparison of that mischeuous imagination, which he now newlie began and attempted.

There came into his vngracious mind a thing not onelie detestable to be spoken of in the remembrance of man, but much more cruell and abominable to be put in execution. For when he reuolued in his wavering mind, how great a fountaine of mischief toward him should spring, if the earle of Richmond should be advanced to the marriage of his nece: which thing he heard saie by the rumor of the people, that no small number of wise and witty personsages enterprised to compasse and bring to conclusion; he cleerlie determined to reconcile to his fauour his brothers wife quene Elizabeth, either by faire words, or liberall promises; firmelie beleueing his fauour once obtained, that he would not sticke to commit (and lounglie credit) to him the rule and gouernance both of hir and hir daughters, and so by that meanes the earle of Richmond of the affinitie of his nece should be vtterlie defrauded and beguiled.

And if no ingenious remedie could be otherwise inuented, to saue the innumerable mischeues which were euen at hand, and like to fall, if it should happen quene Anne his wife to depart out of this present life, then he himselfe would rather take to wife his consine and nece the ladie Elizabeth; than for lacke of that affinitie the whole realme should run to

ruine, as who said, that if he once fell from his estate and dignitie, the ruine of the realme must needs shortly insue and follow. Wherefore he sent to the quene (being in sanctuarie) diuerse and often messengers, which first should excuse and purge him of all things before against hir attempted or procured, and after should so largelie promise promotions innumerable, and benefits, not onelie to hir, but also to hir sonne lord Thomas Marquesse Dorset, that they should bring hir (if it were possible) into some wanhope, or (as men saie) into a soles paradise.

The messengers, being men both of wit and grauitie, so perswaded the quene with great and pregnant reasons, & that with faire and large promises, that she began somewhat to relent, and to giue to them no deafe eare; insomuch that the faithfullie promised to submit and yield hir selfe fullie and frankly to the kings will and pleasure. And so she putting in oblivion the murder of hir innocent children, the infamie and dishonour spoken by the king hir husband, the liuing in adulterie laid to hir charge, the bastarding of hir daughters; forgetting also the faithfull promise and open oth made to the countesse of Richmond mother to the earle Henry, blinded by auaricious affection, & seduced by flattering words, first deliuered into king Richards hands hir five daughters, as lambs once againe committed to the custodie of the rauenous wolfe.

After she sent letters to the marquesse hir sonne, being then at Paris with the earle of Richmond, willing him to anie wise to leaue the earle, and with out delaie to repasse into England, where for him were provided great honours, and honourable promotions; ascertaining him further, that all offenses on both parts were forgotten and forgiven, and both he and she highlie incorporated in the kings heart. Suerlie the inconstancie of this woman were much to be marvelled at, if all women had bene found constant; but let men speake, yet women of the worse bond of nature will follow their owne sex. [But it was no small allurement that king Richard bled to ouercome hir (for we know by experience that women are of a proud disposition, and that the waie to win them is by promises of preferment) and therefore it is the lesse maruell that he by his wile wit had made conquest of hir wavering will. Besides that, it is to be presumed that she stood in feare to impugne his demands by denials, least he in his malicious mood might take occasion to deale roughly with hir, being a weak woman, and of a timorous spirit.]

Now when king Richard had thus with glorious promises, and flattering words, pleased and appeased the mutable mind of quene Elizabeth, which knew nothing lesse than that he most intended; he caused all his brothers daughters to be conueied into his palace with sollemne receiuing: as though with his new familiar and louing intertainment they should forget, and in their minds blot out the old committed iniurie, and late executed tyrannie. Now nothing was contrarie and against his diuinish purpose, but that his mansion was not void of his wife, which thing he in any wise aduoged necessarie to be done. But there was one thing that so much feared and staied him from committing this abominable murder, because (as you haue heard before) he began to counterfet the image of a god and well disposed person: and therefore he was afraid least the sudden death of his wife once openlie knowne, he should lose the good and credible opinion which the people had of him, without anie desert, conceived and reported.

But in conclusion, euill counsell persuaded in a wit latelie minded to mischeue, and turned from all goodnesse. So that his vngracious desire ouercame his

Diuerse Englishmen voluntarie submitted themselves to the earle of Richmond in France.

Richard desired to intrigue and defraud the earle of Richmond's purpose.

A subtil and two practice of king Richard to beguile the earle of Richmond.

Richard's counsel to the king.

Richard's counsel to the king.

The intention of Richard.

Richard's counsel to the king.

The quene's counsel to king Richard.

Richard's counsel to the king.

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ward, were now dashed and overthrowne to the ground.

King Richard either being too light of credence, or seduced and deluded by his craftie tale-tellers, greatly recoiled, as though he had obtained the over hand of his enemies with triumphant victorie, and thought himselfe neuer so surelie deliuered of all feare and dreadfull imaginations: so that he needed now no more once for that cause either to wake, or to breake his golden sleepe. Wherefore he called home againe his ships of warre, which he had appointed to keepe the narrow seas, and dispatched all such souldiers as he had deputed to keepe certeine garrisons, and to stop certeine passages (as you haue heard before.) Yet lest he might for lacke of prouision be suddenly trapped, he straightlie charged and gaue in commandement to all noblemen, and especiallie such as inhabited nere the sea coast, and on the frontiers of Wales, that (according to the vse of the countrye) they should keepe diligent watch and strong ward, to the intent that his aduersaries in no wise should haue any place opportune easilie to take land, without defence or rebutting backe.

For the custome of the countries adioining nere to the sea is (speciallie in the time of warre) on euery hill or high place to erect a beacon with a great lantern in the top, which may be seene and discerned a great space off. And when the noise is once byted that the enemies approach nere the land, they suddenly put fire in the lanternes, and make shouts and outcries from towne to towne, and from village to village. Some run in post from place to place, admonishing the people to be readie to resist the leopordie, and defend the perill. And by this policie the same is sone blowne to euery citie and towne, in somuch that aswell the citizens as the rurall people be in short space assembled and armed, to repell and put backe the new arrived enemies. [Whereas if the necessarie vse of this visible warning were neglected, the policie of the enemy might prouide so preuaile, as that the people should sooner fall into perill irreuerable, than they could thinke on (much lesse prouide) meanes to auoid it.]

But now to retorne to our purpose. King Richard thus somewhat eased of his accustomed penitence, began to be a little more merrie, & took lesse thought and care for outward enemies than he was wont to do; as who say, that he with politike prouision should withstand the destiny which hong ouer his head, and was ordeined in briefe time suddenly to fall. Such is the force and puissance of diuine iustice, that euery man shall lesse regard, lesse prouide, lesse be in doubt of all things, when he is most nereest punishment, and next to his mischance for his offenses & crimes. [For though God did forbear him a while, yet was that forbearance no acquittance, but rather a time of preparing & making by that which wanted of the plagues that God had purposed in iustice to powre vpon and ouerwhelme him for his foule offenses, which could not scape heauie iudgment & vengeance:

*Nam scelus admissum poena seuerâ premit.*

About this season, while the earle of Richmond was desiring aid of the French king, certeine noble men were appointed to rule the realme of France, during the minority of king Charles, which amongst themselves were not of one opinion. Of which dissent, Lewis duke of Orleans was the chiefe stirrer, who because he had married ladie Joane sister to the French king, took vpon him aboue other the rule and administration of the whole realme. By reason of which controuersie, no one man was suffered to rule all. Wherefore the earle of Richmond was compelled to make sute to euery one of the counsell seuerallie one after another, requiring and desiring them

of aid and reliefe in his weightie businesse, and so his cause was prolonged and deferred. During which time, Thomas marquisse Dorsset, which was (as you haue heard) inticed by his mother to retorne againe into England, partly despairing in the good successe of the earle of Richmond, and partly overcome and vanquished with the faire glosing promises of king Richard: secretlie in the night season stole out of Paris, and with all diligent expedition took his iourne toward Flanders.

When relation of his departure was made to the earle of Richmond, and the other noble men, no maruell though they were astounded and greatly amazed, yet that notwithstanding, they required of the French king, that it might be lawful for them in his name, and by his commandement, to take and staie their companion, confederate, and partaker of all their counsell, in what place within his realme and territorie so euer they could find him. Which petition once obtained, they sent out curroes into euery part, amongst whom Humfreie Cheynie (platerig the part of a good bloudhound) followed the tract of the silver to euen by the sent, that he ouertoke and apprehended him not far from Campeigne; and so what with reason, and what with faire promises, being perswaded, he returned againe to his companions.

The earle of Richmond unburdened of this misadventure, least by lingering of daies, and prolonging of time, he might lose the great opportunity of things to him offered and ministered: also lest he should further wound and molest the minds of his faithfull and assured friends, which daily did expect and tarie for his coming, determined no longer to protract and deferre the time; but with all diligence and celeritie attempted his begun enterpryse. And so obtaining of king Charles a small crew of men, and borrowing certeine summes of monie of him, and of diuerse other his priuate friends, for the which he left as debter (or more likelie as a pledge or hostage) lord Thomas marquisse Dorsset (whome he halfe mistrusted), and sir John Bourchier, he departed from the French court, and came to the citie of Rhone.

While he taried there, making prouision at Harflet in the mouth of the riuer of Sene for all things necessarie for his naue, tidings were brought to him that king Richard (being without children, & now a widower) intended shortly to marie the ladie Elizabeth his brothers daughter; and to prefer the ladie Cecile his sister to a man found in a cloud, and of an unknowne linage and familie. He took these newes as a matter of no small moment; and so (all things considered) it was of no lesse importance than he took it for. For this thing onelie took awaie from him and all his companions their hope and courage, that they had to obtaine an hapie enterpryse. And therefore no maruell though it nipped him at the berie stomach: when he thought, that by no possibilitie he might attaine the marriage of any of King Edwards daughters, which was the strongest foundation of his building; by reason whereof he iudged that all his friends in England would abandon and thinke from him.

Wherefore, making not mantle of his counsell, after diuerse consultations, he determined not yet to set forward: but to tarie and attempt how to get more aid, more friends, and more stronger succours. And amongst all other, it was thought most expedient to allure by assintie in his aid, as a companion in armes, sir Walter Herbert, a man of an ancient stocke, & of great power among the Welch, who had with him a faire ladie to his sister, of age ripe to be coupled with him in matrimonie. And for the attaining of this purpose, messengers were secretlie sent to Henrie earle of Northumberland (which had be-

Richard called home his ships of warre from the narrow seas.

The vse of beacons in countries nere the sea coast.

The welshmen offer to aid the earle of Richmond.

The earle arrueth at Harflet harbor.

A false rumor will neuer.

Dissent among the peers of France made the earle of Richmond renew his sute and put him to his shifts.

The earle of Richmond power made stronger by succor of confederates.

The earle of Richmond power made stronger by succor of confederates.

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The marquis  
Dorset loiter-  
beth the earle.

The welsh-  
men offer to  
aid the earle  
of Richmond.

The earle ar-  
rived at  
Bilford here.

John Talbot  
arrived.

The earle is  
gratified at the  
news of King  
Richards in-  
tended mar-  
riage with his  
niece.

The earle of  
Richmond  
never made  
stronger by  
marriage of con-  
tinuance.

Sir Walter  
Herbert.  
A marriage  
purposed but  
was disappointed  
for e

for married another sister of sir Walter Herberts)  
to the intent that he should set forward all this de-  
vise and purpose: but the waies were so narrowlie  
watched, and so manie spies laid, that the messenger  
proceeded not in his iourne and businesse.

But in the meane season, there came to the earle  
a more sofull message from Morgan Isidwellie, lear-  
ned in the temporall law, which declared that Rice ap  
Thomas, a man of no lesse valiantnesse than acti-  
vie, and John Sauage an approued capteine, would  
with all their power be partaker of his quarrell. And  
that Reginald Bric had collected and gotten to-  
gether no small summe of monie for the payment of  
the wages to the souldiers and men of warre: admo-  
nishing him also to make quicke expedition, and to  
take his course directlie into Wales. The earle of  
Richmond, because he would no longer linger and  
wearie his friends, lining continuallie betwene  
hope and feare, determined in all conuenient hast to  
set forward, and caried to his ships armes, weapons,  
bittels, and all other ordinances expedient for warre.

After that all things were in readinesse, the earle  
being accompanied onelie with two thousand men,  
and a small number of ships, lured by his anchors,  
and halled by his sailles in the moneth of August,  
and sailed from Harflet with so prosperous a wind,  
that the seventh daie after his departure, he arrived  
in Wales in the euening, at a place called Bilford  
hauen, and incontinent toke land, and came to a  
place called Dulle; where he heard saie that a cer-  
teine companie of his aduersaries were laid in gar-  
rison to defend his arrivall all the last winter. And  
the earle at the sunne rising remoued to Hereford  
west, being distant from Dulle not full ten miles,  
where he was sofullie receiued of the people, and he  
arrived there so suddenlie, that he was come and en-  
tered the towne at the same time when the citizens  
had but knowledge of his coming.

Here he heard newes, which were as vntrue as  
they trulie were reported to him in Normandie; that  
Rice ap Thomas, and John Sauage, with bodie and  
goods, were determined to aid king Richard. While  
he and his companie were some what astonied at  
these new tidings, there came such message from the  
inhabitants of the towne of Penbroke, that restre-  
ed and reuiued their frosen harts and daunted cou-  
rages. For Arnold Butler a valiant capteine, which  
first asked pardon for his offenses before time com-  
mitted against the earle of Richmond, and that ob-  
tained, declared to him that the Penbrochians were  
readie to serue and giue their attendance on their  
natural and immediat lord Jasper earle of Pen-  
broke. The earle of Richmond, hauing his armie thus  
increased, departed from Hereford west to the towne  
of Cardigan, being five miles distant from thence.

While the souldiers were refreshing and trim-  
ming themselves in their campe, strange tidings  
sprong among them without anie certeine autho-  
ritie; that sir Walter Herbert, which laie with a great  
cruie of men at Carmarden, was now with a great  
armie readie to approach and bid them battell. With  
which newes the armie was sore troubled, and eue-  
ry man assaied his armour and proued his weapon,  
and were prest to defend their enemies. And as they  
were in this fearfull doubt, certeine hostlemen, which  
the earle had sent to make inquirie and search, retur-  
ned and reported all the countrie to be quiet, and no  
let nor impediment to be laid or cast in their iourne.  
And euen at the same time, the whole armie was  
greatlie recomforted, by reason that the coming of  
Richard Griffith, a man of great nobilitie, the which  
notwithstanding that he was confederate with sir  
Walter Herbert, and Richard ap Thomas; yet at  
that verie instant he came to the earle of Richmond

with all his companie, which were of no great num-  
ber. After him the same daie came John Morgan  
with his men.

Then the earle aduanced forward in good hast, ma-  
king no repose or abode in anie one place. And to the  
intent to passe forward with sure and short expediti-  
on, he assaulted euerie place where his enemies had  
set anie men of warre; which with small force, and  
lesse difficultie, he by hisle did ouercome & vanquish.  
And suddenlie he was by his espials ascertained,  
that sir Walter Herbert, and Rice ap Thomas were  
in harnesse before him, readie to incounter with his  
armie, and to stop their passage. Wherefore like a va-  
liant capteine he first determined to set on them, and  
either to destroe or to take them into his fauour, and  
after with all his power and puissance to giue battell  
to his mostall enimie king Richard. But to the in-  
tent his friends should know in what readinesse he  
was, and how he proceeded forward; he sent of his  
most secret and faithfull seruants with letters and  
instructions to the ladie Margarett his mother, to the  
lord Stanleie and his brother, to sir Gilbert Talbot,  
and to other his trustie friends; declaring to them  
that he being succoured and holpen with the aid and  
reliefe of his friends, intended to passe ouer the riuer  
of Seuerne at Shrewesburie, and so to passe directlie  
to the citie of London.

Wherefore he required them, as his speciall trust  
and confidence was fixed in the hope of their fidel-  
tie, that they would meet him by the waie with all di-  
ligent preparation; to the intent that he and they, at  
time and place conuenient, might communicate to-  
gether the depenense of all his doubtfull and weighty  
businessse. When the messengers were dispatched  
with these commandements and admonitions, he  
marched forward toward Shrewesburie: and in his  
passing, there met and saluted him Rice ap Thomas  
with a goodlie band of Welshmen, which making an  
oth and promise to the earle, submitted himselfe who-  
lie to his order and commandement. For the earle of  
Richmond two daies before made to him promise,  
that if he would sweare to take his part and be obe-  
dient to him, he would make him chief gouernour  
of Wales: which part as he faithfullie promised and  
granted, so after that he had obtained and possessed  
the realme and diademe he liberallie performed and  
accomplished the same.

In the meane time the messengers, that were  
sent, diligentlie executed their charge, and laden with  
rewards of them to whom they were sent, returned  
to him the same day that he entered into Shrewes-  
burie: and made relation to him that his friends  
were readie in all points to do all things for him,  
which either they ought or might do. The earle Hen-  
rie brought in good hope with this pleasant message,  
continued forth his intended iourne, and came to a  
little towne called Newpost, and pitching his campe  
on a little hill adioining, reposed himselfe there that  
night. In the euening the same daie came to him  
sir Gilbert Talbot, with the whole power of the  
young earle of Shrewesburie, then being in ward,  
which were accounted to the number of two thousand  
men. And thus his power increasing, he arrived at  
the towne of Stafford, and there paused.

There also came sir William Stanleie accom-  
panied with a few persons. And after that the earle  
and he had communed no long time together; he re-  
uerted to his souldiers, whom he had assembled to-  
gether to serue the earle: which from thence departed  
to Lichfield, and lay without the walles in his campe  
all the night. The next morning he entered into the  
towne, and was with all honoz like a prince recei-  
ued. A daie or two before, the lord Stanleie, hauing  
in his hand almost five thousand men, lodged in the  
D d d d. fy. same

The earle sent  
death secret  
word to his  
mother and  
other his  
friends that  
he meant a  
direct passage  
to London &  
their conse-  
quence.

Rice ap Tho-  
mas sweareth  
fealtie and  
seruice to the  
earle of  
Richmond.

The lord  
Stanleie be-  
cause to avoid  
suspicion of  
Richard and  
to save his  
sonnes life.

same towne. But hearing that the erle of Richmond was marching thitherward, gaue to him place, dislodging him and his, and repaired to a towne called Aderstone, there abiding the coming of the erle. And this wille for did this act, to avoid all suspicion on king Richards part.

For the lord Stanleie was afraid, least if he should seeme openlie to be a fautor or aider to the erle his sonne in law, before the day of the battell, that king Richard, which yet vtterlie did not put in him diffidence and mistrust, would put to some cruell death his sonne and heire apparant George lord Strange, whome king Richard (as you haue heard before) kept with him as a pledge or hostage, to the intent that the lord Stanleie his father should attempt nothing preiudiciall to him. King Richard at this season keeping his house in the castle of Pokingham, was informed that the erle of Richmond, with such banished men as were fled out of England to him, were now arrived in Wales, and that all things necessarie to his enterprise were unprouided, unpurueied, and verie weake, nothing meet to withstand the power of such as the king had appointed to meet him.

R. Richard  
contemneeth  
the erle and  
his power.

This rumour so inflated his mind, that in maner disdainig to heare speake of so small a companie, he determined at the first to take little or no regard to this so small a sparkle, declaring the erle to be innocent and vnwise, because that he rashly attempted such a great enterprise with so small and thin a number of warlike persons: and therefore he gaue a definitive sentence, that when he came to that point that he should be compelled to fight against his will, he either should be apprehended alieue, or else by all likelihood he should of necessitie come to a shamefull confusion: and that he trusted to be shortly done by sir Walter Herbert, and Rice ap Thomas, which then ruled Wales with equall power and like authoritie.

But yet reuoluing and casting in his mind, that a small war begun and winked at, and not regarded, maie turne to a great broile and trouble; and that it was prudent policie not to contemne and disdain the little power and small weakenesse of the enimie (be it neuer so small) thought it necessarie to prouide for afterclaps that might happen & chance. [For victorie doth not alwaies follow the greatest multitude, neither is it a necessarie consequent, that the biggest bodie is indued with most force. For we see that the small viper is the huge buls deadly bane, and a little curie doth catch a boze boisterous and big; as the poet properlie (and to the purpose) verie well saith:

Ouid.

*Parua necat morsu spatio sum vipera tantum,  
A cane non magno sepe tenetur aper.*

The king sendeth  
to his  
friends for a  
chosen power  
of men.

Wherefore he sent to John duke of Norfolk, Henrie erle of Northumberland, Thomas erle of Surrie, and to other of his especiall & trustie friends of the nobilitie, which he iudged moze to preferre and esteeme his wealth and honour, than their owne riches and pinate commoditie; willing them to muster and biew all their seruants and tenants, and to elect and chose the most couragious and aduie persons of the whole number, and with them to repaire to his presence with all speed and diligence. Also he wrote to Robert Bakenberie lieutenant of the Tower, commanding him with his power to come to his armie, and to bring with him (as fellows in armes) sir Thomas Bourchier, & sir Walter Hungerford, and diuerse other knights and esquiers, in whom he cast no small suspicion.

Now while he was thus ordering his affaires, tidings came that the erle of Richmond was passed Seuerne, & come to Shrewesburie without anie detriment or incumbrance. At which message he was sore moued and boyled with melancholie and dolor, crieng out, & asking vengeance of them that against

their oth and promise had so deceiued him. For which cause he began to haue diffidence in other, insomuch that he determined himselfe out of hand the same daie to meet with and resist his aduersaries: and in all haste sent out espials to biew and espie what waie his enimies kept and passed. They diligentlie doing their dutie, shortly after returned, declaring to the king that the erle was incamped at the towne of Lichfield.

When he had perfect knowledge where the erle with his armie was solourning, he hauing continued all repaire of his subiects to him, began incontinentlie without delate to marshall and put in order his battels (like a balliant capteine and politike leder) and first he made his battels to set forward, fure and fure in a ranke, marching toward that way where his enimies (as was to him reported) intended to passe. In the middle part of the armie, he appointed the traffike and cartage pertaining to the armie. Then he (instructed with his gard) with a frowning countenance and cruell visage, mounted on a great white courser, and followed with his footmen, the wings of horsemen coasting and ranging on euerie side: and keeping this arrate, he with great pompe entered the towne of Leicester after the sunne set [full of indignation & malice, which vttered it selfe from the inward hart by the mouth, out of which flowed speaches of horrible heate, tempered with cruell threatnings, equall to his of whome it was thus said long ago:

*Horrebant seuis omnia verba minis.]*

The erle of Richmond raised his campe, and departed from Lichfield to the towne of Tamworth: thereto nere adioining, and in the mid way passing, there saluted him sir Walter Hungerford, and sir Thomas Bourchier knights, and diuerse other which yielded and submitted themselves to his pleasure. For they, being aduertised that king Richard had them in suspicion and gelousie, a little beyond stonie Stratford left and forsooke prauilie their capteine Robert Bakenberie; and wandering by night, and in manner by vnknowne paths, and vncertaine waies searching, at the last came to erle Henrie. Diuerse other noble personages, which inwardlie hated king Richard worse than a tode or a serpent, did likewise resort to him with all their power and strength: nothing and working his destruction, who otherwise would haue bene the instrument of their casting away.

There happened in this progression to the erle of Richmond a strange chance worthy to be noted. For albeit he was a man of valiant courage, & that his armie increased, and daillie moze and moze he wared mightier and stronger; yet he was not a little afraid, because he could in no wise be assured of his father in law Thomas lord Stanleie, which for feare of the destruction of the lord Strange his sonne (as you haue heard) as yet inclined to neither partie. For if he had gone to the erle, and that notified to king Richard, his sonne had bene shortly executed. Wherefore he accompanied with twentie light horsemen lingered in his iournie, as a man musing & imagining what was best to be done. And the moze to aggravate his pensiuensse, it was shewed him, that king Richard was at hand with a strong power & a great armie.

While he thus heauilie dragged behind his hof, the whole armie came before the towne of Tamworth; and when he for the deepe darknesse could not perceiue the steps of them that passed on before, and had wandered hither & thither, seeking after his companie, and yet not once hearing anie noise or whispering of them; he turned to a verie little village, being about thre miles from his armie, taking great thought, and much fearing least he should be espyed, and so trapped by king Richards scoutwatch. There he

The erle  
incamped  
at Lichfield.

The ordering  
of king  
Richards armie.

The lord  
Stanleie, the  
erle of Rich-  
mond, & others  
meet, embrace,  
and consult.

The princel-  
pals of R. Ri-  
chards power  
fall from him.

The strange  
chance that  
happened to  
the erle of  
Richmond.

The king  
Richard the  
third expecteth  
him of  
his end.

The erle of  
Richmond  
went to a place  
secret.

he taried all night, not once aduenturing to aske or dem and a question of any creature, he being no more amayed with the icopardie & perill that was passed, than with this present chance, soze feared that it shuld be a prognostication or signe of some infortunate plage afterward to succed. As he was not merie being absent from his armie, so likewise his armie much maruelled, and no lesse mourned for his suddenn abeince.

The next moynning earlie in the dawning of the day he returned, and by the conduct of god fortune, espied and came to his armie, excusing himselfe not to have gone out of the way by ignorance: but that for a policie (denied for the nonce) he went from his campe to receiue some glad newlage from certeine of his priue friends and secret allies. This excuse made, he prauilie departed againe from his host to the towne of Berkeston, where the lord Stanleie and sir William his brother with their bands were abiding. There the erle came first to his father in law, in a litle close, where he saluted him, and sir William his brother: and after diuerse and friendlie imbracings, each reioiced of the state of other, and suddennie were surprised with great ioy, comfort, and hope of fortunate successe in all their affaires and doings. Afterward they consulted together how to giue battell to king Richard if he would abide, whome they knew not to be farre off with an huge host.

In the euening of the same day, sir John Sauage, sir Brian Saufoz, sir Simon Digbie, and manie other, leaving king Richard, turned and came to the part of the earle of Richmond, with an elect compaignie of men. Which refusall of king Richards part, by men of such experience, did augment and increase both the god hope, and the puissance of the earle of Richmond. In the meane season, king Richard which was appointed now to finish his last labor, by the very diuine iustice & prouidence of God (which called him to condigne punishment for his mischievous deserts) marched to a place meet for two battels to encounter, by a village called Bosworth, not farre from Leicester: and there he pitched his field on a hill called Anne Wame, refreshed his souldiers, and took his rest.

The same went, that he had the same night a dreadfull and terrible dreame: for it seemed to him being asleepe, that he did see diuerse images like terrible diuels, which pulled and haled him, not suffering him to take anie quiet or rest. The which strange vision not so suddennie strake his heart with a sudden feare, but it stuffed his head and troubled his mind with manie busie and dreadfull imaginations. For incontinent after, his heart being almost damped, he prognosticated before the doubtfull chance of the battell to come; not vsing the alacritie and mirth of mind and countenance as he was accustomed to doe before he came toward the battell. And least that it might be suspected that he was abashed for feare of his enemies, and for that cause looked so pitiouslie; he recited and declared to his familiar friends in the morning his wonderfull vision and fearefull dreame.

But I thinke this was no dreame, but a punishment and pike of his sinfull conscience: for the conscience is so much more charged and aggraued, as the offense is greater & more heinous in degree. [So that king Richard, by this reckoning, must needs haue a wonderfull troubled mind, because the deeds that he had done, as they were heinous and unnatural, so did they excite and stirre by extraordinary motions of trouble and verasions in his conscience.] Which sting of conscience, although it strike not allwaie; yet at the last daie of extreame life, it is wont to shew and represent to vs our faults and offenses, and the paines and punishments which hang ouer our heads

for the committing of the same, to the intent that at that instant, we for our deserts being penitent and repentant, maie be compelled (lamenting and bewailing our sinnes like forakers of this world) to cund to depart out of this mischance life.

Now to returne againe to our purpose. The next daie after, king Richard being furnished with men & all ablements of warre, bying all his men out of their campe into the plaine, ordered his foreward in a maruelous length, in which he appointed both horsemen and footmen, to the intent to imprint in the hearts of them that looked a farre off, a sudden terror and deadlie feare, for the great multitude of the armed souldiers: and in the fore-front he placed the archers like a strong fortified trench or bulwourke.ouer this battell was capteine, John duke of Norfolk, with whome was Thomas earle of Surrie his sonne. After this long vant-gard, followed king Richard himselfe with a strong compaignie of chosen and approued men of warre, hauing horsemen for wings on both sides of his battell.

After that the earle of Richmond was departed from the communication of his friends (as you haue heard before) he began to be of a better stomach, and of a more valiant courage, and with all diligence pitched his field just by the campe of his enemies, and there he lodged that night. In the morning betimes, he caused his men to put on their armour, and apparel themselves readie to fight and giue battell; and sent vnto the lord Stanleie (which was now come with his band into a place indifferent betwene both the armies) requiring him with his men to approach nere to his armie, and to helpe to set the souldiers in arraie. But he answered that the earle should set his owne men in god order of battell, while he would arrate his compaignie, and come to him in time convenient. Which answer made otherwise than the earle thought or would haue iudged, considering the oportunitie of the time & the weight of the businesse. And although he was therewithall a litle vored, & began somewhat to hang the head; yet he without anie time delaing, compelled of necessitie, after this manner instructed and ordered his men.

He made his foreward somewhat single and slender, according to the small number of his people. In the front he placed the archers, of whome he made capteine John earle of Drenford. To the right wing of the battell he appointed sir Gilbert Talbot to be the leader. To the left wing, he assigned sir John Sauage, who had brought thither with him a crue of right able personages, clad in white coats and hoods, which mustered in the eyes of their aduersaries right humble. The earle of Richmond himselfe, with aid of the lord Stanleie, gouerned the battell, accompanied with the earle of Denbroke, hauing a good compaignie of horsemen, and a small number of footmen. For all his whole number exceeded not five thousand men, beside the power of the Stanleies, wherof three thousand were in the field, vnder the standard of sir William Stanleie. The kings number was double so much and more. When both these armies were thus ordered, and all men readie to set forward, king Richard called his chieftains together, and to them said as followeth.

The oration of king Richard the third  
to the chieftains of his armie.



Most faithfull and assured fel-  
lowes, most trustie & welbelo-  
ued friends, & elected capteins,  
by whose wisdom and policie  
I haue obtained the crowne,  
and

The earle is  
incamped at  
Richfield.

The ordering  
of king Ri-  
chards armie.

The lord  
Stanleie, the  
earle of Rich-  
mond, & others  
in it, embrace  
and console.

The earle of  
Richmond re-  
moueth his  
power to  
Bosworth.

The same  
day Ri-  
chard the  
third, battell  
ing him of  
his end.

A strange  
chance that  
happened to  
the earle of  
Richmond.

The earle of  
Richmond  
put to shand  
him.

King Richard  
bying all  
his men into  
the plaine.

The duke of  
Norfolk and  
the earle of  
Surrie on  
the Richards  
side.

The lord  
Stanleie re-  
sisteth to set  
the earles  
men in bat-  
tell raie.

The earle set-  
teth his men  
in order and  
appointeth  
chieftains.

King Richard  
justifieth him-  
selfe and his  
gouvernement.

and type of this famous realme, and noble region: by whose puissance & valiantnesse I haue inioind and possessed the state roiall & dignitie of the same, maugre the ill will and seditious attempts of all my cankered enemies, and insidious aduersaries: by whose prudent & politike counsell I haue so gouerned my realme, people, & subiects, that I haue omitted nothing appertaining to the office of a iust prince; nor you haue pretermitted nothing belonging to the dutie of wise and sage counsellors. So that I maie saie, and trulie affirme, that your approued fidelitie & tried constancie, maketh me to beleue firmelie, and thinke that I am an vndoubted king, and an indubitate prince.

And although in the adeption and obtaining of the garland, I being seduced, and prouoked by sinister counsell, and diabolical temptation, did commit a wicked and detestable act: yet I haue with streit penance and salt tears (as I trust) expiated & clereleie purged the same offense: which abominable crime I require you of friendship as clereleie to forget, as I dailie remember to deploze and lament the same. If ye will euen now diligentlie call to remembrance in what case and perplexitie we do stand; and in what doubtfull perill we be all intrapped; I doubt not but you in heart will thinke, and with mouth confesse, that if euer amitie and faith preuailed betwene prince and subiects, or betwene subiect and subiect; or if euer bond of allegiance obliged the bassail to loue and serue his naturall souereigne lord; or if anie obligation of dutie bound anie prince to aid & defend his subiects; all these loues, bonds, and duties of necessitie are now this day to be tried, shewed, and put in experience.

For if wise men saie true (as they do not lie) there is some policie in getting, but much more in keeping; the one being but fortunes chance, & the other high wit and policie. For which cause, I with you, and you with me, must needs this day take labour and paine, to keepe and defend with force, that preheminance and possession, which by your prudent deuises I haue gotten & obtained. I doubt not but you know how the diuell (continuall enimie to humane nature, disturber of concord, & sower of sedition) hath entered into the heart of an vnknobone Welshman (whose father I neuer knew, nor him personallie saw) exciting him to aspire and couet our realme, crowne, and dignitie, and thereof clereleie to depriue and spoile vs and our posteritie. Ye see further, how a companie of traitors, theues, outlawes, and runnagates of our owne nation, be aiders and partakers of his feat and enterprize, readie at hand to ouercome and oppresse vs.

You see also, what a number of beggerlie Britans and faint-hearted Frenchmen be with him arrited to destroe vs, our wiues and children. Which imminent mischeifs and apparant inconueniences, if we will

withstand & resell, we must liue together as brethren, fight together like lions, & feare not to die together like men. And obseruing and keeping this rule and precept, beleue me, the fearefull hare neuer fled faster before the greedie greihound, nor the fillie larke before the sparrowhawk, nor yet the simple shepe before the rauenous wolfe; than your proud bragging aduersaries, astonied and amazed with the onelie sight of your manlie visage, will fle, run, and skir out of the field. For if you consider and wisely ponder all things in your mind, you shall perceiue, that we haue manifest causes, and apparant tokens of triumph and victorie.

And to begin with the erle of Richmond captaine of this rebellion, he is a Welsh milkesop, a man of small courage, and of lesse experience in martiall acts and feats of warre, brought bp by my mothers meanes, and mine, like a captiue in a close cage in the court of Francis duke of Britaine; and neuer saw armie, nor was exercised in martiall affaires: by reason whereof he neither can, nor is able by his owne will or experience to guide or rule an host. For in the wit and policie of the captaine consisteth the chafe adeption of the victorie, and ouerthrow of the enemies. Secondarie feare not, but put awaie all doubts; for when the traitors and runnagates of our realme, shall see vs with banner displayed come against them, remembering their oth, promise, and fidelitie made vnto vs, as to their souereigne lord and annointed king; they shall be so pricked and stong in the bottome of their scrupulous consciences, that they for verie remorse and dread of the diuine plague, will either shamefulle fle, or humble submit themselves to our grace and mercie.

And as for the Frenchmen and Britans, their valiantnesse is such, that our noble progenitors, and your valiant parts haue them oftener banquished and overcome in one moneth, than they in the beginning imagined possible to compassse and finish in a whole yeare. What will you make of them: braggers without audacitie, drunkards without discretion, ribalds without reason, cowards without resisting, and in conclusion, the most effeminate and lasciuious people that euer shewed themselves in front of battell; ten times more courageous to fle & escape, than once to assault the breast of our strong & populous armie. Wherefore considering all these aduantages, expell out of your thoughts all doubts, auoid out of your minds all feare; and like valiant champions aduance forth your standards, & assaie whether your enemies can decide and trie the title of battell by dint of sword. Aduance (I say againe) forward my captains, in whome lacketh neither policie, wisdom, nor yet puissance. Euerie one giue but one sure stripe, & surerlie the iournie is ours. What preuaileth a handfull to a whole realme?

Desiring

He speaketh  
approbriously  
of the erle of  
Richmond.

Frenchmen  
as Britans  
great bodys  
small tollars

The person of  
the erle of  
Richmond  
described.

Richard  
haue confesse  
peace and  
warre con-  
page.



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Richard  
came con-  
fess and  
burde con-  
fess.

The French  
perfuade his  
captains that  
the earle of  
Richmond in  
no scarring.

The perion  
of the earle  
of Richmond  
in the battle.

Desiring you (for the loue that you beare to me) and the affection that you haue to your native and naturall countrie, and to the safegard of your prince & your selues, that you will this daie take to you your accustomed courage and couragious spirits, for the defense and safegard of vs all. And as for me, I assure you, this daie I will triumph by glorious victorie, or suffer death for immortall fame. For they be maintained and out of the palace of fame disgraced, dieng without renoume, which do not asmuch prefer and exalt the perpetuall honour of their native countrie, as their owne mortall and transitorie life. Now saint George to bozow, let vs set forward, and remember well, that I am he which shall with high aduancements reward and preferre the baliant and hardie champions, and punish and torment the shamefull cowards, and dreadfull da-standards.

This exhortation incouraged all such as fauoured him; but such as were present (more for dread than loue) killed them openlie, whome they inwardlie hated. Other sware outwardlie to take part with such, whose death they secretlie compassed, and inwardlie imagined. Other promised to inuade the kings enemies, which fled and fought with fierce courage against the king. Other stood still and looked on, intending to take part with the victors and overcommers. So was his people to him vntrue and vnfaithfull at his end, as he was to his nephews vntrue and vnfaithfull in his beginning. [How then was it possible that this princes regiment could long stand, seeing the preservation and prologation of his reigne consisted not in the loue of his subiects? In place whereof because feare (yea seruite and forced feare succeded) he was the sooner forsaken of his people, whose hearts fell from him as icicles from a penthouse in a sunnie daie; and in this case the poet saith truelie, and was well worthie of credit when he craued it, saieing:

*Credite quem metuit quisq; perire cupit.*

When the earle of Richmond knew by his fore-riders that the king was so nere imbatelled, he rode about his armie from ranke to ranke, & from wing to wing, giuing comfortable words to all men, and that finished (being armed at all peeces, sauing his helmet) mounted on a little hill, so that all his people might see and behold him perfectlie, to their great reioicing. For he was a man of no great stature, but so formed and decorated with all gifts and lineaments of nature, that he seemed more an angelicall creature, than a terrestriall personage. His countenance and aspect was cherefull and couragious, his haire yellow like the burnished gold, his eyes graie shining and quicke, prompt and readie in answering, but of such sobrietie, that it could neuer be iudged whether he were more dull than quicke in speaking (such was his temperance). Now when he had overlooked his armie ouer euerie side, he paused awhile, and after with a lowd voice and bold spirit spake to his companions these, or the like words following.

The oration of king Henrie the seventh to his armie.

**I**f euer God gaue victorie to men fighting in a iust quarrell, or if he euer aided such as made warre for the wealth & tiffion of their

owne naturall and nutritiue countrie, or if he euer succoured them which aduentured their liues for the releafe of innocents, suppressing of malefactors and apparant offenders; no doubt my fellowes & friends, but he of his bountifull goodnesse will this daie send vs triumphant victorie, and a luckie iourne ouer our prouid enemies, and arrogant aduersaries: for if you remember and consider the verie cause of our iust quarrell, you shall apparantlie perceiue the same to be true, godlie, and vertuous. In the which I doubt not, but God will rather aid vs (yea and fight for vs) than see vs banquished and ouerthrowne by such as neither feare him nor his laws, nor yet regard iustice or honestie.

Our cause is so iust, that no enterprisse can be of more vertue, both by the lawes diuine & ciuill. For what can be a more honest, goodlie, or godlie quarrell, than to fight against a capteine, being an homicide and murtherer of his owne bloud or progenie, an extreame destroyer of his nobilitie, and to his and our countrie and the poze subiects of the same a deadlie mallet, a drie brand, and a burthen intollerable: Beside him, consider who be of his band and company: such as by murther and vntrueth committed against their owne kin and lineage, yea against their prince and souereigne lord, haue disherited me and you, and wrongfullie deteine and vsurpe our lawfull patrimonie & lineall inheritance. For he that calleth himselfe king, keepeth from me the crowne and regiment of this noble realme and countrie, contrarie to all iustice and equitie.

Likewise, his mates and friends occupie your lands, cut downe your woods, and destroye your manors, letting your wiues and children range abroade for their liuing: which persons for their penance and punishment I doubt not, but God of his goodnes will ether deliuer into our hands, as a great gaine and bootie; or cause them (being graued and compuncted with the pricke of their corrupt consciences) cowardlie to flie, and not abide the battell. Beside this I assure you, that there be yonder in the great battell, men brought thither for feare, and not for loue; souldiers by force compelled, and not with good will assembled; persons which desire rather the destruction than saluation of their maister and capteine: and finallie, a multitude, whereof the most part will be our friends, and the least part our enemies.

For truelie I doubt which is greater, the malice of the souldiers toward their capteine; or the feare of him conceived of his people. For suerlie this rule is infallible, that as ill men daile couet to destroye the good; so God appointeth the good men to confound the ill. And of all wofullie goods the greatest is to suppress tyrants, and releue innocents; whereof the one is as much hated, as the other is beloued. If this be true (as clearkes preach) who will spare

The earles  
cause iust and  
right, & there-  
fore like of  
good successe.

A great mo-  
tione to the no-  
bles & gentles  
assisting the  
earle.

R. Richards  
offices and  
ill qualities  
summarily  
touch'd by  
the carle.

spare yonder tyrant Richard duke of Gloucester, vntruelie calling himselfe king, considering that he hath violatèd and broken both the lawes of God and man: What vertue is in him which was the confusion of his brother, and murtherer of his nephues: What mercie is in him that sleieth his trustie frends as well as his extreame enemies: Who can haue confidence in him which putteth diffidence in all men:

If you haue not read, I haue heard good clearkes saie, that Tarquine the proud for the vice of the bodie lost the kingdome of Rome; and the name of Tarquine banished the citie for euer: yet was not his fault so detestable as the fact of cruell Nero, which slue his own mother, and opened his entrailles, to behold the place of his conception. Behold yonder Richard, which is both Tarquine and Nero: yea a tyrant more than Nero, for he hath not onlie murthered his nephue being his king and soueraigne lord, bastarded his noble brethren, and defamed the wombe of his vertuous and womanlie mother; but also compassed all the meanes and waies that he could inuent, how to defile and carnallie know his owne neece, vnder the pretense of a cloked matronomie, which ladie I haue swozne and promised to take to my make and wife, as you all know and beleue.

If this cause be not iust, and this quatell godlie; let God (the giuer of victorie) iudge and determine. We haue (thanks be giuen to Christ) escaped the secret treasons in Britaine, and auoided the subtil snares of our fraudulent enemies there, passed the troublous seas in good and quiet safegard, and without resistance haue ouergone the ample region & large countrie of Wales, and are now come to the place which we so much desired: for long we haue sought the furious boze, and now we haue found him. Wherefore let vs not feare to enter into the toile, where we may fuerlie sleie him; for God knoweth that we haue liued in the bales of miserie, tossing our ships in dangerous stormes: let vs not now dread to let bp our full sailes in faire weather, hauing with vs both God and good fortune.

If we had come to conquer Wales and had atchiued it, our praise had bene great, and our gaine more: but if we win this battell, the whole rich realme of England, with the lords and rulers of the same, shall be ours; the profit shall be ours, and the honour shall be ours. Therefore labour for your gaine, & sweat for your right. While we were in Britaine, we had small liuings and little plentie of wealth or welfare; now is the time come to get aboundance of riches, and copie of profit; which is the reward of your seruice, and merit of your paines. And this remember with your selues, that before vs be our enemies; and on either side of vs be such, as I neither fuerlie trust, nor greatlie beleue, backe-

ward we cannot flee: so that here we stand like shepe in a fold, circummunted and compassed betwene our enemies and our doubtful friends.

Therefore let all feare be set aside, and like swozne brethren let vs ioine in one; for this daie shall be the end of our trauell, and the gaine of our labour, either by honorable death or famous victorie: and as I trust, the battell shall not be so sowe, as the profit shall be sweet. Remember that victorie is not gotten with the multitudes of men, but with the courages of hearts, and valiantnesse of minds. The smaller that our number is, the more glorie is to vs if we banquish: if we be overcome, yet no laud is to be attributed to the victors, considering that ten men fought against one. And if we die so glorious a death in so good a quarell, neither fretting time, nor cancarding obliuion, shall be able to darken or rase out of the booke of fame either our names, or our godlie attempt. And this one thing I assure you, that in so iust and good a cause, and so notable a quarrell, you shall find me this daie rather a dead carrion vpon the cold ground, than a free prisoner on a carpet in a ladies chamber.

Let vs therefore fight like inuincible giants, and let on our enemies like vntimorous tigers, & banish all feare like rapping lions. And now aduance forward true men against traitors, pitifull persons against murtherers, true inheritors against blurspers, the scourges of Gods against tyrants. Displaie my banner with a good courage, march forth like strong and robustious champions, and begin the battell like hardie conquerors. The battell is at hand, and the victorie approacheth; and if we shamefullie recule, or cowardlie flee; we and all our sequele be destroyed, and dishonored for euer. This is the daie of gaine, and this is the time of losse; get this daie victorie, and be conquerors: and lese this daies battell, and be villaines. And therefore in the name of God and S. George, let euerie man couragiously aduance forth his standard.

These cherefull words he set forth with such gesture of his bodie, & smiling countenance, as though already he had vanquished his enemies, and gotten the spoile. He had scantlie finished his saying, but the one armie spied the other. And how hastily the soldiers buckled their healmes, how quickly the archers bent their bowes and brushed their feathers, how readily the bilmen shook their billes, and proued their staves, ready to approach and ioine, when the terrible trumpet should sound the bloudie blast to victorie or death! Betwixt both armies there was a great marsh then (but at this present, by reason of ditches cast, it is growne to be firme ground) which the carle of Richmond lest on his right hand; for this intent, that it should be on that side a defense for his part, and in so doing he had the sunne at his backe, and in the faces of his enemies. When king Richard saw the earles company was passed the marsh; he did command with all hast to set vpon them. Then the trumpets sounded, and the souldiers shouted, and the kings

R. Richard  
a notorious  
tyrant.

Encourage-  
ments to his  
armie to plaie  
the men in a  
tuffe cause.

The carle o  
f Richard  
charge to be  
hind of men

The carle o  
f Richard  
banished.

The carle of  
Richmond  
powereth to  
conquer  
Richard  
boze to bodie,  
our William  
Shannon  
name.

The kings  
come forth.

The battle  
betweene  
Richard and  
king Henry  
the fourth,  
called the  
marish fight.

The picture  
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gsThe battle  
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king Henrie  
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kings archers couragiously let fite their arrowes. The earles botwomen stood not still, but paid them home againe.

The terrible shot once passed, the armies joined and came to hand-strokes, where neither sword nor bill was spared. At which encounter, the lord Stanleie joined with the earle. The earle of Orford in the meane season, fearing lest while his companie was fighting, they should be compassed and circumvented with the multitude of the enemies, gave commandement in euerie ranke, that no man should be so hardie, as to go about ten foot from the standard. Which commandment once knowen, they knit themselves together, and ceased a little from fighting. The aduersaries suddenly abashed at the matter, and mistruſting some fraud and deceit, began also to pause and left striking; and not against the wills of manie, which had rather had the king destroyed, than saved, and therefore they fought verie familie, or stood still.

The earle of Orford, bringing all his band together on the one part, set on his enemies freshlie againe. The aduersaries perceiving that, placed their men slender and thin before, but thicke and broad behind, beginning againe hardlie the battell. While the two fore-wards thus mortallie fought, each intending to vanquish and conuince the other; king Richard was admonished by his explorators and espials, that the earle of Richmond (accompanied with a small number of men of armes) was not far off. And as he approached and marched toward him, he performed his personage by certeine demonstrations and tokens, which he had learned and knowen of others that were able to give him full information. Now being inflamed with ire, and vexed with outrageous malice, he put his spurs to his horse, and rode out of the side of the range of his battell, leading the vant-gard fighting; and like a hungry lion ran with speare in rest toward him. The earle of Richmond perceived well the king furiously coming toward him, and because the whole hope of his wealth and purpose was to be determined by battell, he gladlie proffered to encounter with him bodie to bodie, and man to man.

King Richard set on so sharplie at the first brunt, that he overthrew the earles standard, and slew sir William Brandon his standard-bearer (which was father to sir Charles Brandon by king Henrie the eighth created duke of Suffolke) and matched hand to hand with sir John Cheine, a man of great force and strength, which would have resisted him: but the said John was by him manfully overthrowen. And so he making open passage by dint of sword as he went forward, the earle of Richmond withstood his violence, and kept him at the sword's point without advantage, longer than his companions either thought or indged: which being almost in despaire of victorie, were suddenly recomforted by sir William Stanleie, which came to his succors with three thousand tall men. At which verie instant, king Richards men were driven backe and fled, & he himselfe manfully fighting in the middle of his enemies, was slaine, and (as he worthlie had deserved) came to a bloudie death, as he had lead a bloudie life.

In the meane season, the earle of Orford with the aid of the lord Stanleie, after no long fight, discomfited the fore-ward of king Richard, whereof a great number were slaine in the chase and fight: but the greatest number which (compelled by feare of the king, and not of their more voluntarie motion) came to the field, gave neuer a stroke, and having no harme nor damage, safely departed, which came not thither in hope to see the king prosper and prevaile, but to heare that he should be shamefullie confounded and brought to ruine. In this battell died few a

boue the number of a thousand persons: and of the nobilitie were slaine John duke of Suffolke, which was warned by diuerse to reſtaine from the field, in so much that the night before he should set forward toward the king, or wrote this time upon his gate: Jacke of Norfolke be not too bold,

For "Dikony maister is bought and sold."

Richard.

Yet all this notwithstanding, he regarded more his oth, his honoz, and promise made to king Richard, like a gentleman; and as a faithfull subject to his pzince, absented not himselfe from his maister; but as he faithfullie lived vnder him, so he manfully died with him, to his great fame and laud. And therefore, though his seruice was ill imployed in aid of a tyrant (whome it had bene more honozable to haue suppressed than supported) yet because he had upon his fealtie undertaken to fight in his quarell, he thought it lesse losse of life and living than of glorie & honour: so that he might haue said, in respect of his loialtie & promised truth testified with constancie to the death:

*Est mihi supplicium causa fuisse pium.*

Ouid.

There were slaine beside him, Walter lord Fferrers of Chartleie, sir Richard Radcliffe, and Robert Bakenberie lieutenant of the Tower, and not manie gentlemen more. Sir William Catesbie learned in the lawes of the realme, and one of the chiefe counsellors to the late king, with diuerse other, were two daies after beheaded at Leicester. Amongst them that ran awate, were sir Francis bicount Lonell, and Humfreie Stafford, and Thomas Stafford his brother, which toke sanctuarie in saint Johns at Gloucester. Of captiues and prisoners there were a great number. For after the death of king Richard was knowen and published, euerie man in manner vnarming himselfe, & casting awate his habiliments of warre, meekelie submitted themselves to the obedience and rule of the earle of Richmond: of the which the more part had gladlie so done in the beginning, if they might haue conuenientlie escaped from king Richards espials, which hauing as cleere eyes as Lynx, and open eares as Spidas, ranged & searched in euerie quarter.

Amongst these was Henrie the fourth earle of Northumberland, which (whether it was by the commandement of king Richard, putting diffidence in him; or he did it for the loue and fauour that he bare vnto the earle) stood still with a great companie, and intermitted not in the battell, which was incontinentlie reuelued into fauour and made of the council. But Thomas Howard earle of Surreie, which submitted himselfe there, was not taken to grace; because his father was chiefe counsellor, and he greatlie familiar with king Richard, but committed to the Tower of London, where he long remained; and in conclusion deliuered, was for his truth and fidelitie after promoted to high honozs, offices and dignities. On the earle of Richmonds part were slaine scarce one hundred persons, among whom the principall was sir William Brandon his standard-bearer. This battell was fought at Bosworth in Leicestershire, the two and twentieth daie of August, in the yeare of our redemption 1485. The whole conflict indured little about two houres.

King Richard (as the same went) might haue escaped and gotten safegard by fleeing. For when the which were next about his person, saw and perceived at the first joining of the battell the soldiers faintlie and nothing couragiously to set on their enemies; and not onlie that, but also that some withdrew themselves priuillie out of the prease and departed; they began to suspect fraud and to smell treason; and not onlie exhorted, but determinatlie aduised him to saue himselfe by flight. And when the losse of the battell was imminent and apparant, they brought to him a

what persons  
of name were  
slaine on king  
Richards side.

Crie of Shans  
reie committed  
to the Tower  
notwithstand-  
ing his sub-  
mission.

How king  
Richard  
might haue  
escaped.

swift and a light horse, to conueie him awaie. He which was not ignorant of the grudge and ill will that the common people bare toward him, casting awaie all hope of fortunate successe and happie chance to come, answered (as men saie) that on that daie he would make an end of all battels, or else there finish his life. Such a great audacitie and such a stomach reigned in his bodie.

For suerlie he knew that to be the daie, in the which it should be decided and determined whether he should peaceablie obtaine and enjoy his kingdome during his life, or else utterlie forgo and be deprived of the same. With which to much hardines he being overcome, hastily closed his helmet, and entered fiercelie into the hard battell, to the intent to obtaine that daie a quiet reigne and regimint; or else to finish there his vnquiet life, and vnfortunat gouernance. And so this miser at the same verie point had like chance and fortune, as happeneth to such which in place of right iustice and honestie, following their sensuall appetite, loue, and vse to embrace mischief, tyrannie, and vnchastitie. Suerlie these be examples of more behemencie, than mans tong can expresse, to feare and assault such euill persons, as will not liue one houre vacant from doing and exercising crueltie, mischief, or contragious liuing.

When the earle had thus obtained victorie, and slaine his mostall enimie, he kneeled downe and rendered to almightie God his hartie thanks, with deuout and godlie orisons; beseeching his goodnesse to send him grace to aduance and defend the catholike faith; and to mainteine iustice and concord amongst his subiects and people, by God now to his gouernance committed & assigned. Which praier finished, he replenished with incomparable glabnesse ascended vp to the top of a little mountaine, where he not onelie praised and lauded his valiant souldiers; but also gaue vnto them his hartie thanks, with promise of condigne recompense for their fidelitie and valiant facts, willing and commanding all the hurt and wounded persons to be cured, and the dead carcases to be deliuered to the sepulture. When the people rejoiced, and clapped their hands, crieng vp to heauen; King Henrie, king Henrie.

When the lord Stanleie saw the good will and gladnesse of the people, he tooke the crowne of king Richard which was found amongst the spoile in the field, and set it on the earles head; as though he had bene elected king by the voice of the people, as in ancient times past in diuerse realmes it hath bene accustomed: and this was the first signe and token of his good lucke and felicitie. ¶ I must put you here in remembrance, how that king Richard (putting some diffidence in the lord Stanleie) had with him as an hostage the lord Strange, his eldest sonne, which lord Stanleie (as ye haue heard before) ioined not at the first with his sonne in lawes armie, for feare the king would haue slaine the lord Strange his heire.

When king Richard was come to Bosworth, he sent a purcuant to the lord Stanleie, commanding him to aduance forward with his companie, and to come to his presence; which thing if he refused to do, he swearing by Christs passion, that he would strike off his sonnes head before he dined. The lord Stanleie answered the purcuant that if the king did so, he had more sonnes aliue; and as to come to him, he was not then so determined. When king Richard heard this answer, he commanded the lord Strange incontinent to be beheaded; which was at that verie same season, when both the armies had fight ech of other. But the counsellors of king Richard pondered the time and cause, knowing also the lord Strange to be innocent of his fathers offense, & perswaded the king that it was now time to fight, & no time to execute,

Besides that, they aduised him to keepe the lord Strange as prisoner till the battell were ended, and then at leisure his pleasure might be accomplished. So (as God would) king Richard brake his holie oth, and the lord was deliuered to the keepers of the kings tents, to be kept as prisoner. Which, when the field was done, and their maister slaine, and proclamation made to know where the child was, they submitted themselves as prisoners to the lord Strange, and he gentlie receiued them, and brought them to the new proclaimed king; where, of him and of his father he was receiued with great ioy. After this the whole campe remoued with bag and baggage.

The same night in the euening, king Henrie with great pompe came to the towne of Leicester; where as well for the refreshing of his people & souldiers, as for preparing all things necessarie for his iourne toward London, he rested and reposed himselfe two daies. In the meane season the dead corps of king Richard was as shamefullie caried to the towne of Leicester, as he gorgeouslie (the day before) with pompe and pride departed out of the same towne. For his bodie was naked and despoiled to the skin, and nothing left about him, not so much as a clout to couer his priue members, and was trusted behind a purcuant of arms, one Blanch Senglier, or white boze, like a hog or calfe, his head and armes hanging on the one side of the horse, and his legs on the other side, and all besprinkled with mire and blood he was brought to the grate friers church within the towne, and there late like a miserable spectacle.

But suerlie considering his mischievous acts and ingracious doings, men made wonder at such a cattife, who although he deserued no buriall place either in church or churchyard, chappell or chanell, but otherwise to haue bin bestowed: yet in the said church he was with no lesse funerall pompe & solemnitie interred, than he would to be done at the burfall of his innocent neyghes, whome he caused cruellie to be murdered, and vnnaturallie killed. Now when his death was knowne, few lamented, and manie rejoiced. The proud bragging white boze (which was his badge) was violentlie rased & plucked downe from euerie signe and place where it might be espied: so ill was his life, that men wished the memoire of him to be buried with his carren corps. He reigned two yers, two moneths, and one daie (so long by fir and twentie moneths, and foure and twentie hours in most mens opinions, to whome his name and presence was as sweet and delectable, as his doings princelie, and his person amiable.)

As he was small and little of stature, so was he of bodie greatlie deformed; the one shoulder higher than the other; his face was small, but his countenance cruell, and such, that at the first aspect a man would iudge it to fauour and smell of malice, fraud, and deceit. When he stood musing, he would bite and chaw busilie his nether lip; as who said, that his fierce nature in his cruell bodie alwaies chased, stirred, and was euer vnquiet: beside that, the dagger which he wore, he would (when he studied) with his hand plucke vp & downe in the sheath to the midst, neuer drawing it fullie out: he was of a readie, pregnant, and quicke wit, wilie to faine, and apt to dissemble: he had a proud mind, and an arrogant stomack, the which accompanied him euen to his death, rather choosing to suffer the same by dint of sword, than being forsaken and left helpelesse of his vnfaithfull companions, to preferue by cowardlie flight such a fraille and vncertaine life, which by malice, sickness, or condigne punishment was like shortly to come to confusion.

Thus ended this prince his mostall life with infamie and dishonour, which neuer preferred fame or honestie

The deuout behauiour of the earle of Richmond after the victorie.

The lord Stanleie setteth & crowneth on king Henries head.

The lord Stanleies bold answer to King Richards purcuant.

33. The same night he was made to lie in the locke.

34. The same night he was made to lie in the locke.

De pag. 690.

De pag. 699.

De pag. 703.

Abr. Flem. ex Guic. pag. 49. The same night he was made to lie in the locke.

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nessie before ambition, tyrannie and mischief. And if he had continued still protector, and suffered his nephews to have lived and reigned, no doubt but the realm had prospered; he as much praised & loved as he is now had in hatred: but to God, which knew his inward thoughts at the houre of his death, I remit the punishment of his offenses committed in his life; which if the one be as manifold as the other, Gods iustice were not to be charged with crueltie. For by nature he is mercifull, slow to anger, and loth to smite: but yet euery sinne (in respect of his righteousness) being deadlie (much more heinous and horrible) how can he but by iustice (which is an essentiall vertue in him) punish it fenerelie? And if he did it with ten thousand torments, who shall be so hardie as to expostulate and reason why he do sooth?

But to leaue the tyrant as he died, you shall understand that R. Henrie the seventh caused a tombe to be made and set by ouer the place where he was buried, in the church of the grate friers at Leicester, with a picture of alabastr representing his person, doing that honour to his enemie, vpon a princelie regard and pittifull zeale, which king Richard, (moued of an hypocriticall shew of counterteit pitie) did to king Henrie the first, whom he had first cruellie murdered, and after in the second yeare of his blupred reigne, caused his corpes to be removed from Chertseie vnto Windsor, and there solemnlie interred. And now to conclude with this cruell tyrant king Richard, we may consider in what sort the ambitious desire to rule and gouerne in the house of Poike, was punished by Gods iust prouidence.

For although that the right might seeme to remaine in the person of Richard duke of Poike, blaine at Wakefield, yet maie there be a fault worthie reputed in him, so to seeke to prevent the time appointed him by authoritie of parlement to attaine to the crowne intayled to him and his issue, in whome also, and not onelie in himselfe, that offense (as maie bee thought) was duolie punished. For although his eldest sonne Edward the fourth, being a prince right pparent and circumspect for the libertie of his pstone estate and his children, in somuch that not content to cut off all his armed and apparant enemies, he also of a zealous feare, made a waite his brother the duke of Clarence, and so thought to make all sure: yet Gods vengeance might not be disappointed, for (as ye haue partlie heard) he did but further thereby the destruction of his issue, in taking away him that onlie might haue staied the crueltie of his brother of Gloucester, who enraged for desire of the kingdom, bereft his innocent nephews of their liues & estates.

And as it thus well appeared, that the house of Poike shewed it selfe more bloudie in seeking to obteine the kingdom, than that of Lancaster in blupring it: so it came to passe, that the Lords vengeance appeared more heauie towards the same than towards the other, not ceassing till the whole issue male of the said Richard duke of Poike was extinguished. For such is Gods iustice, to leaue no vnrepentant wickednesse unpunished, as especiallie in this case Richard the third, not deserving so much as the name of a man, much lesse of a king, most manifestlie appeared. At whom the mill end with a comparison of the like practise in Robynke Spore, aspiring to the dukedome of Gillane, the name, armes and title wherof he took vpon him, hauing secretlie plotted before, that he received them as appertaining to him by the inuerture of the king of Romans.

It was published that the death of Calcas (his late predecessour) happened by immoderate cohabita-

tion, but the vnfall iudgment of Italie was, that he died not of infirmities naturall, nor by incontinencie, but by poison and violent compulsion. Wherof Theodor de Paula, one of the physicians, assisting when the king visited him, assured the king to see most apparant and manifest signes: and if he were dispatched by poison, there was none that doubted that his uncle was innocent, either directlie or indirectlie; as he, who not content with an absolute power to be gouernor of the state, but aspiring according to the common desires of great men, to make himselfe glorious with titles and honours; and especially he iudged, that both for his proper surtie and the succession of his children, the death of the lawfull prince was necessarie, and therefore thought to establish in himselfe the power and name of duke. Wher in ambition and couetousnesse preuailed about conscience and law of nature, and the zealous desire of dominion informed his disposition (other wise abhorring bloud) to that vile action.

But to end with king Richard sometimes duke of Gloucester, a title of dignitie ioined with misfortune and unluckinesse (as is noted before). So that for infelicities it might well be compared vnto the name of Ione, a name unhappie and much accursed for the kingdom of Naples. As for king Richard, better had it bene for him to haue contented his heart with the protectorship, than to haue cast by his snout, or lifted by his hornes of ambition so high (and that with a settled intent) as to hacke and hew downe by violent blowes all likelie impediments betwixt him and home. Better (I say) had it bene for him to haue dwelt vpon his first honor, than to haue wandered in princeliesse; and better had it bene for him neuer to haue inioied the flattering prosperitie of a king, than afterwards to fall, and neuer to recover losse or ruine, as is noted by the poet, saying:

*Est melius nunquam felicia tempora nosse,  
Quam post blanditis fortuna, fata maligna  
Nec reparanda pati infortunia sortis iniqua.*

In this yeare 1483 died William Dumble who (by the translation of Laurence Both bishop of Durham and chancellor of England from the see of Durham to the citie of Poike) was made bishop of Durham (in place of the said Laurence), by the popes bulles. For by vertue thereof, Edward the fourth in the sixteenth yeare of his reigne, and in the yeare of Christ 1476, directed his letters patents to the knights and other free men of that bishopricke, with all solemnitie to install the said William Dumble (borne of the honorable house of the lords Dumble) in the said bishopricke of Durham, and to deliuer him quiet possession thereof, who was consecrated thereunto in the yeare of Christ 1477, in which he worthilie gouerned six yeares, and died in this yeare, as before.]

Now of learned men that liued, and wrote in the daies of this blurper and his nephew king Edward the first, these we find recorded by Iohn Bale. First, John Denke, an Augustine frier of Warrington in Lancashire, a right subtil fellow in disputation, following the footsteps of his master John Duns, whom he chiefly studied, he wrote diuers treatises, and made that infamous sermon at Pauls crosse, in fauour of the duke of Gloucester then protector, for the disheriting of Edward the first, his lawfull king and gouernor; John Bent, or Galle, borne in South Wales; George Kiple, first a canon of Wyndlington, and after a Carmelite frier in Wotton; a great mathematician, rhetorician, and poet; John Doyne a Carmelite frier of Wyndlington, that proceeded doctor of diuinitie in Cambridge; and such like.

Thus saue Richard the usurper, ynnatural uncle to Edward the first  
and Richard duke of Yorke, brethren.

C e e f.

Henrie

See page 67.

Guic. pag. 12.

T. W. in. str.  
Quer. 7.

St. Thim.  
The death of  
of William  
Dumble, bis-  
shop of Dur-  
ham, descen-  
ded of the ho-  
norable house  
of the Dubs-  
leys.

Ab. Flem. ex  
C. 2. pag. 49.  
A. 2. com. 14.  
Dumble was  
a. 1477. by  
disputation.





# Henrie the seauenth, sonne to Ed- mund earle of Richmond, which Edmund was brother by the moother's side to Henrie the sixt.

Anno Reg. 1.

Edward  
Plantagenet  
earle of War-  
wicke sonne  
and heire to  
George duke  
of Clarence  
committed to  
the Tower.

King Henrie  
commeth to  
London.

**K**ing Henrie hauing thus  
got the victorie at Bosworth,  
and slaine his mostall enimie  
there in the field, did send be-  
fore his departure from Lanch-  
ester, Sir Robert Willoughby  
his knight, to the manour of  
Sheriffshuton in the countie  
of Yorke, for Edward Plantagenet earle of War-  
wicke, sonne and heire to George duke of Clarence  
then being of the age of fixtene yeares; whome king  
Richard had kept there as prisoner during the time  
of his vsurped reigne. Sir Robert Willoughby re-  
ceiuing the yong earle of the constable of that castell  
conueied him to London, whers he was shut up in  
the Tower, for doubt lest some vniquiet and euill  
disposed persons might inuent some occasion of new  
trouble by this yong gentleman: and therefore king  
Henrie thought good to haue him sure.

There was beside him in the castell of Sheriffsh-  
uton the ladie Elizabeth eldest daughter to king  
Edward the fourth, whome king Richard (as ye haue  
heard) meant to haue married: but God otherwise  
ordained for hir, and preserved hir from that vnlaw-  
full copulation and incestuous bed. Shortly after, she  
being accompanied with a great number as well of  
noblemen, as honourable matrons, was with good  
speed conueied to London, and brought to hir mo-  
ther. In the meane season king Henrie remoued for-  
ward by soft iournies towards London, the people  
comming in from all sides to behold him, and exce-  
dingly reioicing at his presence, as by their voices  
and gestures it well appeared.

At his approaching nere to the citie, the maior and  
his brethren, with other worshipfull citizens, being  
clothed in violet, met him at Shordich, and reuerent-  
lie saluted him: and so with great pompe and tri-  
umph he rode thorough the citie to the cathedrall  
church of S. Paule, where he offered three standards.  
In the one was the image of saint George, in an o-  
ther was a red fierie dragon beaten upon white and  
graine safcenet, and in the third was painted a dun  
colde upon yellow tarterne. After his prayers said,  
and the Deum song, he departed to the bishops palace,  
and there sojourned a season. Anon after, he as-  
sembled together the sage counsellors of the realme,  
in which counsell like a prince of iust faith, and true  
of promise, to auoid all ciuill discord, he appointed a  
daie to come in marriage with the ladie Elizabeth,  
heire of the house of Yorke; with his noble perso-  
nage, heire to the line of Lancaster. Which thing not  
onelic reioiced the hearts of the nobles and gentle-  
men of the realme, but also gained the fauours and  
god wils of all the commons.

After this, with great pompe he rowed vnto West-  
minster, & there the thirtieth daie of October he was  
with all ceremonies accustomed, annointed, & crow-  
ned king, by the whole assent as well of the com-  
mons as of the nobilitie, and called Henrie the sea-  
uenth of that name: which was in the yeare of the  
world 5452, and after the birth of our Lord 1485, in  
the fortieth and sixt yeare of Frederike the third then  
emperor of Almanie, Maximilian his sonne being  
netolie elected king of the Romans, in the second  
yeare of Charles the eight then king of France, and  
in the five and twentieth of king James then ruling  
the realme of Scotland. For the establisshing of all  
things, as well touching the preservation of his  
owne estate, as the commendable administration  
of iustice and preferment of the common wealth  
of his realme, he called his high court of parlement  
at Westminster the seauenth daie of November,  
whereth was atteinted Richard late duke of Gloce-  
ster, calling and naming himselfe by vsurpation,  
king Richard the third.

Likewise there was atteinted as chiefe alders  
and assistants to him in the battell at Bosworth, ad-  
uanced against the present king, John late duke of  
Buckholke, Thomas earle of Surrie, Francis Louell  
knight vicount Louth, Walter Denerour knight  
late lord Ferrers, John lord Zouch, Robert Har-  
rington, Richard Charlton, Richard Ratcliffe,  
William Berkeley of Wilete, Robert Spidleton,  
James Harrington, Robert Bakenberie, Thomas  
Wilmington, Walter Hopton, William Catesbie,  
Roger Wake, William Saprote of the countie of  
Huntington, Humfre Stafford, William Clerke  
of Wlenlocke, Gessie saint Germaine, Richard  
Watkins herald of armes, Richard Keuell of Der-  
byshe, Thomas Pulter of the countie of Kent, John  
Welsh otherwise called Hastings, John Herdall  
late secretarie to the said Richard late duke of Glo-  
cester, John Bucke, Andrew Kat, and William  
Wampton of Burford.

In which atteinted: neuer thelesse there were di-  
uerse clauses and promissos for the benefit of their wi-  
ues and other persons, that had or might claime any  
right, title, or interest lawfullie vnto anye castels,  
manours, lordships, towngs, towneships, honours,  
lands, tenements, rents, seruices, &c. farmes, an-  
nuities, knights fees, advousons, reuerfions, remain-  
ders, and other hereditaments; whereof the said per-  
sons atteinted were possessed or seized to the uses of  
any other persons: with a speciall promise also, that  
the said atteinted should not be prejudiciall to John  
Catesbie knight, Thomas Keuell, and William  
Ashbie equiers, in, of, & upon the manour of Harke-  
bie vpon Wretche in the countie of Leicesters, nor in

Henrie the se-  
uenth crow-  
ned king.

1485

A parliament  
at Westmin-  
ster, whereth  
was atteinted  
and a pardon ge-  
ntrall.

The king ad-  
uanceth his  
friends.

The king re-  
uoceth his  
wedges.

in, of, and vpon anie other lands and tenements in  
Irelande aforesaid, Melton, Somerbie, Throppegh-  
field, and Codebie, which they had of the gift & scoffe-  
ment of Thomas Dauers, & John Lie. And further,  
notwithstanding this atteindoz, diuerse of the said  
persons afterwards were not onelie by the king par-  
doned, but also restored to their lands and livings.

Moreover, in this present parlement, he caused  
proclamation to be made, that all men were pardoned  
and acquitted of their offenses, which would sub-  
mit themselves to his mercie, and receiue an oth to  
be true and faithfull vnto him: whereupon manie  
that came out of sanctuaries and other places were  
receiued to grace, and admitted for his subiects. Af-  
ter this, he began to remember his speciall friends,  
of whome some he aduanced to honour and dignitie,  
and some he enriched with goods and possessions, eu-  
erie man according to his deserts and merits. And to  
begin, his vnckle Jasper earle of Penbrooke, he crea-  
ted duke of Bedfords; Thomas lord Stanleie was  
created earle of Derby; and the lord Chendew of  
Britaine his speciall friend, he made earle of Bath;  
sir Giles Daubeneie was made lord Daubeneie; sir  
Robert Willoughbie was made lord Wiltshire. And  
Edward Stafford eldest sonne to Henrie late duke  
of Buckingham, he restored to his name, dignitie,  
& possessions, which by king Richard were confiscat  
and atteind. Beside this, in this parlement was  
this notable act assented to and concluded as fol-  
loweth; to the pleasure of almighty God, wealth,  
prosperitie, and luertie of this realme of England,  
and to the singular comfort of all the kings subiects  
of the same, in auoiding all ambiguities and que-  
stions.

An act for the establishing of the  
croune in the line of Henrie  
the seauenth.

**B**E it ordeined, established, and en-  
acted by this present parlement,  
that the inheritance of the croun  
of this realme of England, & also  
of France, with all the preheminence, and  
dignitie roiall to the same appertaining,  
all other seignories to the king belonging  
beyond the sea, with the appurtenances  
thereto in anie wise due or appertaining,  
shall rest, remaine, and abide, in the most  
roiall person of our now souereigne lord  
king Henrie the seuenth, and in the heires  
of his bodie lawfullie comming, perpetual-  
lie, with the grace of God so to indure, and  
in none other.

Beside this act, all atteindozs of this king enacted  
by king Edward and king Richard were adnihilat-  
ed, and the record of the same iudged to be defaced;  
and all persons atteinded for his cause and occasion  
were restored to their goods, lands, and possessions.  
Diuerse acts also made in the tyme of king Edward  
and king Richard were reuoked, and other adnjudged  
more expedient for the common wealth were put in  
their places and concluded. After the dissolution of  
this parlement, the king remembering his friends  
left in hostage beyond the seas, that is to wit, the  
marquess Dorset, & sir John Bourchier, he with all  
conuenient speed redeemed them, and sent also into  
flawders for John Morton bishop of Elie. These  
acts performed, he chose to be of his counsell a con-  
uenient number of right graue and wise counsell-  
ers.

This did he, that he might the more roiallie go-  
uerne his kingdome, which he obtained and inioied  
as a thing by God elected and prouided, and by his es-  
peciall fauour and gracious aspect compassed and at-  
chued: Insomuch that men commonlie report that  
seauen hundred ninte & seauen yeres passed, it was  
by a heauenlie voice reuealed to Cadwalader last  
king of Britains, that his stocke & pogenie should  
reigne in this land & beare dominion againe. Where-  
upon most men were persuaded in their owne opini-  
on, that by this heauenlie voice he was prouided & or-  
deined long before to inioy & obtaine this kingdome.  
Which thing B. Henrie the first did also shew before,  
as it were by propheticall inspiration, at such time as  
the earle of Penbrooke presented the said Henrie (at  
that time a proper child) vnto Henrie the first, whome  
after he had beheld, and a good while viewed the come-  
linesse of his countenance, and orderlie lineaments  
of his bodie, he said to such peeres as stood about him:  
Lo, suerlie this is he, to whome both we and our ad-  
uersaries, leauing the possession of all things, shall  
hereafter giue roine and place: & so it came to passe  
by the appointment of God, to whose gouernement,  
gift, and disposing, all realmes and all dominions  
are subiect, as king Dauid confesseth, saieing:  
*Omnia sunt regno subdita regna Dei.*

Now although by this meanes all things seemed  
to be brought in god and perfect order, yet there lac-  
ked a wrett to the harpe, to set all the strings in a  
monocord and perfect tune, which was the matrimo-  
nie to be finished betwene the king and the late E-  
lizabeth, daughter to king Edward. Which like a god  
prince, according to his oth, & promise, he did beth so-  
lemnize & consummate shortly after, that is to saie,  
on the eighteenth daie of Januarie. By reason of  
which marriage, peace was thought to descend out  
of heauen into England, considering that the lines  
of Lancaster and York were now brought into one  
knot, and connered together, of whose two bodies one  
heire might succeed to rule and inioie the whole mo-  
narchie and realme of England, which before was  
rent and diuided into factions & partakings, where-  
by manie a mans life was lost, great spoiles made  
of peoples goods, wast of wealth, worship, and honor,  
all which ended in this blessed and gracious conue-  
nion, authorized by God, as our *Anglorum prelia* saith:  
*Hoc Deus omnipotens pacis consecrat author,*  
*Ciuillique habuit tandem contentio finem.*

Shortly after, for the better preservation of his  
roiall person, he constituted and ordeined a certeine  
number, as well of archers, as of diuerse other per-  
sons, hardie, strong, and active to giue dailie atten-  
dance on his person, whom he named yeomen of his  
gard, which present men thought that he learned of  
the french king when he was in France. For it is  
not remembered, that anie king of England before  
that daie used anie such furniture of dailie souldiers.  
In this same yere a new kind of sicknesse invaded  
suddenlie the people of this land, passing through the  
same from the one end to the other. It began about  
the one and twentieth of September, and continued  
vntill the latter end of October, being so sharpe and  
deadlie, that the like was neuer heard of to anie  
mans remembrance before that time.

For suddenlie a deadlie burning sweat so assai-  
led their bodies, and dissempered their blood with  
a most ardent heat, that scarce one amongst an hun-  
dred that sickened did escape with life: for all in ma-  
ner as soone as the sweat took them, or within a  
short time after, yelded the ghost. Beside the great  
number which decaied within the citie of London,  
two maiors successiuelie died within eight daies and  
six aldermen. At length, by the diligent obseruation  
of those that escaped (which marking what things had  
e c e s s y.

Abr. Flem. ex  
sufficiunt.  
See the histo-  
rie of England  
pag. 124.  
See also D.  
Powels histo-  
rie of Wales,  
pag. 2, and 376,  
377, &c.

See before in  
Edward the  
fourth, pag.  
678.

Gr. Ha. in p. 14  
103.

King Henrie  
the seuenth tak-  
eth to wife  
Elizabeth el-  
dest daughter  
of Edward  
the fourth.  
1486

In Hen. 7.

Yeomen of the  
gard first  
brought in.

The swea-  
ting sick-  
nesse.

ent. A parliament  
er, at which  
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The king re-  
membering his  
widdow.

A remedie for  
the sweating  
sickenesse.

done them good, and holpen to their deliuerance, bled the like againe. When they fell into the same disease, the second or thirde time, as to diuerse it chanced, a remedie was found for that mortall malacie, which was this. If a man on the day time were taken with the sweat, then should he streight lie downe with all his clothes and garments, and continue in his sweat foure and twentie houres, after so moderate a sort as might be.

If in the night he chanced to be taken, then should he not rise out of his bed for the space of foure and twentie houres, so casting the clothes that he might in no wise prouoke the sweat, but lie so temperatlie, that the water might distill out softlye of the owne accord, and to abstaine from all meat if he might so long suffer hunger, and to take no more drinke neither hot nor cold, than would moderatlie quench and asswage his thirstie appetite. Thus with lukewarme drinke, temperate heate, and measurable cloaths manie escaped: few which used this order (after it was found out) died of that sweat. Marie one point diligentlie about all other in this cure is to be obserued, that he neuer did put his hand or feet out of the bed to refresh or coole himselfe, which to doe is no lesse teopardie than short and present death. Thus this disease comming in the first yeare of king Henries reigne, was iudged (of some) to be a token and signe of a troublous reigne of the same king, as the profe partlie afterwards shewed it selfe.

The king re-  
quested a prest  
of six thousand  
markes.

The king standing in need of monie to discharge such debts, and to mainteine such port as was be- housefull, sent the lord treasurer with maister Reginald Braie, and others, vnto the lord maior of London, requiring of the citie a prest of six thousand markes. Whereupon the said lord maior and his brethren, with the commons of the citie, granted a prest of two thousand pounds, which was leuied of the companies, and not of the wards: and in the yeare next ensuing, it was well and trulie againe repaid euerie pence, to the good contentation and satisfieng of them that disbursed it. The king considering that the suertie of his roiall estate and defense of the realme consisted chafelie in god lawes and ordinances to be had and obserued among his people, summoned eff- sonnes his high court of parlement, therein to deuise and establish some profitable acts and statutes, for the wealth and commoditie of his people.

A parlement  
summoned &  
new lawes  
for the com-  
monwealth  
enacted.

The king go-  
eth into the  
North.

After this, hauing let things in quiet about Lon- don, he toke his iourne into the North parts, there to purge all the degges of malicious treason that might rest in the hearts of briguiet persons, and namelie in Northeshire, where the people bare more fauour vnto king Richard in his life time, than those of anie other part of the realme had commonlie done. He kept the feast of Easter at Lincolne; where he was certified that the lord Louell and Humfrie Stafford, and Thomas Stafford, his brother, were departed out of the sanctuarie at Colchester, to what place or whither, no man as yet could tell. The king little regarding the matter, kept on his iourne, and came to York, where as soone as he was once settled, it was openlie shewed and declared for a truty to the king himselfe, that Francis lord Louell was at hand with a strong and mightie power of men, and would with all dili- gence invade the citie.

A rebellion  
made by the  
lord Louell  
and others.

Humfrie  
Stafford,  
Thomas  
Stafford,

It was also told him, that the forenamed Staf- fords were in Worcestershire, and had raised a great band of the countrie people and commons there, and had cast lots what part should assault the gates, what men should scale the walls of the citie of Worcester, and who should let the passages for letting of rescues and aiders. The king could not beleue this report to be true at the first, but after that, by letters of cre- dence sent from his friends, he was fullie persuaded

that it was so true, he was put in no small feare, and not without great cause. For he wiselie consid- red, that he neither had anie competent armie re- die, nor convenient furniture to arme them that were present; and also he was in such place, where he could not assemble anie power, but of those whom he soze mistrusted, as friends to them that were most his enemies; the memorie of king Richard as yet being not amongst them forgotten nor worne out of mind.

But bicause the matter required quicke expedit- on, he appointed the duke of Bedford with three thou- sand men not altogether the best armed (for their best plates for the most part were of tanned leather) to march south against the lord Louell, and to set vpon him without anie lingering of time. The duke ha- sting forward, approached to the campe of his enemies, & before he would assaile them, he caused the heralds to make proclamation, that all those that would de- part from their armour, and submit themselves as subiects vnto their naturall prince and soueraigne lord, should be pardoned of all former offenses. The lord Louell vpon this proclamation, either putting mistrust in his souldiers, or fearing himselfe in his owne behalfe, fled priuilie in a night from his com- panie, and left them as a flocke of sheepe without a shepheard.

Which departure of the lord when his armie un- derstood, it put the souldiours in such despair of atch- uing anie further enterpryse, that they immediatlie put off their armour, and came directlie vnto the duke, euerie man humbly submitting himselfe, and desiring pardon of his offenses. So in this wise was that dangerous storme and cruell rage of those fur- ious rebels asswaged, which was doubted would haue growne to the destruction of manie a man. The lord Louell the procurer of this businesse, escaping awaie got him into Lancashire, and there for a certaine space lay lurking in secret with sir Thomas Blough- ton knight, which in those parties was a man of no small authoritie and power.

Sir Humfrie Stafford also, hearing what had happened to the lord Louell, in great displeasure and sorow, and for feare lest his enterpryse, and in like manner fled, and toke sanctuarie at Colham, a vil- lage not past two miles from Abindon. But bicause that sanctuarie was not a sufficient defense (as was proued before the iustices of the kings Bench) for traitours, he was taken from that place, & brought to the Tower, & after put to execution at Abborne: but his brother Thomas that was with him, was pardoned, bicause he was thought not to haue at- tempted anie thing of himselfe otherwise than by the euill counsell and persuation of his elder brother. Af- ter that the king had quieted all these commotions and tumults, and reformed the rude and babling peo- ple of the North parts, he returned to London.

In this yeare John Persuall, one of the mayo- of Londons officers, and his caruer, was chosen one of the shiriffes of London. For when the mayo- (as the custome of London is) doth elect one of the shiriffes of London for the yeare ensuing, by taking and drinkeing a cup of wine to such a one as he list to name shiriffe; the mayo- for the time being, whose name was sir Henrie Collet, toke the cup of wine, and dranke vnto the aforesaid John Persuall his caruer standing bareheaded before him, and waiting vpon his bowd, and called him shiriffe of London for the yeare ensuing: and forthwith the said mayo- cal- led the same Persuall to sit downe at his owne ta- ble, and to couer his head. And the same Persuall toke vpon him the office of shiriffalitie, and after was mayo- of London, and was made knight.

In this meane time, of a small matter, and the same

The duke of  
Bedford  
against the  
lord Louell  
in armes.

The lord  
Louell  
escaped.

Sir Thomas  
Stafford  
taken out of  
Colham  
sanctuarie,  
and executed.

Anno Reg.

Ab. Fr. ex-  
episcopo  
Rich. Graue  
One of the  
mayors off-  
cers chosen  
shiriff of Lon-  
don and his  
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Sir Richard  
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same aldisse false and fained, there was an open path made and beaten forth, for a greater inconuenience to insue. The which matter might seeme verie strange, how such trouble and mischefe should grow thereof, if the time were not considered, in which it happened. For in those daies manie persons, either borne in the wombe of continuall dissention, or nourished with the milke of ciuill sedition, could not forbeare their vsuall custome of mouing strife, and following debate, ever glad to haue anie occasion, though neuer so small, to stirre byroz of warre, and slaughter of people. Which men if they knew (a matter of weightie conceipt) the hurts thereof, they would be as earnest in seeking after peace as they are greedy in pursuit of warre, speciallie ciuill warre: but the cause whie they are defectiue therein, is the want of mekenesse and humilitie, as the wise man saith:

*Adite cor horribili seditione vacat.*

Amongst other such monsters and limmes of the diuell, there was one sir Richard Simond prest, a man of base birth, and yet well learned, but not so learned as willie, nor so willie as vngacious, delighting in fraud & deceit, even from his youth. He had a scholer called Lambert Simenell, one of a gentle nature and pregnant wit, to be the organe and cheefe instrument, by the which he might conueie and bring to passe his mischeuous attempt. The diuill cheefe master of such pyadises, put in the venemous braine of this dissuall and traitorous prest, to deuise how he might make his scholer the foresaid Lambert to be reputed as right inheritor to the crowne of this realme: namelie, for that the same went that king Edwards chylozen were not dead, but fled secretlie into some strange place, and there to be liuing: and that Edward earle of Marwike, sonne and heire to the duke of Clarence, either was, or shoulde should be put to death.

These rumors though they seemed not to be grounded of anie likelihood to the wisser sort of men, yet incouraged this pcutish prest to thinke the time come, that his scholer Lambert might take vpon him the person and name of one of king Edwards chylozen. And herevpon at Wysoyd, where their abiding was, the said prest instructed his pupill both with princelie behaviour, ciuill maners, and good literature, declaring to him of what lineage he should assume himselfe to be descended, and omitted nothing that might serue for his purpose. Some after, the rumor was blowne abroad, that the earle of Marwike was broken out of prison. And when the prest sir Richard Simond heard of this, he straight intended now by that occasion to bring his inuented purpose to passe, and changing the chyldes name of baptisme, called him Edward, after the name of the yong earle of Marwike, the which were both of like yeares, and of like stature.

Then he with his scholer sailed into Ireland, where he set forth the matter vnto the nobilitie of that countrie, that not onelie the lord Thomas Cerardine chancelor of that land deceiued through his craftie tale, receiued the counterfeit earle into his castell with all honour and reuerence; but also manie other noble men determined to aid him (with all their powers) as one descended of the blood rosall, and lineallie come of the house of Yorke, which the Irish people euermore highlie fauoured, honoured, and loued above all other. By this meanes euerie man throughout all Ireland was willing and readie to take his part, and to submit themselves to him; already reputing and calling him of all hands king. So that now they of this sea (by the aduise of the prest) sent into England certeine priuie messengers to get friends here.

Also they sent into Flanders to the ladie Margaret

sister to king Edward, & late wife to Charles duke of Burgonie, to purchase aid and helpe at hir hands. This ladie Margaret bare no small rule in the low countries, and in verie deed sore grudged in hir heart, that king Henrie (being descended of the house of Lancaster) should reigne and gouerne the realme of England: and therefore, though she well vnderstood that this was but a coloured matter; yet to worke hir malicious intention against king Henrie, she was glad to haue so fit an occasion: and therefore promised the messengers all the aid that she should be able to make in furtherance of the quarrell; and also to procure all the friends she could in other places, to be aiders and partakers of the same conspiracie.

King Henrie aduertised of all these doings, was greatly bered therewith: and therefore to haue god aduise in the matter, he called together his counsell at the Charterhouse beside his manor of Richmond, and there consulted with them, by which means best this begun conspiracie might be appeased and disappointed without more disturbance. It was therefore determined, that a generall pardon should be published to all offenders that were content to receive the same. This pardon was so frelie granted, that no offense was excepted, no not so much as high treason committed against the kings roiall person. It was further agreed in the same counsell for the time then present, that the earle of Marwike should personallie be shewed abroad in the cite, and other publicke places: whereby the vntrue report falselie spred abroad, that he should be in Ireland, might be among the communalitie proued and knowne for a vaine imagined lie.

In this solemne counsell, diuerse & manie things for the wealth of the realme were debated and concluded. And among other it was determined, that the ladie Elizabeth wife to king Edward the fourth, should lose and forfeit all hir lands and possessions, because she had voluntarilie submitted hir selfe and hir daughters wholie to the hands of king Richard, contrary to hir promise made to the lords and nobles of this realme in the beginning of the conspiracie made against king Richard, whereby she did inough to haue quailed all the purpose of them that joined with hir in that matter. But though hir fault was grieuous, yet was it iudged by some men that she deserved not by quitte of iustice so great a losse and punishment. Howbeit, this iudgement was altogether affectionate and parciall in hir behalfe; besides that it was reasonable in great measure (all circumstances considered) for she was not lightlie induced to do as she did, neither stood it with the frailtie of a woman to withstand the temptations of a mightie man, or rather a reaching tyrant.

But such was hir chance by hir lightnesse and inconstancie, that she wan the displeasure of manie men, and for that cause liued after in the abbeye of Bermondsey beside Southwarke a wretched and a miserable life, where not manie yeares after she deceased, and is buried with hir husband at Windsoze. Though fortune thus ruleth manie things at hir pleasure, yet one worke that this queene accomplished cannot be forgotten: for in the life time of hir husband king Edward the fourth, she founded and erected a notable colledge in the vniuersitie of Cambridge, for the finding of scholers and students of the same vniuersitie, and endowd it with sufficient possessions for the long maintenance of the same, which at this daie is called the Quenes colledge.

When all things in this counsell were sagelie concluded and agreed to the kings mind, he returned to London; giving in commandement, that the next sundaie ensuing, Edward the yong earle of Marwike

Margaret duchesse of Burgonie sister to king Edward the fourth, his malicious mind to Lancaster house,

A generall pardon excepting no offense,

Order taken that the yong earle of Marwike should be shewed abroad.

Ladie Elizabeth wife to king Edward the fourth, abiding to forfeit all hir lands, for promise-breaking.

Quenes colledge in Cambridge founded by the ladie Elizabeth king Edward the fourths wife.

he duke of edward a- inst the d. the arms,

Richard Simond a fraudulent prest,

Lambert Simenell the counterfeite earle of Marwike.

he lord Marwike,

r. Henrie afford: out of Inham quarre, executed.

10 Reg. 4.

Fl. ce. me. Craton: of the no off- chosen of 15 and lord p.

Thomas Cerardine chancelor of Ireland inter- with the coun- trolle carle bene hand- nallie.

Edward the  
right earle of  
Warwicke  
showed open-  
lie in procel-  
sion.

whiche should be brought from the Tower through the most publicke streets in all London, to the cathedraall church of saint Paule, where he went openlie in procession, that euerie man might see him, hauing communication with manie noble men, and with them especiallye that were suspected to be partakers of the late begun conspiracie; that they might perceiue how the Irishmen vpon a vaine shadowe moued warre against the king and his realme. But this medicine little auailed euill disposed persons. For the earle of Lincolne sonne to John de la Pole duke of Suffolke, and Elizabeth sister to king Edward the fourth, thought it not meet to neglect and omit so ready an occasion of new trouble.

An ill matter  
followed to  
the pmo.

Wherefore they determined to uphold the enterprise of the Irishmen, and other complices of this conspiracie: so that consulting with sir Thomas Broughton, and certeine other of his most trustie friends, he purposed to saile into Flanders to his aunt the ladie Margaret duchesse of Burgognie, trusting by hir helpe to make a puissant armie, and to ioin with the companions of the new raised sedition. Therefore after the dissolution of the parlement which then was holden, he fled secretlie into Flanders vnto the said ladie Margaret; where Francis lord Louell landed certeine daies before. Where after long consultation had how to proceed in their business, it was agreed, that the earle of Lincolne, and the lord Louell should go into Ireland; and there to attend vpon the duchesse hir counterfeited nephew, and to honoz him as a king, and with the power of the Irishmen to bring him into England.

Now they concluded, that if their doings had successe, then the foresaid Lambert (misnamed the earle of Marwicke) should by consent of the councill be deposed, and Edward the true earle of Marwicke deliuered out of prison and annoiued king. King Henrie supposing that no man would haue bene so mad as to haue attempted anie further enterprise in the name of that new found & counterfeited earle, he onelie studied how to subdue the seditious conspiracie of the Irishmen. But hearing that the earle of Lincolne was fled into Flanders, he was somewhat moued therewith, and caused soldiors to be put in a readinesse out of euerie part of his realme, and to bring them into one place assigned, that when his aduersaries should appeare, he might suddenlie set vpon them, vanquish and overcome them.

The earle of  
Lincolnes  
flight into  
Flanders  
doubted of  
king Henrie.

The mar-  
ques Dofet  
committed to  
the Tower.

Thus disposing things for his suertie, he went towards S. Edmunds burie, and being certified that the marquesse Dofet was comming towards his maiestie, to excuse himselfe of things that he was suspected to haue done when he was in France, he sent the earle of Oxford to arrest the said marquesse by the waie, and to conueie him to the Tower of London, there to remaine till his truth might be tried. From thence the A. went forth to Norwich, and tarriong there Christmasse daie, he departed after to Walsingham, where he offered to the image of our ladie, and then by Cambridge he shortly returned to London. In which meane time, the earle of Lincolne had gotten together by the aid of the ladie Margaret about two thousand Almaines, with one Martine Sward, a valiant and noble capteine to lead them.

Martin  
Sward a val-  
iant capteine  
of Almaines,  
assistant to the  
earle of Lin-  
colne.

With this power the earle of Lincolne sailed into Ireland, and at the citie of Duelin caused young Lambert to be proclaimed and named king of England, after the most solemne fashion, as though he were the verie heire of the blood roiall lineallie borne and descended. And so with a great multitude of beggerlie Irishmen, almost all naked and vnrarned, sauing skins and mantels, of whome the lord Thomas Gerartine was capteine and conductor,

they sailed into England with this new found king, and landed for a purpose at the pile of Fowlsheie, within a litle of Lancaster, trusting there to find aid by the means of sir Thomas Broughton, one of the chiefe companions of the conspiracie.

The king had knowledge of the enemies intent before their arriuall, and therefore hauing assembled a great armie (ouer the which the duke of Bedford, and the earle of Orenford were chiefe capteins) he went to Couentrie, where he was aduertised, that the earle of Lincolne was landed at Lancaster with his new king. Where he took aduise of his counsellors what was best to be done, whether to set on the enemies without further delaie, or to protract time a while. But at length it was thought best to delaie no time, but to giue them battell, before they should increase their power, and therevpon he remoued to Nottingham, & there by a litle wood called Wolwey, he pitched his field.

Shortly after this came to him the lord George Talbot earle of Shrewesburie, the lord Strange, sir John Cheine, right valiant capteins, with manie other noble and expert men of warre, namelie of the countries nere adjoining; so that the kings armie was wonderfullie increased. In this space the earle of Lincolne being entered into Yorkeshire, passed costlie on his iournie without spoiling or hurting of anie man, trusting thereby to haue some companie of people resozt vnto him. But after he perceiued few or none to follow him, and that it was too late now to returne backe, he determined to trie the matter by dint of sword, and herevpon directed his waie from York to Hewarke vpon Trent.

But before he came there, king Henrie knowing all his enemies purposes, came the night before the daie of the battell to Hewarke; and tarriong there a litle, went thre miles further, and pitching his field, lodged there that night. The earle of Lincolne certified of his comming, was nothing abashed, but kept still on his iournie; and at a litle bilage called Stoke, nigh to the king and his armie, set downe his campe. The next daie the king diuided his whole power into thre battels, and after in good arraie approached nigh to the towne of Stoke. The earle likewise set forth his armie, and encountering with the kings people in a faire plaine there, met for the triall of such a conflict, set vpon them with a manlie courage, desiring his soldiors to remember his honour and their owne liues.

When both the armies ioined and fought verie earnestlie, in so much that the Almaines, being tried and expert men of warre, were in all things, as well in strength as policie, equals and matches to the Englishmen. But as for Martine Sward their coronell, few of the Englishmen, either in valiant courage, or strength, and nimbleness of bodie was to him comparable. On the other side, the Irishmen, although they fought manfullie, and stricke to it valiantlie; yet because they were (after the maner of their countrie) almost naked, without anie conuenient furniture of armour, they were stricken downe and slaine like dull & brute beasts, which was a great discouragement to the residue of the companie. Thus they fought for a space so long and so egerlie on both parts, that no man could well iudge to whome the victorie was like to incline.

But at length the kings foreward being full of people, and well fortified with wings, which onelie both began and continued the fight, set vpon the aduersaries with such force and violence, that first they oppressed and killed such capteins, one by one, as refused their might and puissance: and after that, put all the other to flight, the which were either apprehended as prisoners in their running awaie, or else slaine.

The countie  
of Warwick  
which with  
aduersaries  
lambert in  
England.

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The earle of  
Lincolnes  
treachery  
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The battell  
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The armie  
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Martine  
Sward a  
valiant  
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The kings  
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commeth



An. Reg. 23.

Dom. 1487.

The countie  
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warrior.

In the cap  
tivity of the  
king.

The number  
of the king  
and his  
counsel.

John Bouchier  
archbishop of  
Canterbury.

His ex  
creation of  
the king.

Corruption of  
the king.

laine and brought into confusion in a small mo-  
ment. Now when this battell was ended, and fought  
out to the extremitie, then it well appeared, what high  
prowesse, what manfull stomachs, what hardie and  
courageous hearts rested in the kings aduerfaries.  
For there the chiefe captaine, the earle of Lincolne,  
and the lord Louell, sir Thomas Broughton, Mar-  
tine Sward, and the lord Gerardine captaine of the  
Irishmen were slaine, and found dead in the verie  
places which they had chosen alieue to fight in, not gi-  
uing one foot of ground to their aduerfaries.

Howbeit some affirme, that the lord Louell toke  
his horse, and would haue fled ouer Trent, but was  
not able to recouer the further side for the highnesse  
of the bankes, and so was drowned in the riuer. There  
were killed at that battell, with their fiue captaine  
before rehersed, of that partie about foure thousand.  
Of the kings part there were not halfe of them which  
fought in the fore-ward, and gaue the onset slaine or  
hurt. Then was Lambert the youngling, which was  
falslie reported to be the sonne of the duke of Cla-  
rence, and his maister sir Richard Diamond priest  
both taken, but neither of them put to death; because  
that Lambert was but an innocent, and of yeares  
insufficient of himselfe to do any such enterpryse, and  
the other was pardoned of life, because he was a  
priest, and annointed man; but yet was committed  
to perpetuall prison.

Lambert was at length made one of the kings  
falconers, after that he had bene a turnebrooch for a  
space in the kings kitchen. This battell was fought  
on a saturday being the sixteenth daie of June, in  
this second yeare of his reigne. In this yeare died  
Thomas Bouchier archbishop of Canturburie: and  
John Borton bishop of Cle, a man of excellent lear-  
ning, vertue and policie, succeeded in his place, whom  
Alexander pope of Rome, the first of that name, crea-  
ted a cardinall, and the king created him also chan-  
cello of England. Of which pope (hauing so conue-  
nient a place to speake) it were a fault to omit the  
ambition, accompanied with other disorders unbecom-  
ing a successor of Peter (but neither personallie  
nor localle) as all the brood of them brag of them-  
selues, & will be intituled with a pyramide, blarped.

¶ This Alexander the first pope of that name, was  
sometime an ancient cardinall, and one of the grea-  
test in all the court of Rome. One meane that raised  
him to the seat of the pope, was the difference be-  
tweene the cardinals Alcanius Sforze, and Julian  
S. Petri ad Vincula: but the chiefe thing that ac-  
complished his election, was, that with a new exam-  
ple for that time, he bought by the consent and know-  
ledge of euerie one, partlie for monie, and partlie  
with promises of offices and great dignities, manie  
voices of the cardinals, who reiecting the instruction  
of the gospel, were not ashamed to passe to him by  
sale, an authoritie and powrer to make merchandize  
of the holie treasures, & that with the name of the cele-  
stiall authoritie in the most high part of the temple.

¶ Which abhominable & too too prophane negotia-  
tion manie of them were induced by the cardinall  
Alcanius, but that was not moze with persuasions  
and lutes, than with his example: for that being cor-  
rupted with the infinit desire of riches, he made the  
pope promise him for his hire and recompense of so  
great wickednesse, the office of vicechancellorship  
(the principallest place in the court of Rome) togi-  
ther with benefices, castels, and his palace of Rome  
full of moveables of great valour. But the pope for  
all this could not auoid, neither for the time to come,  
the iudgment and iustice of God; nor for the present,  
the infamie and iust hate of men, in whom for this e-  
lection was no small impressions of astonishment  
and horror, not onlie for that it was intangled with

meanes dishonest, but also because the natures and  
conditions of the man chosen, were (for the greatest  
part) known to manie.

Manie sentences and coniectures were made of  
his successe. And amongst other, Ferdinand king of  
Naples, dissembling openlie the griefe he had of that  
election, signified to the quene his wife with teares  
(which he was wont to forbear even in the death of  
his children) that there was created a pope who would  
be most hurtfull to Italie, and the whole common  
weale of christendome. A iudgement not vnworthy  
of the wisdom of such a prince: for that in Alexan-  
der the first (for so would this new pope be called) was  
a subtiltie, sharpenesse, and expediton of wit most  
singular, a counsell excellent, a wonderfull efficacie  
in perswasion, and in all great affaires a iudgement  
and care incredible. But these vertues were maruel-  
louslie defaced by his vices, for touching his manners  
and customes, they were verie dishonest, in his admi-  
nistrations he expelled little sinceritie, in his cour-  
tenance no shame, in his words small truth, in his  
heart little faith, and in his opinion lesse religion. Of  
the contrarie, all his actions were defiled with an in-  
satiable couetousnesse, and immoderate ambition, a  
barbarous crueltie, and a burning desire to raise and  
make great (by what meanes soeuer) his children, who  
were manie in number; and amongst others, one no  
lesse detestable than the father, to whose cursed coun-  
sels he became a wicked instrument. Thus much (by  
waie of digression) of Alexander, a pope (as you  
heare) well qualified, and therefore forward enough  
to creat cardinals both in England and elsewhere of  
like disposition. But to returne to the storie.]

After that the king had got the upper hand of his  
enimies, he removed to Lincolne, and there varied  
thre daies, causing euerie of the same daies solempne  
processions to be made in rendering thanks to God  
for his fortunate victorie. Then caused he execution  
to be done, of such rebels & traitors as were taken  
in the field, either at the battell, or in the chase. And  
shortlie after he went into Northshire, & there coasted  
the countie ouerthwart, searching out such as had  
aided his enimies, and were thought to be seditious  
persons, whom he punished, some by imprisonment,  
some by fines, and some by death: according to the  
qualitie of their offenses, and as was thought most  
expedient [not by extremitie of rigor inclining to ty-  
rannie, but by due moderation of iustice tempering  
execution with clemencie; according to the good  
rule of iustice prescribed by the wise man, saieing:

*Solus commissum plebat clementia crimen,  
Parua negat panam culpa subire grauem.*

About the middelt of August entering into the  
third yere of his reigne, he came to Newcastell upon  
Tyne, and from thence sent in ambassage into Scot-  
land, Richard For, latelie before made bishop of Ex-  
cester, and with him Richard Edgecombe knight,  
controller of his house, to conclude some peace or  
truce with king James of Scotland. The English  
ambassadors were honorablie receiued, and longlie  
interteined of the said king, who gladlie would haue  
concluded a perpetuall peace with the king of Eng-  
land, if he might haue bene licenced so to haue done;  
but his people being stedfast in their old accustomed  
bidge, would not agree to ante peace, but yet were  
contented to gratifie their king, that he should take  
truce with England for the tearme of seuen yeares,  
which was concluded.

Then was secret promise made by king James,  
that he would not onlie obserue peace, & continue in  
perfect amitie with the king of England during his  
life, but also would renew againe this truce new ta-  
ken for other seuen yers, before the first seuen yers  
were fullie expired. The king of Scots indeed was

Pope Alexan-  
der the first  
corrupted  
with manie  
vices,

Thanks gi-  
uen to God  
after victorie.

Execution  
upon the of-  
fenders.

Gu. Ha. in ec-  
cle. cap. 10.  
Anno. Reg. 3.

For bishop of  
Excester sent  
ambassadors in-  
to Scotland.

A truce with  
Scotland for  
seuen yeares.

as desirous of the king of Englands friendship, as the king of England was of his: because that his subjects bare him much euill will, mistaking with all things that either he could do or saie. [So that his regiment was no longer liked, than they were in a good mood, which was when they were well minded; and that was neuer: for that if by gentleness he allured them, they esteemed him a flatterer; if by severity, a tyrant. And therefore it stood him vpon to strengthen himselfe against such a people, of whose pleasure & displeasure depended his estate.]

King Henrie  
returneth out  
of the north  
countrie.

The French  
kings request  
for aid against  
Francis duke  
of Britaine.

10 King Henrie after the returne of his ambassadoys out of Scotland, came from Berwick to Yorke, and so toward London, and in the way being at Leicester, there came to him ambassadoys from Charles the French king, which declared both the recovery of certeine towne out of the hands of Maximilian king of Romans, which he had wrongfullie detained from the crowne of France before that time; and also that their maiesty king Charles had now wars in hand against Francis duke of Britaine, because that he succoured and mainteined diuers noble men, as the duke of Orleans and others, that were rebels and traitors, against him and the realme of France. Wherefore his request was, that for the old familiaritie that had bene betwixt them, he would either assist and helpe him, or else stand neuter betwixt them, neither helping nor yet hurting the one nor the other.

Upon good and deliberate aduise taken in this matter, because it was iudged weightie, the king for answer told the French ambassadoys, that he would neither spare paine nor cost, to set some reasonable state betwixt their soueraigne lord king Charles, and the duke of Britaine: so that a small end and some perfect conclusion of friendship might be had betwixt them. And so as soon as the French ambassadoys were returned home, the king sent his chapleine Christopher Urswike over into France to king Charles, as well to shew that he was glad of the victory which he had against Maximilian; as to declare that a tempestuous storme of ciuill rebellion himselfe had escaped & overcome here in England.

King Henries  
offer to make  
an attoument  
betwixt the  
French king  
and the duke.

But the chiefest point of Urswikes errand consisted in this, that he should intimate to the French king, how his maiesty king Henrie offered himselfe as a mediator betwixt him and the duke of Britaine, to make them friends: and if he perceived that the French king gave eare hereunto, then should he go into Britaine, to moue the duke there to be contented, that some reasonable order might be taken for a quietnesse to be had betwixt the French king and him. Whilest Urswike was travelling in this matter (according to his commission) the king came backe againe to London, where he was receiued of the citizens with great joy and triumph, they being heartilie glad and greatlie reioysing that he with such good successe had subdued his enemies.

Christopher  
Urswike.

The marques  
Dorset deliue-  
red out of the  
Tower.

The kings  
loue to his  
wife queene  
Elizabeth.

60 Shortly after, he deliuered the lord Thomas Marquis Dorset out of the Tower, receiuing him againe to his former fauor and old familiaritie: because his truth and loialtie by diuers assaies and sundrie arguments had bene throughlie tried, and sufficientlie proued. In which meane time, the king for the great loue that he bare to his wife queene Elizabeth, caused hit to be crowned and anointed queene on saint Katharins day in Nouember, with all solemnitie, as in such cases apperteineth. In the meane season Christopher Urswike (according to his commission) travelled betwixt the French king and the duke of Britaine in the king of Englands name, to make them friends. But although the French king seemed willing enough to haue peace, yet meant he nothing lesse. For he had as manie subtilties in his heart, as there be faces in the world, according to the poet:

*Pectoribus fraudes tot sunt quot in orbe figura.*

For whilest he went about with faire words, courteous letters, and sweet promises to beare the king of England in hand to labour a peace betwixt him and the Britains, he enforced his whole puissance to subdue them, and besieged the citie of Nantes. And on the other part, the duke of Orleans being with drawne to the duke of Britaine, and one that ruled most about him, had no liking to heare of peace, but did what he could to hinder it. The English ambassadoys Christopher Urswike (having thus passed from the French king to the duke of Britaine, and backe againe to the French king) returned shortly after into England, and shewed vnto king Henrie what he had done betwixt them.

The duke of  
Orleans  
take with  
the duke of  
Britaine.

perempto-  
re ambassage  
out of Eng-  
land into  
France.

20 Immediatlie after came to the French king the lord Bernard Daubenete a Scot borne, which on the French kings behalfe required King Henrie to make some maner of end of those Britissh warres, whatsoeuer it were. King Henrie being desirous of the same, sent ouer againe into France, John the abbat of Abingdon, sir Richard Edgecombe knight, and the forenamed Christopher Urswike, with full and perfect commission & long instructions how to proceed, in dealing of some agreement betwixt the French men and the Britons. These orators (according as they had in commandement) first went vnto the French king, and after they had communed with him, sir Richard Edgecombe, and Christopher Urswike departed streight to the duke of Britaine, in full hope to conclude a peace, vpon such offers and articles as they had to propound vnto him.

30 But all their hope was vaine, for the duke refused to agree vpon any such articles and conditions as they offered; and so without concluding any thing with the duke, they returned backe into France; and from thence signified to the king of England by letters all that they knew, or had done. But in the meane time, Edward lord Mowbray, uncle to the queene, sued to king Henrie that he might haue a power of men appointed to him, with the which he would scale pituillie ouer without licence or passport, so that euery man should thinke that he was fled the realme, without knowledge of the king, for that no warre should arise by his meanes betwixt the realmes of France and England, and yet should the duke of Britaine be aided against the power of the Frenchmen, which sought to vanquish him, that they might saue his countrie vnto the dominion of France: which in no wise ought to be suffered, considering what annoyance & hurt the same might bring to the realme of England in time to come.

Edward lord  
Mowbray  
with the duke  
of Britaine  
without the  
kings consent.

40 Although this request was bitterlie denied, and that the lord Mowbray was straightlie commanded by the king to make no such attempt; yet could not all that staie him, but that with drawing him into the Ile of Wight, whereof he was made ruler and capitaine, he there gathered together a cruoe of tall & hardie personages, to the number of 400, & with prosperous wind & weather arrived in Britaine, and joined himselfe with the Britons against the Frenchmen. The French king aduertised herof, was not well pleased in his mind towards the king of England; till King Henrie by new messengers informed him how guiltlesse he was in the matter, and that by plain and euident proofes: With the which excuse the French king seemed to be the better pacified, and was content to desist from the matter.

The lord  
Mowbray  
gathered  
a power into  
Ile of Wight.

When the  
French be  
invincible.

50 Then the English ambassadoys, renewing the league and amitie betwixt king Henrie & the French king, for the space of twelue moneths, they returned into England; and shewed the king all things that they had either heard or seen: so that he perceived that the French king dealt craftily in this matter of Britaine,

The league  
renewed  
betwixt  
king Henrie  
and king  
Francis.

Francis duke  
of Britaine  
died.

Francis duke  
of Britaine  
died.

*An. Reg. 37.*  
 Britaine, still motioning peace when he meant no-  
 thing else but warre. He therefore called his high  
 court of parlement, in the which it was not onelie de-  
 termined that the duke of Britaine should be added  
 with a power of men against the wprigfull inuasi-  
 ons of the Frenchmen, but also there were diuerse  
 summes of monie granted to the furnishing forth  
 and maintenance of the same. And immediatlie  
 herupon, the king sent his ambassadoz into France  
 to certifie the French king what the estates assem-  
 bled in parlement here in England had decreed.

Therefore he required him either to surceaſe the  
harmes which he had in hand againſt the Britons, or  
eſſe not to be gréued though he conſeſcended to the  
Iudgement and determination of the lords both ſpi-  
rituall and temporall, and commons of his realme,  
in taking vpon him the deſenſe of the duke of Brit-  
taine, promiſſing neuertheleſſe that the Engliſh ar-  
mie ſhould onelie take land within the duchie of Bri-  
taine, and ſeke to deſend the ſame againſt all thoſe  
that did inuade it, and not to make anie warre with-  
in the French dominions. This meſſage was no-  
thing regarded of the French king, in ſo much that  
the French armie proceeded in oppreſſing the Bri-  
tons, deſtroying the countrie, and beſieging towneſ.

At length on the seuen and twentieth, (as the chro-  
nicles of Anion haue) the eight and twentieth daie of  
Iulie, the duke of Britains armie gaue battell to the  
French host nere to a towne called Saint Aubin, ha-  
ving apparelled a thousand and seuen hundred of the  
Britons in coates with red crofles, after the English  
fashion, to make the Frenchmen beleeue that they  
had a great number of Englishmen, although they  
had but foure hundred onelie with the lord Mowbray.  
The victorie in this battell fell to the Frenchmen, so  
that almost all the Englishmen were slaine with the  
lord Mowbray, beside six thousand Britons. The duke  
of Orleans and the prince of Orainge were taken  
prisoners, which were there on the Britons part. The  
Frenchmen lost twelue hundred men, and amongst  
other, that valiant Italian captaine James Galeot.

These newes being brought into England, caused king Henrie to make hast in sending forth his armie, and therefore was the lord Brooke, with sir John Cheine, sir John Spidleston, sir Rafe Hilton, sir Richard Corbet, sir Thomas Leighton, sir Richard Linton, and sir Edmund Cornebell sent ouer into Britaine with all conuenient speed, hauing with them an eight thousand men, well armed and furnished in warlike wise, to aid the duke of Britaine against the Frenchmen. These lustie captaine being arriued in Britaine, after they had a little refreshed them, marched forward, and comming nere to their enimies, pitched downe their field, not farre from the french mens campe.

The Frenchmen by experience knowing the Englishmen (so long as they be fresh and lustie) in maner to be inuincible, thought not good to match with them in open battell, till they were somewhat wearied with long and lingering abroad in the field. And therefore at the first they sought to wearie them with light skirmishes, appointing their horsemen to giue them alarms, & some skirmishes; in the which the Frenchmen, by reason of the English archers (which galled both men and horses) were ever put to the worse. But behold the mutabilitie of worldlie chancés! While this warre was thus set forward, the cheefe duke of Britaine departed this life, & then the cheefe rulers of Brittain, falling at dissention among them selves, tendered not the defense of their countrie, but rather minded the destruction thereof.

Hereupon the Englishmen, perceiving in what danger they were, and considering that it was in the middle of winter, a time not meet for men of warre

to lie in the cold and frostie fields, they returned into England, within five monethes after their first setting forth. So that finally the French king got the upper hand of the Britons, and did incorporate that duchie to his realme and crowne of France, as in the historie of France it may appeere at large. ¶ In Iulie this yere was a pest leuied for the king in the citie of London, of foure thousand pounds, which was repaid the yere next following. In September, the quene was deliuered at Winchester of hir first sonne, named prince Arthur; and the five and twentieth of Nouember (next ensuing) she was crowned at Westminster with all due solemnitie.

Þæt hæue heard, how there was in the last par-  
lement monie granted for the furnishing forth of the  
armie into Britaine; that is to wit, it was agreed,  
that euerie man shoulde be tared after the rate of his  
substance, to paie the tenth penie of his goods. Which  
monie the most part of them that dwelled in the bi-  
shoppe of Durham, and in the parties of North-  
shire refused utterlie to paie; either for that they  
thought themselves overcharged with the same; or  
were procured to shew themselves disobedient, tho-  
rough the euill counsell of some seditious persons,  
which conspired against the king, to put him to new  
trouble. Therefore such as were appointed collectors,  
after that they could not get the monie, according to  
their extract deliuered to them by the commissio-  
ners, they made their complaint priuilie to Henrie  
the fourth earle of Northumberland, chiefe ruler of  
the North parts.

The earle somerwith signified to the king all that matter, and the king not willing to pardon them of anie one penie (least the example might doe hurt by encouraging others to shew the like stubbornnes in o ther parts of the realme) commanded the earle either by distresse or otherwise, to leute the monie as he should thinke most meet. The rude and headlie people hearing of this answer from the king, by and by with great violence set upon the earle by the erecting of a simple fellow named John a Chamber, whome the earle with faire words sought to appease. But they like unreasonable villaines, alleging all the fault to be in him, as chiefe author of the far, furiously and cruelly murdered both him and diuerse of his household seruants. Diuerse affirme that the Roetherne men bare against this earle continuall grudge ever since the death of king Richard, whome they entircly favoured.

Although this offense was great and heinous; yet there succeeded a more mischief: for incontinentlie (to cloke this presumptuous murder) the Foxtherne men got them to armour, and assembling together, chose them a capteine, no lesse seditious than desirous of trouble, called sir John Egremond knight; and passing by the countries, they published and declared that they would bid the king battell onlie in defense of their liberties & common freedom, of the which he went about to bereaue them. But when the matter should come to be tried with blowes, their hearts so fainted that they scattered a waie, euerie man seeking to saue himselfe by flight: but that little auailed them.

For the king hearing of this businesse, sent forth Thomas earle of Surreie (whome not long before he had deliuered out of the Towre, and receiued to his special fauour) with a cruce of men, to chastise those rebels of the north parts, who furnished with a certaine companie of them, and them discomfited, and tooke alicke John a Chamber, the first beginner of this rebellion. The king himselfe rood after into Yorkshire, of whose committing the sturdie rebels were so abashed and afraid, that they fled more and more; which afterward were apprehended, and puni-

The Duchie of  
Britaine in-  
corporated to  
the realme of  
France.

John Stow.  
The birth of  
prince Ar-  
thur.

Anno Reg. 4:

The collectors of the subsidies complained to the earle of Northumberland that they could not get in the tax monie.

1482

The earle of Northumberland murdered by the northerne rebels at the instigation and setting on of John a Chamber.

A rebellion in  
the north for  
a tax granted  
by parliament.

Sir John Greymond capitaine rebelle.

Thomas erke  
of Hurrie sent  
with a power  
against the  
north rebels,

John a Chamber  
was hanged  
like an arch-  
traitor.

Sir John  
Egremont  
fled into  
Flanders.

The king bo-  
roweth a gre-  
t summe of mo-  
ney of the cha-  
rber of London.

Ch. Ha. in Ec-  
cles. ap. 8.

A rebellion in  
Flanders.

Maximilian  
king of Ro-  
mans impris-  
oned at Bru-  
ges by the  
townsmen.

The lord  
Cordes ma-  
keth aduan-  
tage of occa-  
sion.

shed according to their demerits. Yet the king of his clemencie pardoned the innocent people, and executed the chiefe procurers. For John a Chamber was hanged at Doyke on a gibbet set vpon a square paire of gallowes like an archtraitor, and his complices and lowd disciples were hanged on the lower gallowes round about their maister, to the terrible example of other.

But sir John Egremont fled into Flanders to the ladie Margaret duchesse of Burgognie, that euer enured the prosperitie of king Henrie. After this the king returned to London, leauing the earle of Surrie to rule the north parts, and appointed sir Richard Tunstall, a man of great wit and policie, to gather the subsidie to him due of the people. This yere the king bozoynded of cuerie alderman of London two hundred pounds, and of the Chamber nine thousand eightie two pounds seuentene shillings foure pence; which he repaid againe to the bittermost, with great equitie and thankfulness. [A vertue verie laudable in this god king, and so much the more noteworthy as it is rare; speciallie in mightie men and great estates of the world, that count what soeuer they can catch their owne, as though the purses of the people were theirs to possesse at pleasure & vse at last, without conscience or care of restitution. Which foule fault Ecclesiasticus noteth (affirming that all is lost that is lent them) in crypse words, saleng :

*Reddere magnates nolunt, que mutua sunt,*

*Mutua que trades interisse scias.]*

In this season, the emperor Frederike made warre against the Flemings, namelie against Bruges and certeine towne of Flanders, which had rebelled against his sonne Maximilian king of Romans, their liege and souereigne lord; in so much that they of Bruges had not onelie slaine his officers but imprisoned him within their towne, till they had caused him to pardon all their offenses, and also to sweare neuer to remember, nor reuenge the same in tyme to come. But his father Frederike the emperor could not suffer such a reproch & dishonour done to his sonne (whose fame & princelie estate as he tendered and had in gelosie; so was it his hart greafe and immoderat veration that he should be abused of open contemnners, in such villanous sort as tended highlie to the indignitie of his person, and the aggravating of their offense and punishment) to passe unreuenged, & therefore scourged the cuntry of Flanders with sharpe and cruell warre.

The lord of Hauenshoine being vsuen to take the same oath, that his maister Maximilian toke at Bruges, to shew that the warre was not begun with his assent, forsake Maximilian his lord, and toke the towne of Ypre and Sluis, with both the castels of the same hauein, and further did not onelie stir the Cantois, Brugeans, and other towne of Flanders, to rebell against their souereigne lord; but also sent to the French kings lieutenant in Picardie, the lord Cordes, to aid him to conquer such towne of Flanders, as were not of his opinion. The lord Cordes, otherwile called monsieur de Querdes, was glad to haue so good occasion to set foot in Flanders, as he that had sufficient instructions of his maister the French king, vpon anie such offered occasion so to do, sent forthwith to the aid of the Flemings eight thousand Frenchmen, commanding them to conquer such towne, as were in the waie betwixt France and Bruges.

The capitains, according to his denisse, besieged a little walled towne called Dirmeto, to whome came foure thousand Flemings with bittels and artillerie, sent from the lord of Hauenshoine. They laid siege on the north side of the towne, in a marish ground then being drie, and so deepe ditched and rampired their

campe about (on which rampire they laid their ordnance) that it was in maner impossible to enter their campe, or do them anie displeasure or damage. The king of England was daile aduertised of these doings, which nothing lesse desired than to haue the English pale inuironed with French fortresses. Wherefore to prevent that mischiefe in tyme, with all expedition he sent ouer to the lord Daubeneie, then his deputie of Calis, the lord Hozleie, with a cruoe of valiant archers & souldiers, to the number of a thousand men, with priuie instructions what they should do.

At their conning ouer it was bzuted abroad, that they were sent onelie to defend the English pale, against all attempts that might vpon the sudden in anie wise be made by the Frenchmen, or Flemings; but their enterprize was all otherwile. For on a tuesdaie at the shutting of the gates at night, the lord Daubeneie chiefe tene of the armie, the lord Hozleie, sir James Tirrell capteine of Guisnes, sir Henrie Willoughbie, sir Gilbert Talbot, and sir Humfreie Talbot marshall of Calis, with diuerse other knights, and esquieres, and other of the garisons of Hammes, Guisnes, and Calis, to the number of two thousand men or thereabouts, issued priuie out of Calis, & passed the water of Oracling in the morning betimes; and left there for a scale, and to keepe the passage, sir Humfreie Talbot, with sir score archers, and came to Dirmeto, where they found the souereigne of Flanders with sir hundred Almaines, and there they staied that night.

On the next daie they went toward Dirmeto, and by the guiding of a prisoner, that should haue bene hanged on the next morning, they issued out of the south gate of the towne of Dirmeto, and were conueied by their said guide by an high banke set with willowes; so that the Cantois could not well espie them, and so secretlie gat to the end of their enemies campe, and there paused. The lord Daubeneie commanded all men to send their hostes and wagons backe, but the lord Hozleie said he would ride till he came to hand strokes. Thus they marched forth till they came to a low banke, and no deepe ditch, where the ordinance laie; and there the archers shot alougther, euerie man an arrow, and so fell prostrate to the ground. The enemies here with discharged their ordnance, and ouerthot them.

The Almaines lept ouer the ditch with their morrice pikes. The Englishmen in the fore-front waded the ditch, and were holpen by by the Almaines, and set on their enemies, and toke manie prisoners. The other Englishmen basted by the cause to enter in at the north gate of the campe, where the lord Hozleie being on horsebacke in a rich coate, was slaine with a gun. When his death was knowne, euerie man killed his prisoner, and slue all such as did withstand them, to the number of eight thousand men; in so much that of two thousand that came out of Bruges (as the Flemish chronicle reporteth) there came not home one hundred. On the English part was slaine the lord Hozleie, and not an hundred more.

The Englishmen toke their ordinance and sent it to Dirmeto, with all the spoile and great hostes. And by the waie hearing certeine Frenchmen to be at Dirmeto, they made thitherward: but the Frenchmen fled, and so they burned part of the towne, and came againe to Dirmeto, where the lord Daubeneie left all the Englishmen that were hurt and returned to Calis, where he buried the bodie of the lord Hozleie. The Englishmen got great riches at this field, for they that went forth in cloth, came home in silke, and those that went out on foot, came home on great hostes. The lord Cordes being at Ypre with thientie thousand men, was sore displeased with this ouerthrow; & therefore thinking to be reuenged, besieged the

An. R.  
The king  
was by the  
Frenchmen.

English  
archers.

The malice  
and subtil-  
ties of the  
lord Cordes.

James king  
of Scots  
came by his  
owne subtilties.

The good-  
will of a  
suspect that  
he had bene  
hanged.

Maximilian  
made  
advantage  
of the  
king of Bath  
and welles.

1490  
Anno Reg. 6.  
Ambassadors  
from the  
king of Eng-  
land.

The king  
of France  
was by the  
king of Eng-  
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lord Cordes.

James king  
of Scots  
came by his  
own subsidies.

Thomas  
made  
bishop of  
Worcester,  
and after  
of Bath  
and Willes.

1490  
Anno Reg. 6.  
Ambassadors  
from the  
king of Eng-  
land.

Henrie is  
said that the  
French king  
should marrie  
the duchesse of  
Britaine.

take of the port right strongly, and shot darts at the wals, breaking them in many places.

But the Englishmen that were hurt at Dimeswels before, and might either stand or draw bowes, never came from the wals. On a date the Frenchmen gave a great assault to a tower, and perforce entered it, and set up the banner of the lord Cordes. But the chance! During the time of the assault, there arrived a barge with foure scoze fresh English archers, which came straight to the tower, and did so much, that what with the helpe of such as before were wounded and hurtmen, and of the contragious harts of the new come archers encouraged greatly by the women of the towne, crying; Shot Englishmen, shot: the tower was regained out of the Frenchmens hands, and the banner of the lord Cordes rent in peeces, and in place thereof the person of saint George set up. When the Frenchmen, supposing a great aid of Englishmen to have bene come to the towne by sea, left the assault.

And the night following, the envious lord Cordes (which so longed for Calis, that he would commonlie fate, that he could be content to lie seven yeares in hell, so that Calis were in possession of the Frenchmen) brake up his siege, and returned to Helbing with shame. And the Englishmen glad of this victorie returned to Calis. This yeare James the third of that name king of Scots was slaine by his owne subsidies, after they had vanquished him in a pight field. About the same time one Adrian an Italian was sent in ambassage from pope Innocent the eight into Scotland, to have taken up the variance betwixt the king there and his people. But being arrived here in England, he was informed that king James was slaine, and therfore tarried here certeine monethes.

And so that he was a man of excellent learning, vertue, and humanitie, the archbishop of Canturburie John Hoxton so commended him to the king, that he made him first bishop of Hereford, and shortly after, that resigned and given over, he promoted him to the bishopricke of Bath and Welles. And after that with these honors he was returned to Rome, he was advanced by all the degrees of spirituall dignities into the college of the cardinals. And worthy sure he was of great preferment, for by his meanes, learned men were moued to take out the vse of eloquent writing and speaking in the Latine tongue, he being the first in the time of our fathers that taught the trade to chose and be apt words and fit termes.

In the first yeare of king Henries reignt there came ambassadors to him from the French king the lord Francis of Lutzenburgh, Charles d'Arignane, and Robert Caguine minister of the Bonnehomes of the trinitie. The effect of their coming was to have concluded a peace with king Henrie, and that with god will the French king might dispose of the marriage of the young duchesse of Britaine, as he should thinke good; and to make void the contract and former marriage, which by pforce the deuisie of Harimullan king of Romanis had before time contracted & made with hir. But thereto would not king Henrie give his consent, ever harping on this string, that the maiden being once lawfullie combined in matrimonie with Harimullan, ought not to be compelled against hir will and promise (yea and contrarie to all law, right and equitie) to take anie other person than him to hir spouse and husband.

In deed king Henrie was loth that the French king should marrie the duchesse of Britaine himselfe (as he perceived his meaning was) and so to some the duchie of Britaine to the crowne of France; and therfore he did what he could to hinder that bar-

gaine. Yet at length it was agreed that a forme of a league should be drawn with conditions, clauses, and covenants. And for full concluding of the same, it was thought expedient, that the king of England should send ambassadors to the French king to finish all matters betwixt them. Whereupon the French ambassadors being dismissed with great rewards, straightwaies Thomas erle of Diamond, and Thomas Goldenfon pilot of Chilles church in Canturburie, were appointed by the king to followe them into France, instructed fullie in althings that he would have on his behalfe either moued or determined.

In this meane space, Lionell the bishop of Concordia was sent as our from pope Alexander the first to the French king for certeine matters; and amongst other things, he had in charge to conclude a peace and truce betwixt the French king and the king of England. He mousing this matter to the French king, found him nothing strange, to incline to his motion. Whereupon the bishop of Concordia concealing god hope, and therewith desirous (as became him best bearing that title) to set an attemment betwixt those two kings, took his iourne towards England, to the intent he might moue king Henrie to be agreeable thereto, and so coming to Calis, found the English ambassadors there, being so farre on their waie towards the French king; and being honorablie receiued of them into that towne, after they had communed together, the bishop took the sea, and was transported ouer into England, and the ambassadors departed towards the French king.

After the bishop of Concordia had talked with king Henrie, and perceived that (upon reasonable conditions) he could be content to conclude a peace with all christian princes, and to live in rest after so manie troubles afore time sustained, the said bishop returned backe into France to sollicit this purpose to some perfect conclusion. But the Frenchmen so handled the matter, that whilst they outwardlie shewed how they desired nothing but friendship and amitie, they allured the young duchesse of Britaine to submit herselfe wholly to their discretion, so that shortly after she was married to king Charles. Now the English ambassadors after they perceived which waie the wind would blow, returned againe to their countrie, and nothing done, agreed upon in their matter.

King Henrie for troubled in his mind therewith, determining to those with peaceable messages, but with open waite to determine all controuersies betwixt him and the French king, called his high court of parlement; and there declared the cause why he was iustlie provoked to make waite against the Frenchmen; and therfore desired that of their benivolent aid of might and manie toward the maintenance therof. The cause was so iust, that neuer man allowed it; and to the setting forth of the waie taken in hand for so necessarie occasion, euerie man promised his helping hand. The king commended them for their true and faithfull hearts. And so the intent that he might spare the power lost of the commonwealth (whome he ever desired to keepe in fauor) he thought good first to exact moneie of the richest lost by waie of a benivolence.

Which kind of lenting moneie was first deuised by king Edward the fourth, as it appeareth before in his history. King Henrie following the like example, published abroad, that by their open gifts he would measure and search their benivolent hearts and good minds toward him; so that he that gave most, should be iudged to be his most louing friend; and he that gave little, to be esteemed according to his gift. By this it appeareth, that whatsoever is practised for the prince

Lionell bishop  
of Concordia  
sent from the  
pope to the  
French king.

The duchesse  
of Britaine  
married to  
Charles.

A parlement  
wherein king  
Henrie open-  
ly shewed the  
cause of ma-  
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against  
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desired to  
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volence.  
See pag. 694.



princes profit, and brought to a president by matter of record; may be turned to the great prejudice of the people, if rulers in authority will to advantage and determine it. But by this means king Henrie got innumerable great summes of monie, with some grudge of the people, for the extremitie shewed by the commissioners in diuers places.

1491.

We haue heard before, how the lord of Kaunenſtein, by the aid of Binges & Gant, had taken the towne and two caſtels of Sluis, which he kept againſt his ſouereigne lord Maximilian, and getting into the haven certaine ſhips and barke, robbed, ſpoiled, & toke priſoners the ſhips and beſſels of all nations that paſſed alongſt by that coaſt, towards the mart at Antwoerpe, or into anie part of Wabant, Zeland, or Friesland, and was ever ſufficientlie bittelled out of France and Picardie. There was a little towne alſo two miles from Binges towards the ſea, called Dam, which was a bulwcke to Binges, and an helpſpring to Sluis. The king of Romans had attempted the winning of this towne diuers times, but miſſed his purpoſe; till at length Albert duke of Saro- nie, a great friend to the king of Romans, by poſſible ſound means to get it.

Albert the  
duke of Sax-  
ony's policie  
to get the  
towne of  
Dau.

This duke feining himselfe as a neuter betwixt the king of Romans, and the rebels of Flanders, required of the lords of Bruges, that he might enter peaceably into their towne according to his estate, with a certeine number of men of armes, to communicate with them diuersle matters of great weight, and sent before his carriages and herbengers to make psonification. They of Bruges were in no doubt of him, so that his men of warre entered into the citie in good order, and he followed. They that went before, inquired for innes and lodgings, as though they would haue rested there all the night, and so went forth still in order asking after lodgings, till they came at the gate that leadeth directlie toward Dam, distant from Bruges a Flemish mile, which is called the bulwheke of Bruges.

The capitaine and inhabitants of Dam suspecting no harme to come out of Buges, thought their friends (knowing some danger towarde) had sent them aid, and so nothing mistrusting those that approached their towne, suffered them to enter, and so was the towne of Dam taken by sleight, which could not be done by open force: This chance fore displeased them of Buges, for now could they haue no recourse to the sea, so that they must needs fall into ruine and detaire. The duke of Saxonie thus hauing wonne the towne of Dam, sent to the king of England, that if it would please him to suffer amaid by sea, he would besiege Sluis by land. Wherevpon the king of England, vpon due consideration of the dukes motion (as he was wise enough in all his enterprises; and no lesse fortunate in the issue of the same) would conclude nothing vpon the sudden, but (as he did alwayes) ruled his affaires by good counsell, like to the wise man commended in the holie scripture:

Consilio sapiens semper sua facta gubernat.

At last he well remembering that Siles was a  
rousewell, and a verie den of thence to them that  
trauellered the seas towards the east parts, incont-  
iniently dispatched Sir Edward appointing a right va-  
liant knight and hardie captaine, with twelue ships  
well furnished with bold soldiers, and sufficient ar-  
tillery. Which Sir Edward sailed into the haven, and  
kept the lord of Rauenstein from starting by sea. The  
Duke of Sapporie besieged one of the castles, lying  
in a church towne against it; and the Englishmen as-  
saulted the castle, and shewd out of their ships  
at the ebbe, neuer suffering their enemies to rest,  
in quiet one day together for the space of twentie daies,  
and euerie day slue some of their aduersaries; and on

the English part were slaine one Were brother to Sir

The lord of Hauenstein had made a bridge of boats between both the castles, to passe from the one to the other; which bridge one night the English men did set on fire. When he, perceiving that he must lose his castles by force, and that the Flemings could not aid him, yielded the castles to sir Edward Poinsins, and the towne to the duke of Saronie, upon certaine conditions. Sir Edward Poinsins kept the castles a while, of whom the Almaines demanded their wages, because the duke had nothing to paie. Then these two captiues to handled them of Bruges, that they not stielie submitted themselves to their lord Maximilian; but also were contented to paie and disparte the Almaines. And so sir Edward Poinsins taried there a long space, and at length returned to the king before Bulogne.

The first day of Aprill this present yeare, the nobles  
20 of the realme assembled in the cathedraall church of S.  
Paule in London, where the maiors of the same citie,  
his brethren the aldermen, and the craftsmen in their  
liueries also assembled: to whom doctor Spontons  
chancellor made an oration, declaring how the king  
of Spaine had wonne the great and rich citie & coun-  
trie of Granada from the Turks: for up whereof  
Te Deum was sung with great solemnitie. ¶ But be-  
cause it is requisite and necessarie in this ample vo-  
lume, to set downe the report of accidents as they  
are to be found at large in our owne English topi-  
30 cals: you shall heare for the furtherance of your  
knowledge in this matter concerning Granada,  
what Ed. Hall hath left noted in his chronicle. Which  
although it containe diuerse actions of superstition,  
and popish trumperie: yet should it not offend the  
reader, considering that a people estranged from  
the true knowledge of God and sincere religion put  
the same in practice, as supposing principall holinesse  
to consist in that blind deuotion.

40 On the first of Aprill (saith he) this yere, the king  
commanded all the nobilitie of his realme to assemble  
at the cathedrall church of S. Paule in London,  
where (after Te Deum Solemnitie song) the cardinal  
of Cantuarburie, standing on the steps before the  
quiere doore, declared to the people, how the famous  
citie of Granada, which many yeares had bene  
possessed of the Emperors of Spanishe nation, being  
infidels & unchristened people, was now of late be-  
sieged a great tyme by Don Ferdinando and Elisa-  
beth his wife, king and queene of Spaine, Arragon,  
50 and Castile. And the said infidels, by reason of siege  
brought to great penurie and miserie, for lacke of  
bittels & necessarie viands, perceiving that all suc-  
cours were cleavelie stopped and excluded from them,  
and so brought into utter despaire of aid, & comfort,  
after long consultation had amongst them, determin-  
ed to render themselves and their citie to the said  
king upon diuerse covenants and conditions, and  
thereupon sent to him diuerse senators of the citie  
60 fullie instructed of their mind and purpose.

The king of Spaine and his counsell, considering and sagelie pondering that winter approched & was at hand, and that the christian host had long lien in the fieldes in soa tempests and graueous stormes (which they glablie suffered for Christes sake, in whose cause and quarell they made that present waere) re-remembering also that the citie was of such store, fame, and estimation, that it contained an hundred and fiftie thousand houses of name, beside other small houses and cotages; & that it was replenished with people turningerable, and furnished with three score and ten thousand good fighting men; and finally, perceiuing that he might ingie noie the possession of the same, without assault or effusion of christian blood,

The duke of  
Saxony sends  
forth for aid to  
king Henrie  
to win Shute

Gu. Hain  
Tob. 4.

Sir Edward  
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An. Reg. 6.

bloud by the aduise of his counsell, he accepted, accorded, and agreed to their offers the twentie and fift of Nouember, in the yere of Christs incarnation 1491, then being the daie of saint Katharine.

By the which composition, the roiall citie of Granada, with all the holds and fortresses of the realme, and the towers and castles of Alpuissare was reuered into the hands of the said king of Spaine; and that the king of Granada should become subiect and vassall to the king of Spaine, and to relinquish and forsake the usurped name of a king for euer: and that all the men of warre should frankelie depart out of the citie, and none there to remaine, but artificers and merchants: and all these things to be done before the five & twentieth day of Januarie. But the time was prevented, for the Moors on the first day of Januarie sent six hundred notable personages out of the citie with their children for hostages into the campe of the king of Spaine, to the intent that he should put no diffidence nor mistrust in the citizens, but that he might peaceablie and quietlie with his people enter into the citie, and take possession of the same. The which hostages were distributed and lodged in the tents and pavillions of the Spanishe armie.

The third of Januarie, the lord of Guiterins Cardenes, great master & gouernor of Lion, of the order of S. James, departed from the armie, noble and triumphantlie accompanied with five hundred horsemen, and three thousand footmen toward the citie. And as he approached nere to the suburbs, there issued out diuers noble and valiant capteins of the Moors, making to him humble obeisance, and conducted him to a palace adjoining to the citie, called the palace of Anararas, and from thence conueied him to the palace roiall of the same citie called Albambra, whereof hee took quiet and peaceable possession, to the behoofe of the king of Spaine, whome the Moors promised and confessed to take and obteine, as their king and soueraigne lord. And in signe and token that they thought in their hearts, that which they promised by mouth; they prostrated and humbled themselves before the said great master, and with dolorous lamentation and salt teares deliuered to him the keyes of the said palace.

When he had the keyes, and was also possessed of that strong and magnificent place, he first of all dispatched the house of all the Moors and pagans, and appointed a garrison of valiant and noble christians, to keepe and defend the same: and the same day caused a masse solemne to be celebrate in a place of the same palace called Melchita; which done and finished, he took possession of all the fortresses, towers, and holds to the said citie and towne of Granada belonging or pertaining. And then he caused to be erected and set vp on the highest tower of the palace (where it might best be seene) the signe and token of the crosse, whereon Christ for vs sinners suffered his bitter passion. At the raising whereof were present an archbishop, and three bishops, with other prelates, which deuoutlie sang this anthem: *O crux, aue spes unica.*

The said crosse was three times deuoutlie liffed, and at euerie exaltation, the Moors being within the citie, roied, howled, & cried, prostrating themselves, groueling on the ground, & making dolorous noise and pittifull outcries. The armie encamped without the citie, seeing these things, humbled themselves meekelie before the crosse, rendering to almightie God their most humble and heartie thanks. The king of Spaine, being mounted on horsebacke, perceiving the erection of the crosse, descended from his genet, and knelt downe on the bare ground; and rendered to God, laud, honour, and praise; for that

noble and triumphant victorie. And after that the crosse was thus set vp on the high tower, the banner of saint James, and the kings banners were pitched and fixed vpon the turrets and pinacles of the citie; an herald standing in the top of the high tower, proclaiming and publishing these wordes following.

Saint James, saint James, saint James; Castile, Castile, Castile; Granada, Granada, Granada. By high and mightie power, lord Ferdinando and Elizabeth, king and queene of Spaine, haue come from the infidels and Moors the citie and realme of Granada, through the helpe of our Lord God, & the most glorious virgin his mother, and the vertuous apostle S. James, and the holie father Innocent the eight, together with the aids and succours of the great prelates, knights, and other gentlemen bozne, and commons of their realmes and countries. When the herald had finished, the artillerie sounded, the minstrels blew, the people applauded and clapped their hands for gladnesse, that the earth seemed to tremble and quake vnderneath them.

After this ioy ended, there issued out of the citie in manner of procession, seven hundred and mo christians, as well men, as women and children, which had bin there prisoners and liued in bonds, seruitude, and miserable captiuitie, whereof the most part were naked, wounded, and in maner famished for hunger. To whome the king (of his great liberallitie) gaue both apparell, blands and monie. These poore prisoners coming out of the citie sang this psalme; *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel, qui visitauit & fecit redemptionem plebi suae*; Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, which hath visited and redeemed his people. And so singing forth the psalme, went to the church of saint Faith, which the king Ferdinando had caused to be most sumptuously edified during the time of the siege, being distant from Granada two or three miles.

Now as this poore procession passed by the host, one espied his sonne, and another saw his brother; and the son perceiued the father, and the father found the daughter, which were now deliuered out of miserable seruitude and bondage. But they could not re-fraine nor hide themselves from disfilling of teares and sobbing, seeing their parents and kinfolke restored to libertie & freedom. And when these people had said their orisons in the church of saint Faith, and were come to the armie, they knelt before the king, killed his feet, crying with one voice; God grant to the king of Spaine euerlasting life. The next daie after the lord Cuenus de Mendoza, earle of Tendoglie, was by the king made capteine of the house roiall and principall tower of the citie of Granada, called Albambra, hauing to him appointed and assigned one thousand men of armes, and two thousand footmen. Vnto the which earle, the great master deliuered the keyes of the said palace and tower, and of other ports and fortresses.

On saturday the eight daie of Januarie, in the 60 yere of our Lord 1492, Ferdinando B. of Spaine & Granada, the queene, & their eldest son Don John prince of Spaine, the lord Peter of Mendoza, the archbishop of Toledo, the patriarch of Alexandria, the cardinal of Spaine, the lord Peter prince of Lion, the duke of Cadixan, the marques of Villena & Poia, the erle of Caprie, the erle of Utienna of Ciferentes, and manie other earles, barons, and nobles, whereof some were Englishmen (whose names I haue not) with ten thousand horsemen, and fiftie thousand footmen, with great triumph and roialtie entered into the citie of Granada, and thereof took reall possession & seazine, and caused masse to be song in a great place called Melchita, where hee caused a solemne church to be builded in the honour of God and his mother.

The Spaniards reioicing & triumphing after the conquest of the Moors.

The lord Cuenus de Mendoza made capteine of the house roiall.

A great number of states with their traine entered triumphantly into Granada to take reall possession.

br. Fl. ex. 13  
18.866

br. Fl. ex.  
dw. Hall, in  
en. 7. 10. xiiij.

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mother. When masse was ended, the king and quene repaired to the palace roiall of Alhambra, the which was wonderfull, both in qualitie & sumptuous building, which house was adorne with rich arras and tapestrie in euerie chamber.

The carle of Lendiglie capteine of the palace, feasted the king and quene, and all the nobilitie at his owne costes and charges. So the king of Spaine there remained till the countrie was reduced into a good conformitie and order, and diuerse fortresses and castles were made for the safegard and tuition of the realme. And because this victorie obtained, was to the glorie of God, and to the publike wealch of all christianitie, the said cardinall of Cantuarbie declared to the people, that the king had sent him and the other nobles thither that day, not onelie to notify and declare to them the veritie of the fact; but also to exhort them to giue lauds and praises to almighty God, for deliuering so goodlie a citie, so plentifull a countrie, and so notable a region out of the hands of his enemies, and persecutors of his faith and religion. Which declaration ended, the archbishop with the cleargie & the nobles with the communaltie, in most deuout manner went in generall procession, rendering to God for this great atchieued enterprise, glorie, honour, and most reuerent thanks.]

\* Domestie doctor of Oxorton, of whose mentio is made in the beginning of this historie.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 866.

Sir James Barker by casualtie at these mortalitie wounded. Two pardoners set on the pilloie.

Robert Fabian.

In the moneth of Maie next and immediatlie following this triumph, was holden a great ballant within the kings palace of Shyne, now named Richmond, the which indured by the space of a moneth, sometime within the said palace, and sometime without, vpon the greene before the gate of the said palace. In which iollies Sir James Barker knight, running against a gentleman named Hugh Waghman, by casualtie was so fore hurt and bruised, that he died thereof. This yeare also two pardoners were set on the pilloie in Coznehill thre market daies, for forging of false pardons, therewith they had deceived the people, & got much monie. And for that one of them had feined himselfe to be a priest, he was sent to Newgate, where he died: the other was driuen out of London with shame enough. Also this yeare was Robert Fabian thiriffe of London & alderman, who made a chronicle of England & of France, beginning at the creation of the world, and ending in the thirde yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, which booke is now imprinted to the end of Richard the thirde.]

Parimilian king of Romans, intending to be reuered on the Frenchmen for the manie iniuries done to him of late (and especiallie for that king Charles had forsaken his daughter ladie Margaret, and purposed to take to wife the ladie Anne of Brittain) because he was not rich enough to mainteine the warre of himselfe, he sent his ambassadour, one James Contibald, a man of great wisdom, to require the king of England to take his part against the French king, making diuers great offers on his owne behalfe, if it should please him so to do.

King Henrie and Parimilian agree to plague the Frenchmen.

Anno. Reg. 7.

The cause of Parimilians malice against Charles of France.

King Henrie no lesse desirous than Parimilian to put the French king to trouble, and chieflie to aid the Britains in the extremitie of their businesse, gladlie consented to the request of Parimilian; and promised to prepare an armie with all speed, and in time convenient to passe the seas with the same, and invade the French territories. In this vertie season, Charles the French king received the ladie Anne of Brittain, as his papill into his hands, and with great solemnitie hir espoused, hauing with hir in dower, the whole duchie of Brittain.

How was Parimilian in great chafe toward the French king, not onelie for that he had refused his daughter, but also had bereaved him of his assured wife the said ladie Anne, contrarie to all right and

conscience. Therefore he sent unto king Henrie, desiring him with all speed to passe the seas with his armie, that they might pursue the warre against their aduersarie, with fire, sword and blood. King Henrie hearing this, and hauing no mistrust in the promise of Parimilian, with all speed leuied an armie, and rigged his nauie of ships. And when all things were readie, he sent his almonier Christopher Worswike, and Sir John Kisele knight unto Parimilian, to certifye him, that the king was in a readinesse, and would arrive at Calis, as soone as he should be aduertised that Parimilian and his men were readie to ioine with him.

These ambassadours coming into Flanders, perceived that Parimilian was neither purueied of men, monie, nor armes, nor of any other thing necessary for the setting forth of warre; sauing onlie that his will was good, although his power was small. King Henrie being aduertised hereof by letters sent to him from his said ambassadours, was soze disquieted in his mind, and was almost brought to his wits end, to consider how his companions in arms should thus faile him at need; but taking aduise of his counsell, at length he determined not to stay his prepered iourne, and therefore he so increased his numbers before he took ship, that he with his owne power might be able to match with his aduersaries. When he had thus gathered and assembled his armie, he failed to Calis the first day of October, and there incamped himselfe for a space, to see all his men and prouision in such readinesse, as nothing should be wanting.

In this place all the armie had knowledge by the ambassadours (which were newlie returned out of Flanders) that Parimilian could not set forth any armie, for lacke of monie: and therefore there was no succour to be looked for at his hand. But the Englishmen were nothing dismayd therewith, as they that iudged themselves able enough to match the Frenchmen without the helpe of any other nation. In the meane season, although the French king had an armie togither, both for number and furniture able to trie in battell with the Englishmen: yet he made semblance as though he desired nothing more than peace, as the thing much more profitable to him than warre: considering the minds of the Britains were not yet wholely settled.

And againe, he was called into Italie to make warre against the king of Naples, whose kingdome he pretended to appertene to him by lawfull succession from his father king Lewis, to whome Keine duke of Anjou last king of Sicill, of the house of Anjou, had transferred his right to that kingdome (as partly before ye haue heard) wrongfullie and without cause disinheritig his cosine, godsonne and heire, Keine duke of Lorraine and Bar. The lord Charles hauing commission from his master the French king to make some entrie into a treatie for peace with the king of England, wrote letters to him before he passed ouer to Calis, signifieng to him that if it might stand with his pleasure to send some of his counsellors to the borders of the English pale adjoining to France, there should be so reasonable conditions of peace proffered, that he doubted not but his grace might with great honour breake by his campe, and retire his armie home againe.

The king of England considering that Brittain was clerelie lost, and past recoverie, and that Parimilian for lacke of monie, and mistrust which he had in his owne subjects, late still like a doymonle doing nothing; and herewith weleing that it should be honorable to him, and profitable to his people to determine this great warre without bloodshed, appointed the bishop of Excester, and Biles lord Dantenie to passe

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The conclu  
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An. Dom. 1491.

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The conclu-  
sion of peace  
between the  
English and  
French.

the seas to Calis, and so to commun with the  
1000 Chordes of articles of peace, which take effect as  
after ye shall perceiue. In the meane time, whilest  
the commissioners were communing of peace on  
the marches of France, the king of England (as ye  
haue heard) was arrived at Calis: from whence af-  
ter all things were prepared for such a tournie, he re-  
mained in foure battels forward, till he came nere  
to the towne of Bullogne, & there pitched his tents  
before it in a conuenient place for his purpose, mea-  
ning to assaile the towne with his whole force & puis-  
sance.

But there was such a strong garison of warlike  
souldiers within that fortresse, and such plentie of ar-  
tillerie, and necessarie munitions of warre, that the  
losse of Englishmen assaulting the towne (as was  
doubted) should be greater damage to the realme of  
England, than the gaining thereof should be profit.  
Notwith the daillie shot of the kings battering pee-  
ces brake the wals, and soze defaced them. But when  
euerie man was readie to giue the assault, a sudden  
rumor rose in the armie that peace was concluded:  
which bruite as it was pleasant to the Frenchmen,  
so was it displeasing to the Englishmen, because they  
were prest and readie at all times to set on their en-  
emies, and brought into great hope to haue bene in-  
riched by the spoile and gaine to haue fallen to their  
lots of their enemies goods, beside the glorious fame  
of renowned victorie.

And therefore to be defrauded heretof by an un-  
profitable peace, they were in great fume, and verie  
angrie: and namelie, for that diuerse of the captiues  
to set themselves and their bands the more gorgeously  
forward, had borrowed large summes of monie,  
and for the repaiment had mortgaged their lands and  
possessions, and some happilie had made through sale  
thereof, trusting to recouer all againe by the gaires  
of this tournie. Wherefore offended with this sudden  
conclusion of peace, they spake euill both of the king  
and his counsell. But the king like a wise prince as-  
swaged their displeasure in part with excusing the  
matter, alleaging that losse and bloudshed was like  
to inue both of captiues and souldiers, if the assault  
should haue bene giuen to the vtterance, especiallie  
sith the towne was so well furnished with men and  
munitions. When he had somewhat appeased their  
minds with these and manie other reasons, he retur-  
ned backe againe to Calis.

There were not manie of the English armie lost  
at this siege of Bullogne, & few of no men of name,  
saying that valiant capteine fir John Savage  
knight, the which, as he and fir John Kilsie rode a-  
bout the wals of the towne, to view in what place  
it might be easilie assaulted, was compassed about  
by certeine Frenchmen that were issued out of the  
towne, and there staine standing at defense, and vt-  
terlie refusing to yeeld himselfe as prisoner. But fir  
John Kilsie escaped by fleeing awaie. When the k.  
was thus returned to Calis, he began to smell a cer-  
teine secret smoke, which was like to turne to a  
great flame, without wise foresight, and good looking  
to. For by the craftie inuention, and diuellsish imagi-  
nation of the ladie Margaret duchesse of Burgognie,  
a new dole was set vp in Flanders, and by a forged  
name called Richard Plantagenet second sonne to  
king Edward the fourth, as though he had bene rai-  
sed from death to life.

The newes hereof somewhat troubled him, so that  
he was with better will content to receive the hono-  
rable conditions of peace offered of his enemy: be-  
cause he should not be constrained at one time to  
make warre both at home, and also in a forren re-  
gion. The conclusion of this agreement made with  
the Frenchmen, was this: That this peace should

continue both their liues; and that the French king  
should pay to the king of England a certeine summe  
of monie in hand, according as the commissioners  
should appoint for his charges sustained in this tour-  
nie. Which as the king certified the maior of London  
by his letters the ninth of Nouember) amounted to  
the summe of seven hundred fiftie and five thousand  
duchats: the which is of sterling monie, one hundred  
soure scoze and six thousand, two hundred and fiftie  
pounds. It was also concluded that he should yeare-  
lie (for a certeine space) paie or cause to be paid, for  
the monie that the k. had spent & expended in the de-  
fence of the Britains five & twentie thousand crowns.

Which yearelie tribute the French king (after-  
wards continuallie occupied in the wars of Italie)  
yearelie satisfied & paid so long as k. Henrie liued,  
who after he had taried a conuenient space at Calis,  
toke the sea, and arrived at Douer, and so came to  
his manour of Grenewich. Immediatlie after his  
returne thus into England, he elected into the fel-  
lowship of saint George, commonlie called the order  
of the garter, Alphonse duke of Calabre, some and  
heire to Ferdinando king of Naples. Christopher  
Arkwike the kings almoner was sent to him into  
Naples with the garter, collar, mantell, and other  
habillments appertaining to the companions of that  
noble order. The which was reuerentlie receiued of  
the said duke, who in a solemne presence reuelled  
himselfe with that habit, supposing by the counte-  
nance of that apparell to be able to resist his aduersa-  
rie the French king, sith he was now made a friend  
and companion in order with the king of England:  
but that little auailed him, as after it was right ap-  
parant. And here, because in sundrie actions we haue  
sene and obserued the French kings subtilties, his  
inconstancie, lacke of truth, honestie, and kinglie  
modestie; we maie be bold to set downe the descrip-  
tion of his person, as we find the same readie to be  
to hand; that by a view thereof we maie conclude  
that his properties were proportioned to his person.

It is verie certeine (saith mine author) that king  
Charles from his infancie was of complexion verie  
delicate, and of bodie vnfound and diseased, of small  
 stature, and of face (if the aspect and dignitie of his  
eyes had bene taken awaie) fowle and deformed, his  
other members bearing such equall proportion, that  
he seemed more a monster than a man: he was not  
onelie without all knowledge of good sciences, but  
scarcelie he knew the distinct characters of letters:  
his mind desirous to command, but more proper to  
anie other thing, for that being inuironed alwaies  
with his familiars and fauourits, he retained with  
them no maiestie or authoritie: he reiected all affaires  
and businesse, and yet if he did debate and consider in  
anie, he shewed a weake discretion and iudgement.  
And if he had any thing in him that carried apparence  
of merit or praise, yet being thoroughlie weied and  
founded, it was found further off from vertue than  
from vice: he had an inclination to glorie, but it was  
tempered more with rashnesse and furie than with  
moderation and counsell: his liberalities were with-  
out discretion, measure, or distinction: immoueable  
offentimes in his purposes, but that was rather an  
ill grounded obstinacie than constancie. And that  
which manie call bountie, deserued more reasonable  
in him the name of coldnesse & slackenesse of spirit.]

This yeare the two and twentieth of June, was  
borne at Grenewich the lord Henrie, second sonne  
to this king Henrie the seuenth, which was created  
duke of Yorke, & after prince of Wales, and in con-  
clusion succeeded his father in gouernance of this  
realme, by the name of Henrie the eight, father to  
our grations soueraigne queene Elizabeth. But now  
to returne to the new found sonne of king Edward,  
continued

Alphonse duke  
of Calabre  
made knight  
of the garter.

Abr. Fl. ex  
Guic. pag. 43.  
The French  
king deserv-  
ed.

The birth of  
Henrie duke  
of Yorke, after  
crowned king  
by the name of  
Henrie the  
eight.

I 492  
The malice of  
the duchesse of  
Burgogne to  
the line of  
Lancaster.

contured by mens policies from death to life: ye shall  
vnderstand that the duchesse of Burgogne euer desir-  
ing to cast a scorpion in the bosome of king Henrie,  
not for anie displeasure by him towards hir wrought  
or done; but onelie because he was descended of the  
house of Lancaster, being an enimie to hir line, be-  
gan to spin a new web, like a spider that daile wea-  
ueth when his kall is tozine: for after that the earle of  
Lincolne, which was by hir set forth, had missed the  
cushin, and lost both horse and spurs, he could not  
be quiet, untill he had practised a new deuise to put  
king Henrie to trouble. And as the diuell prouideth  
venomous sauce to corrupt stomachs, so for hir pur-  
pose she espied a certaine yong man of visage beau-  
tiful, of countenance demure, and of wit craftie  
and subtil.

Perkin war-  
becke & coun-  
terfeit duke of  
York.

This youths name was Peter Warbecke, one for  
his faintnesse of stomach of the Englishmen in de-  
rision called Perkin Warbecke, according to the  
dutch phrase, which change the name of Peter to Per-  
kin, of yonglings and little boies, which for want of  
age, lacke of strength, and manlike courage, are not  
thought worthe of the name of a man. This yong  
man trauelling many countries, could speake Eng-  
lish and diuerse other languages; & for his basenesse  
of birth and stocke, was almost unknowne of all  
men; and diuened to seeke liuing from his childhood,  
was constrained to go and trauell thorough manie  
countries. The duchesse glad to haue got so meet an  
organ for the conuensing of hir inuented purpose, as  
one not unlike to be taken and reputed for the duke  
of Yorke, sonne to hir brother king Edward, which  
was called Richard, kept him a certaine space with  
hir priuile.

The readie  
wit of Per-  
kin to learne  
all that made  
for his prefer-  
ment to hono-  
r.

Besides that, she with such diligence instructed  
him both in the secrets and common affaires of the  
realme of England, and of the linage, descent and  
order of the house of Yorke, that like a good scholer,  
not forgetting his lesson, he could tell all that was  
taught him promptlie without anie flackering or  
faile in his words. And besides that, he kept such a  
princelie countenance, and so counterfeited a maiestie  
roiall, that all men in manner did firmelie beleue,  
that he was extracted of the noble house and familie  
of the dukes of Yorke. For suerlie, it was a gift  
gluen to that noble progenie, as of nature planted  
in the rof, that all the sequels of that line and stocke  
did studie and deuise how to be equiualent in ho-  
nour and fame with their forefathers and noble pre-  
decessors.

The emulation  
of the dukes  
of Yorke.

When the duchesse had framed hir cloath meet for  
the market, she was informed that king Henrie pre-  
pared to make warre against Charles the French  
king. Wherefore she, thinking that the time serued  
well for the setting forth of hir malicious inuention,  
sent this Perkin hir new inuented matomet, first  
into Portugale, and so craftilie into the countrie of  
Ireland; to the intent that he, being both wittie and  
wille, might inuegle the rude Irishmen (being at  
those daies moze inclined to rebellion than to reason-  
able order) to a new seditious commotion. Shortly  
after his arrivall in Ireland, whether by his shrewd  
wit, or the malicious exhortation of the savage Irish  
gouernours, he entred so farre in credit with the peo-  
ple of that Ile, that his words were taken to be as  
true, as he vntruelie with false demonstrations set  
forth and published them.

Perkin war-  
becke arri-  
ueth in Ire-  
land.

The French king aduertised hercof, then being in  
displeasure with king Henrie, sent into Ireland for  
Perkin, to the intent to send him against king Hen-  
rie, which was then invading France (as ye before  
haue heard.) Perkin thought himselfe aloft, now  
that he was called to the familiaritie of kings, and  
therefore with all diligence sailed into France, and

comming to the kings presence, was of him roiallie  
receiued, and after a princelie fashion interteined,  
and had a gard to him assigned, whereof was gouer-  
nour the lord Congreshall: and to him being at Pa-  
ris, resorted sir George Peuill bassard, sir John  
Tailor, Rowland Robinson, and an hundred Eng-  
lish rebels. Now, after that a peace (as before is  
said) was concluded betwixt the French king, and  
the king of England, the French king dismissed  
Perkin, and would no longer keepe him.

But some haue said (which were there attending  
on him) that Perkin, fearing least the French king  
should deliuer him to the king of England, beguiled  
the lord Congreshall, and fled from Paris by night.  
But whether the French king knew of his depar-  
ture or not, the truth is, that he being in maner in de-  
spaire, returned to his first founder the ladie Sparga-  
ret, of whome he was so welcomed to all outward  
appearance, that it seemed he could not haue reioiced  
at anie earthlie thing moze, than the did at his pre-  
sence, and (as she could well dissemble) she made sem-  
blance as though she had neuer seene him before that  
time. Now as she had soze longed to know not once,  
but diuerse times in open audience, and in soleme  
presence, she willed him to declare and shew by what  
means he was preserved from death and destruction,  
and in what countries he had wandered and sought  
friendship; and finally, by what chance of fortune he  
came to hir court.

This did she, to the intent that by the open decla-  
ration of these fained phantasies, the people might be  
persuaded to giue credit, and beleue that he was the  
true begotten sonne of hir brother king Edward.  
And after this, she assigned to him a gard of thirtie  
persons in murrie and blew, and highlie honoured  
him as a great estate, and called him the white rose  
of England. The nobilitie of Flanders did to him all  
reuerence. [All which port and pompe exhibited in  
most soleme sort, he was well content to take vpon  
him, forgetting the basenesse of his birth, and glori-  
eng in the counterfeited title of honour: much like the  
fay that would be called a swan, or like the crow  
that trimming hir selfe with the stolne feathers of a  
pecocke, would seeme Juncos bird; as the poet sayth:

—merito nomine cygnum  
Graculus appellat sese, corniculaplumas  
Pauonis furata cepit pauo ipsa videri.

In this yeare was one Hugh Clopton maier of  
London, and of the staple, a gentleman, borne at  
Clopton village, halfe a mile from Stratford vpon  
Auen by north, who continued (during his life) a ba-  
cheler: he builded the great and sumptuous hydge of  
Stratford vpon Auen, at the east end of the tozne.  
This hydge hath foureteene great arches, and a long  
cawse with smaller arches, all made of stone, new  
walled on each side. At the west end of the hydge, he  
builded a faire large chappell. Toward the south end  
of that tozne, & nere vnto the same, a pretie house of  
brikke and timber, where he laie, and ended his life.  
He glased the chancell of the parish church in that  
tozne, and made a waie of foure miles long, thre  
miles from Alesburie towards London, and one mile  
beyond Alesburie.]

But to returne to Perkin: the bzute of whome  
in England, blowne throughout the realme, soze dis-  
quieted the people, in somuch that not onelie the me-  
ner sort, but also manie of the nobles and worshipfull  
personages beleued and published it abroad, that all  
was true which was reported of him. And not onelie  
they that were in sanctuaries, but also manie other  
that were fallen in debt, assembled in a companie,  
and passed ouer the seas into Flanders, to their coun-  
terfeit duke of Yorke, othertwise rightlie named  
Perkin Warbecke. Truelie the realme of England  
was

Abt. H. 1534.

Stratford  
hydge vpon  
Auen builded

Substanti-  
ous but to Philip  
archduke of  
Burgogne.

Perkin was  
sent to the  
ladie Sparga-  
ret her first  
founder.

Ano Reg. 8.

Perkin coun-  
terfeited the  
duke of Yorke  
borne cunning-  
ly.

South long  
and looked  
for straitness  
of dais.



In Dom. 1497.  
a rofallie Perkin  
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was

of the rumors  
of great disqui  
tunes.

Anno Reg. 8.

Perkin com  
municated the  
task of York  
to his cunning  
li.

Perkin true  
image.

Deputies  
sent to Philip  
archduke of  
Burgonie.

Such long  
and looked  
for alteration  
of laws.

The sum of  
D. wariams  
speech to the  
archduke.

was in maner diuided (with the rumor and vaine  
fable spread abroad of this twise bozne duke) into par  
takings and contrarie factions. And some of the no  
ble men conspired together, purposing to aid the foze  
said Perkin, as the man whome they reputed to be  
the verie sonne of king Edward; and that the matter  
was not feigned, but altogether true, iust, and not  
imagined of anie malicious pretense of euill pur  
pose.

And because the thing was weightie, and required  
great aid and assistance, therefore they determined  
to send messengers vnto the ladie Margaret, to  
know when Richard duke of Yorke might conueni  
entlie come into England; to the intent that they be  
ing thereof certified, might be in a readinesse to helpe  
and succour him at his arriual. So by the common  
consent of the conspirators, sir Robert Clifford  
knight, and William Barleie, were sent into Flan  
ders, which discouered to the duchess all the secret in  
tents and priue meanings of the friends and fau  
tors of the new found duke. The duchess gladielie re  
ceiued this message, and after she had heard their  
errand, she brought the messenger to the sight of  
Perkin, who so well counterfeited the gesture, coun  
tenance, and manner of Richard duke of Yorke, that  
sir Robert Clifford beleued verelie, that he was the  
second sonne of king Edward; and therefore wrote  
a letter of credit into England to his complices: and  
to put them out of doubt, he affirmed that he knew  
him to be king Edwards sonne by his face, and o  
ther lineaments of his bodie.

Vpon this letter, the chiefe doers in this businesse  
spread the signification thereof abroad through the  
realme, to the intent to stirre the people to some new  
tumult and commotion; but it was done by such a  
secret craft, that no man could tell who was the au  
thor of that rumor. The king perceived that this  
vaine fable was not banished out of the mad brains  
of the common people. To prouide therefore against  
all perils that might thereby insue, he sent certaine  
knights that were skillfull men of warre, with com  
petent bands of soldiers, to keepe the sea coasts and  
hauens, to vnderstand who came in and went out of  
the realme; doubting least some great conspiracie  
were in brewing against him. He also sent into the  
low countries certaine persons, to learne the truth  
of this forged dukes progenie, where some of them  
that were so sent, comming to Tourne, got know  
lege that he was bozne in that cite, of base linage,  
and named Perkin Warbecke.

The king then aduertised not onlie by his espi  
als vpon their returne, but also from other his tru  
stie friends, determined with all speed to haue the  
fraud published, both in England and foren parts:  
and for the same cause sent sir Edward Poynings  
knight, & sir William Warram doctor of the lawes  
vnto Philip archduke of Burgonie, and to his coun  
cellors (because he was not of age able to gouerne of  
himselfe) to signifie to him and them, that the yong  
man, being with the ladie Margaret, had falselie and  
vntuelie vsurped the name of Richard duke of  
Yorke, which long before was murdered with his  
brother Edward in the Tower of London, by the  
commandement of their vncke king Richard, as ma  
nie men then liuing could testifie.

The ambassadors comming to the court of Phi  
lip the archduke, were honozable interteined of him  
and of his counsell, and willed to declare the effect of  
their message. William Warram made to them  
an eloquent oration, and in the later end somewhat  
trueibed against the ladie Margaret, not sparing to  
declare, how she now in hir later age had brought  
forth (within the space of a few peares together) two  
detestable monstres, that is to saie, Lambert (of

whom yee heard before) and this same Perkin War  
becke, and being conceiued of these two great babes,  
was not deliuered of them in eight or nine moneths  
as nature requireth; but in one hundred and eightie  
moneths, for both these at the lest were fiftene yeers  
of age, yet the would be brought in bed of them, and  
shew them openlie; and when they were newlie crept  
out of hir wombe, they were no infants but lustie  
yonglings, and of age sufficient to bid battell to  
kings. Although these talents angred the ladie Mar  
garet to the hart, yet Perkin was more vered with  
the things declared in this oration, and especiallie be  
cause his cloaked iuggling was brought to light.

The duchess intending to cast hot sulphur into the  
new kindled fire, determined with might and maine  
to arme and set forward prettie Perkin against the  
king of England. When the ambassadors had done  
their message, and that the archdukes counsell had  
long debated the matter; they made answer, that to  
haue the king of Englands loue, the archduke and  
they would neither aid nor assist Perkin nor his com  
plices in anie cause or quarrell. Yet notwithstanding  
if the ladie Margaret, persisting in hir rooted malice  
towards the king of England, would be to him aid  
ing and helping, it was not in their power to with  
stand it; for because in the lands assigned to hir for hir  
dower, the might franklie and fraiele order all things  
at hir will and pleasure, without contradiction of a  
nie other gouernour.

After that the ambassadors were returned with  
this answer, the king straight sent forth certaine espi  
als into Flanders, which should feigne themselves  
to haue fled to the duke of Yorke; and thereby search  
out the whole intent of the conspiracie, and after  
what sort they meant to proceed in the same. Others  
were sent also to intise sir Robert Clifford and Wil  
liam Barleie, to returne into England, promising to  
them pardon of all their offenses, and high rewards,  
for obeying the kings request. They that were sent,  
did so earnestlie and prudentlie applie their businesse,  
that they brought all things to passe at their owne de  
sires. For first they learned who were the chiefe con  
spirators, and after perswaded sir Robert Clifford to  
giue ouer that enterpryse, which had no grounded  
faie to rest vpon. Albeit William Barleie at the  
first would not leave off, but continued his begun  
attempt; till after two yeares, he repenting him of  
his follie, & hauing pardon granted him of the king,  
returned home into his native countrie.

When the king had knowledge of the chiefe cap  
teins of this conspiracie (by the ouerture of his espi  
als which were returned) he caused them to be appe  
hended, and brought to London before his presence.  
Of the which the chiefe were John Ratcliffe, lord  
Fitz-Water, sir Simon Pontford, sir Tho. Whithwaits  
knights, William Daubeneie, Robert Ratcliffe,  
Thomas Cressenoz, and Thomas Astwood. Also cer  
taine preests & religious men, as sir William Rich  
ford doctor of diuinitie, and sir Thomas Poines, both  
friers of saint Dominicks order, doctor William  
Sutton, sir William Walsseleie deane of Paules,  
Robert Laiborne, and sir Richard Lefele. Other  
which were guiltie, hearing that their fellows were  
apprehended, fled and took sanctuary. The other that  
were taken were condemned, of the which sir Simon  
Pontford, Robert Ratcliffe, and William Daube  
nie were beheaded.

Some had their pardons, and the preests also for  
their order sake; but yet few of them liued long af  
ter. The lord Fitz-Water parboned of life, was  
conueied to Calis, and there laid in hold, & after lost  
his head; because he went about to corrupt his kee  
pers with rewards, that he might escape, intending  
(as was thought) to haue gone to Perkin. Thus by  
the

Anno Reg. 9.  
Espials sent  
into Flanders  
from the king  
for a subtil  
politic.

The conspi  
ring fantas  
of the coun  
terfeit duke  
of yorke.

Abr. Flem.

the policie and subtilie deuise of the king, practised to the point by his espials, the finewes of this conspiracie was rent in sunder. So that the malicious ladie Margaret was not a little swolne with indignation when she saw the course of hir deuise (now that it had passed so far as that it was knowne to people on this side and beyond the seas) stopped, and the confederacie (whereof she speciallie trusted) dissolved. Yet notwithstanding, as women will not (to die for it) giue ouer an enterprise, which of an envious purpose they attempt; so she put hir irons afresh into the fier to set hir hatred forward: whome a while we will leaue at worke, and shew some doings betwene England and Flanders.]

King Henrie taking displeasure with the king of Romans, for that he kept not touch in aiding him against the French king, and partlie displeased with the Flemings, but speciallie with the ladie Margaret, for keeping and setting forward Perkin Warbecke, not onelie banished all Flemish wares and merchandizes out of his dominions, but also restrained all English merchants from their repaire and traffike into anye of the lands and territories of the king of Romans, or of the archduke Philip, sonne to the same king of the Romans, causing the mart to be kept at Calis, of all English merchandizes and commodities. Wherefore the said king and his sonne banished out of their lands and seignories all English clothes, yarne, tin, lead, and other commodities of this realme. The restraint made by the king foreboded the merchants aduenturers; for they had no occupying to beare their charges, and to support their credit withall.

And that most greued them, the Casserlings being at libertie, brought to the realme such wares as they were wont, & so serued their customers through out the realme. Whereupon there ensued a riot by the seruants of the mercers, haberdashers, & clothworkers in the citie of London, the tuesday before saint Edwards day. For they perceiuing what hinderance grew to their maisters, in that they were not able so well to keepe them as before they had done, assembled together in purpose to reuenge their malice on the Casserlings, & so came to the Stilliard, & began to rife & spoile such chambers & warehouses as they could get into. So that the Casserlings had much adoe to withstand them, & keepe them back out of their gates, which with helpe of carpenters, smiths, and other that came to them by water out of Southwarke, they shored & so fortified, that the multitude of the seruants and penticles, being assembled, could not preuaile.

At length came the maior with a number of men, defensible weaponed, to remoue the force; at whose approach those riotous persons fled awaie like a flocke of sheepe. But diuerse of them were apprehended, and upon inquirie made before the kings commissioners, aboute foure score seruants & apprentices were found to be conspired together, and sworne not to reueale it; of whome some of the chiefe beginners were committed to the Towre, and there long continued. But in conclusion, because none of their maisters, nor any one housholder was found culpable, the king of his clemencie pardoned their offense, and restored them to libertie. [For he thought it no credit to his crowne to take vengeance of such sillie soules by serueritie of death, whom in clemencie pardoning he might restore to a reformed life.]

¶ On the two & twentieth of Februarie in this yere were arraigned in the Guildhall of London foure persons, Thomas Bagnall, John Scot, John Heath, and John Herington, the which were sanctuarie men of saint Partins le grand in London, and latelie before were taken out of the said sanctuarie, for forging of seditious bills, to the slander of the king, & some of

his counsell, for the which three of them were iudged to die; and the fourth named Bagnall, pleaded to be restored to sanctuarie: by reason whereof he was reprieved to the Towre till the next tearme: and on the six and twentieth of Februarie, the other three with a Fleming, and a yeoman of the crowne, were all five executed at Tiborne. ¶ On the eight and twentieth of Aprill Jone Boughton widow was burnt in Smithfield, for holding certeine opinions of John Wickliffe. Wheat was sold at London at six pence the bushell, bate salt for three pence halfe penie the bushell, & antwoich salt was sold for six pence the bushell, white herrings nine shillings the barrell, red herrings at three shillings the cade, red spots six pence the cade, & Calcoigne wine for six pounds the tun.]

Shortlie after sir Robert Clifford, partlie trusting on the kings promise, and partlie mistrusting the desperat begun enterprise, returned suddenly againe into England. The king certified before of his coming, went straight to the Towre of London the morow after the day of Epiphanie, & there taried till such time as sir Robert Clifford was there presented to his person. This was done for a policie, that if sir Robert accused anye of the nobilitie, they might be called thither without suspicion of anye euill, and their attached and laid fast. Some thought also, that for a policie king Henrie sent sir Robert Clifford ouer as an espie, or else he would not so fone haue receiued him into fauour againe. Neuerthelesse, there were great presumptions that it was nothing so, for both was he in great danger after his begun attempt, and neuer was so much esteemed with the king afterward as he was before.

But this is true, upon his coming to the kings presence, he besought him of pardon, and obtained it; and therewith opened all the maner of the conspiracie, so far as he knew, and who were aiders, sutors, and chiefe beginners of it; amongst whome he accused sir William Stanleie, whome the king had made his chiefe chamberleine, and one of his priue counsell. The king was soze to heare this, and could not be induced to beleue that there was so much bitterness in him, till by euident proofes it was tried against him. When the king caused him to be refreshed from his libertie in his owne chamber within the quadrat towre, and there appointed him by his priue counsell to be examined, in which examination he nothing denied, but wiselie and sagelie agreed to all things laid to his charge, if he were faultie therein.

The report is, that this was his offense. When communication was had betwixt him, and the aboue mentioned sir Robert Clifford, as concerning Perkin, which falselie usurped the name of R. Edwards sonne; sir William Stanleie said, that if he knew certeinlie that the yong man was the indubitate heire of king Edward the fourth, he would neuer fight or beare armour against him. This point argued, that he bare no hartie good will toward king Henrie as then. But what was the cause that he had conceived some inward grudge towards the king; or how it chanced that the king had withdrawen his speciall fauor from him, manie haue doubted. Some indeed haue gessed, that sir William Stanleie, for the service which he shewed at Bosworth field, thought that all the benefitts which he receiued of the king to be farre vnder that which he had deserued, in preferring him the victorie of his enemies, so that his aduersarie was slaine in the field.

Wherefore desiring to be created earle of Chester, and therof denied, he began to disdaine the king. And one thing incouraged him much, which was the riches and treasure of king Richard, which he onlie possessed at the battell of Bosworth; by reason of which

Flemish  
wares for-  
bidden.

The mart  
kept at Ca-  
lis.

English com-  
modities ban-  
ished out of  
Flanders.

A riot made  
upon the Cas-  
serlings.

Abt. Pl. ex I.S.  
pag. 867.  
Execution for  
seditious bills  
against the  
kings person.

Wheat was  
sold for six  
pence the  
bushell.

1494  
Anno Reg. 1.

Police of the  
Towre &  
guard the  
Clifford.

Sir William  
Stanleie a  
fauourer of  
Perkin.

The offense  
of sir William  
Stanleie.

Considered  
of sir William  
Stanleie &  
likened with  
from king  
Edward.

King Henrie  
in a quarrel.

1495  
Sir William  
Stanleie be-  
headed.  
Abt. Pl.

pag. 760.

John Srow  
pag. 69.  
The king and  
queene dine at  
the place.  
The place.  
The place.  
The place.

Rich. Grafton.

Anno Reg. 11.  
Lord Daube-  
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Sir Edward  
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King Henric  
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Expg. 760.

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Shower to  
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people that  
a long  
the ground.

Rich. Grafton.

Anno Reg. 11.  
Edw. Duke  
of North-  
umberland  
and  
Sir Edward  
Bohuns  
were into Ire-  
land with an  
army.

riches and great power of men, he set naught by the king his soueraine lord and master. The king having thus an hole in his coat, doubted first what he should do with him; for loth he was to lose the fauour of his brother the earle of Derby: and againe to pardon him, he feared least it should be an euill example to other, that should go about to attempt the like offense. And so at length, seueritie got the upper hand, & mercie was put backe, in so much that he was arraigned at Westminster and adiudged to die, and (according to that judgement) was brought to the Tower hill the fiftenth daie of Februarie, and there had his head stricken off.

[This was the end of Sir William Stanley the chiefe helper of king Henrie to the crowne at Bosworth field against king Richard the third, and who set the same crowne first upon the kings head, when it was found in the field trampled vnder feet. He was a man (while he liued) of great power in his countrie, and also of great wealth; in so much as the common fame ran, that there was in his castell of Holt found in ready coine, plate, and iewels, to the value of fortie thousand markes or more, and his land and fees extended to three thousand pounds by yeare. Seruer hee selfe all helped not; neither his good seruice in Bosworth field, neither his forwardnesse (euen with the hazard of life) to prefer R. Henrie to the crowne, neither his faithfullnesse in cleauing to him at all brunts, neither the bond of alliance betwixt them, neither the power that he was able to make, neither the riches which he was worth, neither intercession of friends, which he wanted not; none of these, nor all these could procure the redemption of his lost life:

*Optatum decus hominum, & variable tempus.*

¶ On the fiftenth of Nouember was holden the sergeants feast at the bishops place of Elie in Holborne, where dined the king, quene, and all the chiefe lords of England. The new sergeants names were master Dordant, Wygham, Kingsmill, Conisbie, Butler, Palestie, Frowlicke, Drenbidge, & Con-  
stable. In digging for to laie a new foundation in the church of saint Marie hill in London, the bodie of Perkin, which had bene buried in the church of 175 yeares, was found whole of skinn, & the points of his armes pliable: which corpse was kept aboue ground foure daies without amolance, and then buried againe. ¶ Also this yeare (as master Grafton saith) at the charges of master John Late alderman of London was the church of saint Antho-  
nies founded, & annexed vnto the college of Wind-  
sor, wherein was erected one notable and free schole to the furtherance of learning, and a number of poore people (by the name of almshouses, which were poore, aged, and decreaied householders) releued, to the great commendation of that worshipful man, who so liued in worship, that his death by his worshipful doings ma-  
heth him still aliue; for he was not forgetfull to bea-  
utifie the good state of this citie, in which by wealth he had tasted of Gods blessings.]

About this same time, diuerse men were punished that had vpon a presumptuous boldnesse spoken ma-  
nie slanderous words against the kings maiestie, hoping still for the arrivall of the feigned Richard duke of Yorke. After the death of Sir William Stan-  
ley, Giles lord Danbrie was elected and made the kings chiefe chamberlaine. Also, the R. sent into Ire-  
land to purge out the euill & wicked seeds of rebellion amongst the wild & savage Irish people, which were there by the craftie conuenance of Perkin Warbecke) Sir Henrie Deane, late abbat of Langtonie (whome he made chancelor of that Ile) Sir Edward Poynings knight, with an armie of men. The fauourers of Perkin, hearing that Sir Edward Poynings was come with a power to persecute them, withdrew

straightwaies, and fled into the woods and marishes for the safegard of themselves.

Sir Edward Poynings according to his commis-  
sion, intending to punish such as had aided and ad-  
uanced the enterprize of Perkin, with his whole ar-  
mie marched forward against the wild Irishmen, be-  
cause that all other being culpable of that offense, fled and resorted to them for succour. But when he saw that his purpose succeeded not as he would haue  
10 wished it; both because the Irish lords sent him no succour according to their promises; and also for that his owne number was not sufficient to furnish his enterprize, because his enemies were dispersed amongst woods, mounteins, and marishes: he was constrained to recule backe, sore displeased in his mind against Gerald earle of Kildare, being then the kings deputy.

Now, the cause of this his discontentment was, for that the said earle was suspected to be the meane  
20 that he had no succours sent him, and was so infor- med in deed by such as bare the earle no good will. And therefore suddenlie he caused the earle to be apprehended, and as a prisoner brought him in his com-  
panie into England. Which earle being examined, and sundrie points of treason laid to him, he acknow-  
ledged them all, & laid the burthen in other mens necks, that he was dismissed, and sent into Ireland againe, there to be deputie and lieutenant as he was before. The king being now in some better seruice of his e-  
state, did take his progresse into Lancashire the five  
30 & twentieth daie of June, there to make merrie with his mother the countesse of Derby, which then laie at Lathome in the countrie.

In this meane while, Perkin Warbecke, being in Flanders, sore troubled that his tugging was dis-  
couered, yet he determined not to leaue off his enter-  
prize, in hope at length to attaine the crowne of England: and so gathering a power of all nations, some bankrupts, some false English sanctuarie men,  
40 some theues, robbers, and vagabunds, which desi- ring to liue by rapine, were glad to serue him. And thus furnished, he took such ships as his friends had provided for him: and departing from Flanders to-  
wards England, he arrived vpon the Kentish coast, & there cast anchor, purposing to proue how the people there were affected towards him: and therefore he sent certeine of his men to land, to signifie to the countrie his arrivall with such power, that the victo-  
rie must incline to his part.

The Kentishmen vnderstanding that Perkin was but Perkin, and had none with him (to make account of) but strangers borne, like faithfull sub-  
jects determined to fall vpon those that were thus new come to land, and to trie if they might allure the whole number out of their ships, so to giue them  
battell. But Perkin wiselie considering that the maner of a multitude is not to consult, and sagelie to aduise with themselves in anie deliberate foit, but  
suddenlie and rashlie to run headlong into rebellion, would not let one foot out of his ship, untill he saw all  
things sure. Yet he permitted some of his souldiers to go on land, which being trained forth a pretie waie  
from their ships, were suddenlie compassed about and beset of the Kentishmen, and at one stroke van-  
quished and driuen backe to their ships.

Of these discomfited soules were taken prisoners an hundred and fortie persons, whereof five, Pont-  
fort, Corbet, White, Belt, Quaintin (or otherwise Genin) being captiues were brought to London by Sir John Beach, shiriffe of Kent, raised in ropes like  
horses drawing in a cart, & after vpon their arraig-  
ment confessed their offense, and were executed, some at London, and other in the towne adioining to the  
sea coast. And thus Perkin, missing of his purpose, fled

Gerald earle  
of Kildare de-  
putie of Ire-  
land appea-  
hended.

King Henric's  
progresse in-  
to Lancas-  
shire.

Perkin at-  
tempteth to  
land in Kent  
in hope of vic-  
torie.

Perkins men  
vifcomfited.

Perkins cap-  
tiues taken &  
executed.

Perkin re-  
treateth into  
Flanders.

hen he came into Flanders. In this verie season departed the good Cicilie duchesse of Yorke mother to king Edward the fourth, at hir castell of Berkhamsted, a woman of small stature, but of much honour and high parentage, and was buried by hir husband in the college of Ffordingie.

The king being aduertised that his enemies were landed, leaving off his progresse, purposed to haue returned to London; but being certified the next day of the luckie speed of his faithfull subiects, continued his progresse, & did send sir Richard Gilsford both to commend the fidelitie and manhood of the Kentish men, and also to render to them most hartie thanks for the same. He also caused order to be taken for the erecting of beacons, and watching of them. Perkin then perceiuing that he should not be receiued into England, sailed into Ireland, trusting there to augment his numbers, and then to returne towards the coast of England againe, and to take land in the West countrie, if occasion serued; but if not, then he determined to saile straight into Scotland, to secke friendship there.

After he had therefore staid a while in Ireland, and perceiued that the hope of victorie consisted not in the Irish nation, being naked people, without furniture of armour or weapon, he took the sea againe at Coffe, and sailed into Scotland; where comming to the presence of king James, he forged such a painted processe to moue him to beleue that he was the verie sonne of king Edward; that the Scottish king, whether blinded with error, or bying dissimulation, that he might vnder a colourable pretext make war against England, began to haue Perkin in great honour, and caused him openlie to be called duke of Yorke. And to perswade the world that so he was indeed, he caused the ladie Katharine, daughter to Alexander earle of Huntley, his nigh kinsman, to be espoused to him. But per we passe anie further, you shall see and peruse (if you will) the said painted processe of Perkin, as it is left in record by Edward Hall for an example what working force is in words (speciallie where the hearers are easie to be seduced) and not to be ouer hastie to giue them too quicke & hastie credit. For the poet saith of gate words void of truth:

M. Pal. in Virg.

Verba nitent phaleris, at nullas verbamedullas  
Intus habent.

The colourable oration or counterfeited tale that Perkin told the king of Scots to iustifie his false title.

Abr. Flem. ex  
Edw. Hall  
fol. xxxviii,  
xxxix.  
Perkin saith  
that he is Edward  
the fourths lawfull  
sonne.

**T**Hinke it is not vnknowne vnto you (most noble king and puissant prince) into what ruine the stocke house, and familie of Edward the fourth, of that name king of England, is now of late brought to and fallen in, either by Gods permission, or by diuine punishment; whose indubitate sonne (if you know not already) I am, and by the power of almighty God, preferred aliae to this houre from the mightie hand of a tyrant. For my father king Edward (when he died) appointed his brother Richard duke of Gloucester to be our gouernour, protector, and defender; whome the more that he loued & studied to aduance and promote, the better he thought that he would loue, fauour, and tender his children. But alas my vnfortunate chance I may say! how hath his trust bene turned into treason, and his hope into hinderance, all men know and I feele.

Our vnckle was not the tutor and preseruer of our stocke and linage, but the confounder & destroyer of our blood and progenie. For that tyrant, blinded and glutted with the desire of ruling and souereignie, commanded Edward my brother & me to be slaine and dispatched out of this mortall life. Whereupon that person, to whome the weightie and cruell charge was committed and giuen to oppresse and destroye by poore innocent infants and guiltlesse babes, the more that he abhorred this heinous and butcherlie offense, the more he feared to commit it.

And so wauering in mind and doubtfull what to doe, at the length willing in part to slay the bloudie thirst of the brutall tyrant, and in part to abstaine from so heinous & detestable homicide, he destroyed my brother and preferred me; like the good priest Joiada, who saued little Joas, when all the children of the bloud roiall were commanded by Athalia the quene to be slaine and vtterlie destroyed. And further, to the intent that my life might be in surtie, he appointed one to conueie me into some strange countrie; where when I was furthest off, and had most need of comfort he forsooke me suddenly (I thinke he was so appointed to doe) and left me desolate alone without friend or knowlege of anie reliefe or refuge. And so king Richard did obtaine the crowne as a preie mischefeoulde gotten by the dispatching awaie of my brother and me. So that I thus escaping, by reason of my tender infancie, forgot almost my selfe, and knew not well what I was. But after long wandering from countrie to countrie, and from citie to citie, I perceived and learned by little and little what was my estate & degree; and so in conclusion came to mine owne aunt the ladie Margaret lieng in Flanders, which was sometime married to Charles duke of Burgogny, which as ioisfullie receiued and welcomed me, as if I had come out of hell into heauen, as the onelie type and garland of hir noble stirpe and linage. But forsomuch as the being onelie Dowager of the duchie of Burgogny, and hauing nothing but hir dowrie proper to hir selfe, was not of power to helpe me with men and munitions of warre, as she would gladlie haue done for the recouerie of my fathers reime & rightfull inheritance: I therefore am driuen to secke further aid and succour.

And therefore by hir counsell and aduertisement, with this small handfull of men of warre and souldiers, I am repaired to your presence for succours; of whome (as the publike fame is spread ouer the whole world) there was neuer man by wrong or iniurie chased or driuen out of his countrie, region, or inheritance, or by extort power and tyrannie kept out of the same (as I my selfe from mine infancie haue bene) whose request was frustrate and denied at your hand. Therefore, by the maiestie of your realme & countrie I desire, & heartlie

Perkin telleth the king how he was preferred and kept alive.

1496  
The Scot king invaded England with a great army in Perkin's behalf.

The countie of Perkin

Perkin telleth the king how he was preferred and kept alive.

Anno Reg. 11

parlement the thirde session of the same.

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1496  
The Scottish  
king invaded  
England with  
a great armie  
in Perkin his  
begall.

The counter-  
int compass-  
ment of Perkin.

Anno Reg. 11.

A parliament  
of the three  
estates of the  
realme.

1496.

with praiser as I can, I beseech and exhort  
you to helpe and releue me now in my ex-  
treame necessitie. And if it chance me by  
your aid and succour to recouer & possesse  
my fathers realme and dignitie; not onelie  
I, but all the kings of our linage, which  
hereafter shall obtaine the same, shall be  
somuch obliged and bound vnto you; that  
they must needs thinke, that doing to you  
all the pleasure and benefits that they can,  
yet with all thanks that can be giuen your  
great kindnesse can neuer in full measure  
be recompensed.

When he had thus said, the king bad him be of good  
comfort, and promised him that whatsoeuer he were,  
it should neuer repent him of his comming to him.]  
Shortlie after, hauing this Perkin with him in  
companie, he entered into England with a puissant  
armie, and caused proclamation to be made, to spare  
all those that would submit themselves vnto Richard  
duke of Yorke. Wherewith they began the warre in  
most cruell maner, with slaughter of men, burning  
of townes, spoiling of houses, and committing of all  
other detestable enormities; so that all the countrie of  
Northumberland was by them in maner wasted,  
and destroyed. At length, when the souldiers were la-  
den with spoiles, and faciate with bloud, perceiuing  
that no succour came out of England vnto the  
new inuented duke, contrarie to that which he had  
made them to beleue would come to passe; they de-  
termined to retire rather with assured gaine, than  
to tarrie the vncertaine victorie of that counterfeited  
duke, and so thereupon they withdrew backe into  
Scotland enriched with preies and botties.

It is said, that Perkin Warbecke, being retur-  
ned into Scotland with the king of Scots, vnder a  
cloked pretense should sore lament the great slaugh-  
ter, spoile, and damage, which had bene done at this  
last roade made into England; and therefore as one  
that bare a naturall loue toward his native coun-  
trie, besought the king of Scots, that from thence-  
forth, he would no moze so deface his naturall reline,  
and destroye his subjects with such terrible fire, flame  
and haucke; as who should saie, he being overcome  
now with compassion, did betwaille the cruell destruc-  
tion of his naturall countrie of England. But the  
Scottish k. told him, that he seemed to take thought  
for that which appeared to be none of his, sith that not  
so much as one gentleman or yeoman (for ought he  
could see) would once thew themselves ready to as-  
sist him in the warre begun for his cause, & in his name,  
within that realme which he pretended to claerlie to  
appertene to him.

The king of England being certified of this inna-  
sion, prepared an armie with all diligence to haue  
resisted the Scots: but they were returned per the  
Englisch power could assemble togither. So when  
the king was truelie certified that the Scottish king  
was returned home, he staied all the preparations  
made at that time to go against him. But yet mean-  
ing to be reuenged of the wrongs done to him by  
king James and his people; he first called a parlie-  
ment, and in that assemble of thre estates of the  
realme, he declared the cause of the instant warre,  
and how necessarie it should be for the suertie and  
wealth of the realme of England to haue that warre  
pursued against those enemies that had begun it. To  
this motion all the nobilitie wholie agreed. And to the  
maintenance of that warre, a subsidie was by wholie  
assent of the parlement frelie giuen and granted.  
Which payment though it was not great, yet manie  
of the common people soze grudged to pay the same,

as they that euer abhorre such fares and exactions.  
At the same parlement were diuerse acts and sta-  
tutes made, necessarie & expedient (as was thought)  
for the publike weale of the realme.

In the meane season the king of Scots, percei-  
ning that the Englishmen would shortlie go about  
to reuenge the iniuries done to them by him and his  
people, assembled efflonas a puissant armie, that he  
might either defend his realme against the Englisch  
power, attempting to innade his countrie, or else a-  
fresh to enter into the Englisch borders. And thus  
these two mightie princes minded nothing moze  
than the one to indamage the other. But the king of  
England would not deferre one houre by (his good  
will) till he were reuenged, and therefore prepared a  
mightie armie to innade Scotland, and ordeined for  
chefeine thereof the lord Daubenie. But as this  
armie was assembled, and that the lord Daubenie  
was forward on his iourne towards Scotland, he  
was suddenlie staied and called backe againe, by rea-  
son of a new commotion begun by the Cornishmen  
for the payment of the subsidie which was granted at  
the last parlement.

These vnrulie people the Cornishmen, inhabiting  
in a barren countrie and vnfruitfull, at the first soze  
repined that they should be so grauouslie tared, and  
burdened the kings counsell as the onelie cause of  
such polling and pilling: and so being in their rage,  
menaced the chiefe authoers with death and present  
destruction. And thus being in a roze, two persons  
of the same assintie, the one called Thomas Flam-  
moche, a gentleman, learned in the lawes of the  
realme; and the other Michaele Joseph, a smith, men  
of stout stomachs and high courages, toke vpon  
them to be capteins of this seditious companie. They  
laid the fault and cause of this exaction vnto John  
Horton archbishop of Canturburie, and to sir Regi-  
nald Bate; bicause they were chiefe of the kings  
counsell. Such rewards haue they commonlie that  
be in great authoritie with kings and princes.

The capteins Flammoche and Joseph exhorted  
the common people to put on harnesse, and not to be  
afraid to follow them in that quarrell, promising not  
to hurt anie creature, but onelie to see them punish-  
ed that procured such exactions to be laid on the peo-  
ple, without anie reasonable cause, as vnder the co-  
lour of a little trouble with the Scots, which (sith they  
were withyafone home) they toke to be well quieted  
and appeased. So these capteins bent on mischefe,  
(were their outward pretense neuer so finelie colour-  
red) perswaded a great number of people to assemble  
togither, and condescended to do as their capteins  
would agree and appoint. Then these capteins pra-  
sing much the hardines of the people, when all things  
were ready for their infortunate iourne, set for-  
ward with their armie, and came to Taunton, where  
they due the prouost of Derin, which was one of the  
commissioners of the subsidie, and from thence came  
to Welles, so intending to go to London, where the  
king then sojourned.

When the king was aduertised of these doings, he  
was somewhat astonied, and not without cause; being  
thus troubled with the warre against the Scots, and  
this ciuill commotion of his subjects at one instant.  
But first meaning to subdue his rebellious sub-  
jects; and after to proceed against the Scots, as  
occasion should serue, he reuoked the lord Daubenie  
which (as you haue heard) was going against the  
Scots, and increased his armie with manie chosen  
and piked warriors. Also mistrusting that the Scots  
might now (hauing such opportunitie) innade the  
reline againe; he appointed the lord Th. Howard erle  
of Surrie (which after the death of the lord Witham  
was made high tresuroz of England) to gather a  
band

1497  
The king of  
England and  
Scotland pre-  
pare for mu-  
tual warre.

A rebellion in  
Cornwall for  
the payment of  
a subsidie.

The two cap-  
teins in this  
commotion.

The prouost  
of Derin  
slains by the  
rebels.

Thomas Ho-  
ward erle of  
Surrie high  
tresuroz of  
England.



band of men in the countie Palatine of Durham, that they with the aid of the inhabitants adjoining, and the borderers, might keepe backe the Scots if they chanced to make anye inuasion. The nobles of the realme hearing of the rebellion of the Cornishmen, came to London, euerie man with as many men of warre as they could put in a readinesse, to aid the king if need should be. In the which number were the earle of Essex, and the lord Montjoy, with diuerse other.

James Twichet lord Audelie being confederate with the rebels of Cornewall toined with them, being come to Welles, and toke vpon him as their cheefe captaine to lead them against their naturall lord and king. From Welles they went to Salisbury, and from thence to Wiltonchier, and so to Kent, where they hoped to haue had great aid, but they were deceiued in that their expectation. For the erle of Kent, George lord of Burgaunie, John Brooke, lord Cobham, sir Edward Poynings, sir Richard Wilford, sir Thomas Bourchier, John Peche, William Scot, and a great number of other people, were not onelie prest and readie to defend the countrie, to keepe the people in due obedience, but bent to fight with such as would lift vp word, or other weapon against their soueraigne lord: insomuch that the Kentishmen would not once come nere the Cornishmen, to aid or assist them in anye manner of wise.

Which thing maruelouslie dismayed the hearts of the Cornishmen, when they saw themselves thus deceiued of the succours which they most trusted vpon, so that manye of them (fearing the euill chance that might happen) fled in the night from their companie, and left them, in hope so to saue themselves. The captaines of the rebels, perceiving they could haue no helpe of the Kentishmen, putting their onelie hope in their owne puissance, brought their people to Blacke heath, a foure miles distant from London, and there in a plaine on the top of an hill, they ordered their battels, either readie to fight with the king if he would assaile them, or else to assault the citie of London: for they thought the king durst not haue encountered with them in battell. But they were deceiued: for the king although he had power inough about to haue fought with them before their coming so nere to the citie; yet he thought it best to suffer them to come forward, till he had them farre off from their native countrie, and then to set vpon them being destitute of aid in some place of aduantage.

The citie of London fore afraid of the rebels.

The citie was in a great feare at the first knowledge giuen, how the rebels were so nere incamped to the citie, euerie man getting himselfe to harnesse, and placing themselves, some at the gates, some on the walles, so that no part was vndefended. But the king deliuered the citie of that feare: for after that he perceiued how the Cornishmen were all daie readie to fight, and that on the hill, he sent straight John Earle of Orenford, Henrie Bourchier, earle of Essex, Edmund de la Pole, earle of Suffolke, sir Rafe ap Thomas, and sir Humfreie Stanleie, noble warriors, with a great companie of archers and horsemen, to environ the hill on the right side, and on the left, to the intent that all bywaies being stopped and forclosed, all hope of flight should be taken from them. And incontinentlie he himselfe, being as well incouraged with manye stomachs as furnished with a populous armie and plentie of artillerie, set forward out of the citie, and incamped himselfe in saint Georges field, where he on the fridaie at night then lodged.

On the saturday in the morning, he sent the lord Daubeney with a great companie to set on them

earlye in the morning, which first got the bridge at Dertford Strand, which was manfullie defended by certeine archers of the rebels, whose arrowes (as is reported) were in length a full cloth yard. While the carles set on them on euerie side, the lord Daubeney came into the field with his companie, and without long fighting, the Cornishmen were overcome; and first they toke the lord Daubeney prisoner: but whether it were for feare, or for hope of fauour, they let him go at libertie, without hurt or detriment. There were slaine of the rebels which fought and resisted, aboue two thousand men (as Edward Hall noteth) and taken prisoners an infinite number, & amongst them the blacke smith, and other the cheefe captaines, which were shortly after put to death. When this battell was ended, the king wanted of all his numbers but thre hundred, which were slaine at that conflict.

Some affirme, that the king appointed to haue fought with them not till the mondaie, and preventing the time set on them on the saturday before, taking them vnprovidid, and in no arraie of battell, and so by that policie obtained the field and victorie. The prisoners as well captaines as other, were pardoned, sauing the cheefe captaines and first beginners, to whom he shewed no mercie at all. The lord Audelie was dravne from Heligate to the Tower hill in a coate of his owne armes, painted vpon paper reuered and all to tozme, and there was beheaded the foure and twentieth of June. Thomas Flammoche & Michaell Joseph were hanged, dravne, and quartered after the manner of traitors, & their heads and quarters were pitched vpon stakes, and set vp in London, and in other places: although at the first, the king meant to haue sent them into Cornewall, to haue bene set by there for a terror to all others. But hearing that the Cornishmen at home were readie to begin a new conspiracie, least he should the more irritate and prouoke them by that displeasing sight, he changed his purpose, for doubt to wray himselfe in more trouble than needed.

While these things were aduing in England, the king of Scots being aduertised of the whole matter and rebellion of the Cornishmen, thought not to let passe that occasion: and therefore he effones invaded the frontiers of England, waisting the countrie, burning townes, and murdering the people, sparing neither place nor person: and while his light horsemen were riding to forraie and despoile the bishopricke of Durham, and there burned all about, he with an other part of his armie did besiege the castell of Pochem. The bishop of Durham Richard For, being owner of that castell, had well furnished it both with men and munitions aforehand, doubting least that would follow which came now to passe. The bishop, after that the Scots made this inuasion, aduertised the king (as then being at London) of all things that chanced in the north parts; and sent in all post hast to the earle of Surrie, to come to the rescue. The earle being then in Northshire, and hauing gathered an armie, vpon knowledge giuen to him from the bishop, with all diligence marched forward, and after him followed other noble men out of all the quarters of the north, euerie of them bringing as many men as they could gather, for defense of their countrie.

Amongst these, the cheefe leaders were, Rafe earle of Westmerland, Thomas lord Darcie, Rafe lord Penill, George lord Strange, Richard lord Latimer, George lord Lumleie, John lord Scrope, Henrie lord Cliffo, George lord Dgle, William lord Coniers, Thomas lord Darcie, Ofknights, Thomas baron of Hiltan, sir William Perrie, sir William Bulmer, sir William Calcoigne, sir Rafe Wigod, &c.

Blacksmith  
slew.

Which was  
the cause  
of the  
Scotts  
dravne to  
the Tower  
hill.

James lord  
Tutche the  
ignominious  
dravne to  
the Tower  
hill.

Anno Reg.  
The Scots  
invaded the  
English  
border.

For bishop  
of Durham  
owner of  
Pochem  
castell.

which was  
the cause  
of the  
Scotts  
dravne to  
the Tower  
hill.

The earle of  
Surrie en-  
terry Scotts  
and despoiling  
theis and  
townes.

The battant  
out of the  
erle  
Surrie re-  
siding at his  
palace to  
fight hand to  
hand with the  
king of Scots.

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Wafe Bowes, sir Thomas a Parre, sir Wafe Ellec-  
ker, sir John Constable, sir John Katcliffe, sir John  
Smail, sir Thomas Strangweiss, and a great num-  
ber of other knights and esquires belides. The whole  
armie was little lesse than twentie thousand men,  
beside the naue, whereof the lord Wroke was ad-  
mirall.

When the Scots had diuerse waies assaulted and  
braten the castell of Pozham, but could make no  
batterie to enter the same, they determined of their  
owne accord to raise the siege, and returne; and that  
so much the sooner in berie dead, because they heard  
that the earle of Surrie was within two daies four-  
nie of them, with a great puissance. Wherefore king  
James raised his siege, and returned home into his  
owne realme. When the earle knew of the kings re-  
turne, he followed him with all hast possible, trust-  
ing suertie to ouertake him, and to giue him battell.

When the earle was entred Scotland, he ouerthrew  
and defaced the castell of Catwodestreimes, the tower  
of Wyetenhall, the tower of Edington, the tower of  
Fulden: and he sent Porreie king at armes to the  
capteine of Hatton castell, which was one of the  
strongest places betwixt Berwik and Edenburgh,  
to deliuer him the castell. Which he denied to do, affir-  
ming that he was sure of speedie succours.

The earle hereupon laid his ordinance to the ca-  
stell, and continuallie beat it, from two of the clocke  
till fwe at night, in such wise, that they within ren-  
derd up the place, their liues onelic saued. The earle  
caused his minors to raise & ouerthrow the fortrese  
to the plaine ground. The Scottish king was within  
a mile of the siege, and both knew it, and saw the  
smoke, but would not set one foot forward to the re-  
cue. While the earle laie at Hatton, the king of Scots  
sent to him Pachemont, and an other herald, desir-  
ing him at his election, either to fight with whole  
puissance against puissance, or else they two to fight  
person to person; requiring that if the victorie fell to  
the Scottish king, that then the earle should deliuer  
for his ransome, the towne of Berwik, with the  
fishgarths of the same.

The earle made answer hereto, that the towne  
of Berwik was the king his masters, and not his,  
the which he neither ought nor would laie to pledge,  
withont the king of Englands assent; but he would  
gage his bodie, which was more pretious to him  
than all the townes of the world, promising on his  
honour, that if he took the king prisoner in that sin-  
gular combat, he would release to him all his part of  
the fine and ransome; and if it chanced the king to  
vanquish him, he would gladlie paie such ransome as  
was conuenient for the degree of an earle, and than-  
ked him greatlie for the offer: for suertie he thought  
himselfe much honored, that so noble a prince would  
bondsafe to admit so poore an earle to fight with him  
bodie to bodie. When he had rewarded and dismissed  
the heralds, he set his armie in a readinesse, to abide  
the coming of the king of Scots, and so stood all  
daie.

But king James not regarding his offers, would  
neither performe the one nor the other; fearing to  
cope with the English nation in anie condition; and  
so thereupon fled in the night season with all his puis-  
sance. When the earle knew that the king was re-  
turned, and had bene in Scotland six or seven daies, be-  
ing daile and nightlie vexed with continuall wind  
and raine, upon god and deliberat aduise returned  
backe to the towne of Berwik, and there dissolved  
his armie, tarling there himselfe, till he might un-  
derstand further of the kings pleasure. In the meane  
time there came an ambassadour to the K. of Scots  
from the K. of Spaine, one Peter Hialas, a man of  
no lesse learning than wit & policie, to moue & intret

a peace betwene the two kings of England & Scot-  
land [that their people might fall to their necessarie  
trades of advantage with quietnesse, and friend with  
friend, husband with wife, father with chylzen, and  
maisters with seruants dwell and accompanie: a dis-  
solution and separation of thome one from another  
is procured by bloudie warre, wherein as there is no  
pitie, so is there is no pietie, as one saith full trulie:

*Nulla fides pietasque uiris qui castra sequuntur,*  
*Nulla salus bello.* Luc. lib. 18.

This Spanish ambassadour so earnestlie traue-  
led in his message unto the king of Scots, that at  
length he found him conformable to his purpose:  
and therefore wrote to the king of England, that it  
would please him to send one of his nobilitie or coun-  
cell, to be associat with him in concluding of peace  
with the Scottish king. The king of England was  
neuer dangerous to agree to anie reasonable peace,  
so it might stand with his honour; and therefore ap-  
pointed the bishop of Durham doctor For, to go in-  
to Scotland about that treatie which Peter Hialas  
had begun. The bishop (according to his commission)  
went honozable into Scotland, where he and Peter  
Hialas at the towne of Jedworth, after long argu-  
ing and debating of matters with the Scottish com-  
missioners, in stead of peace concluded a truce for cer-  
teine yeares; upon condition, that James king of  
Scots should conuete Perkin Warbecke out of his  
realme, seignories, and dominions.

About the same time, king Henrie receiued the  
ambassadors that were sent to him from the French  
king, and had bene staied at Douer, till the Cornish  
rebels were vanquished and subdued. Also the lord of  
Camphire, and other oratours of Philip archduke of  
Austrich, and duke of Burgognie came to him for  
the conclusion of amitie, and to haue the English  
merchants to resort againe to their countrie. Which  
request being verie agreeable to the quietnesse and  
wealth of his realme, and especiallie at that time, he  
did fauourable grant and agree vnto. And so did the  
Englishmen resort againe into the archdukes domi-  
nions, and were receiued into Antwerpe with gene-  
rall procession: so glad was that towne of their re-  
turne. Shortly after the concluding of the truce be-  
twene England and Scotland, Perkin Warbecke  
being willed of the king of Scots to depart out of  
the Scottish dominions, sailed with his wife and fa-  
milie into Ireland, there determining with himselfe  
either to repaire into Flanders to his first setter up  
the duchess of Burgognie, or else to ioin and take part  
with the Cornishmen.

But howsoever it came to passe, whilst he laie in  
Ireland, he had knowledge from the Cornishmen,  
that they were readie to renew the warre againe.  
Whereupon he minding not to let passe so fauie an  
occasion, hauing with him foure small ships, and not  
aboue six score men, sailed into Cornewall, and there  
landed in the moneth of September, and came to a  
towne called Bodmar, and there did so prouoke the  
wauering people, that with faire words and large  
promises, that he gathered to him aboue three thou-  
sand persons, which immediatlie called him their  
capteine, promising to take his part, and follow him  
to the death. Then Perkin well encouraged, made  
proclamations in the name of king Richard the  
fourth, as sonne to king Edward the fourth. And by  
the aduise of his three counsellors, John Heron mer-  
cer a bankrupt, Richard Skelton a tailor, and John  
Astelle a scriuener determined first of all to assaie  
the winning of Excester.

When hasting thither, he laid siege to it, and wan-  
ting ordinance to make batterie, studied all waies  
possible how to breake the gates, and what with cast-  
ing of stones, heauing with iron barres, and kindling  
of

The behauior  
of the earle  
of Surrie re-  
solving at his  
departing to  
fight him to  
stand with the  
K. of Spaine.

For bishop of  
Durham was  
sent to the  
tower of Poz-  
ham castell.

An ambassa-  
dor from the  
K. of Spaine  
came to the  
K. of Scots  
about a  
peace treaty.

The English  
merchants re-  
ceiued into  
Antwerpe  
with generall  
procession.

Perkin is  
saied to pack  
out of Scot-  
land.

Perkin War-  
beck arriveth  
in Cornwall.

Another re-  
bellion by the  
Cornishmen.

Perkins three  
counsellors.

Excester as-  
saulted by  
Perkin & the  
Cornishmen,  
of





Perkin war-  
becke escapeth  
from his mas-  
ters.

deceiue his keepers, & took him to his heels. But when he came to the sea coasts, and could not passe, he was in a marvellous perplexitie: for euerie by way, lane, and cozier was laid for him, and such search made, that being brought to his wits end, and cut short of his pretended iournie, he came to the house of Bethlem, called the priorie of Shene beside Richmond in Southerie, and betooke himselfe to the priore of that monasterie, requiring him for the honour of God, to beg his pardon of life of the kings maiestie.

The priore, which for the opinion that men had conceived of his vertue, was had in great estimation, pittens the wretched state of that castie, came to the king, and shewed him of this Perkin, whose pardon he humbly craved, and had it as frelie granted. Incontinentlie after was Perkin brought to the court againe at Westminster, and was one day set fettered in a paire of stocks, before the doore of Westminsters hall, and there stood a whole day, not without innumerable reproches, mocks and scornings. And the next daie he was caried through London, and set vpon a like scaffold in Cheape by the standard, with like ginses and stocks as he occupied the daie before, and there stood all daie, and read openlie his owne confession, written with his owne hand, the verie copie thereof here insueth.

The confession of Perkin as it was written with his owne hand, which he read openlie vpon a scaffold by the standard in Cheape.

Perkin was  
first an ana-  
tome of his  
descent of his  
age.

**I**t is first to be knowne, that I was borne in the towne of Turneie in Flanders, and my fathers name is John Osbecke, which said John Osbecke was controlloz of the said towne of Turneie, and my mothers name is Katharine de Faro. And one of my grandfathers vpon my fathers side was named Diricke Osbeck, which died. After whose death my grandmother was married vnto Peter Flamin, that was receiuer of the forenamed towne of Turneie, & deane of the botemen that row vpon the water of riuer called le Scheld. And my grandfere vpon my mothers side was Peter de Faro, which had in his keeping the keies of the gate of S. Johns within the same towne of Turneie. Also I had an uncle called maister John Stalin, dwelling in the parish of S. Bias within the same towne, which had married my fathers sister, whose name was Ione or Jane, with whome I dwelt a certeine season.

Perkins education  
being by.

And after I was led by my mother to Antwerpe for to learne Flemish, in a house of a couline of mine, an officer of the said towne, called John Stienbecke, with whome I was the space of halfe a yeare. And after that I returned againe to Turneie, by reason of warres that were in Flanders. And within a yeare following I was sent with a merchant of the said towne of Turneie, named Berlo, to the mart of Antwerpe, where I fell sicke, which sicknesse continued vpon me five moneths. And the said Berlo set me to wood in a skimmers house, that dwelled beside the house of the English nation. And by him I was from thence caried to Barow

mart, and I lodged at the signe of the old man, where I abode for the space of two moneths.

After this, the said Berlo set me with a merchant of Middlebrow to seruite for to learne the language, whose name was John Streu, with whome I dwelt from Christmasse to Easter, and then I went into Dortingall in companie of sir Edward Bramptons wife, in a ship which was called the queens ship. And when I was come thither, then was I put in seruice to a knight that dwelled in Luthborne, which was called Peter Waz de Cogna, with whome I dwelled an whole yeare, which said knight had but one eie. And because I desired to see other countries, I toke licence of him, and then I put my selfe in seruice with a Britan, called Regent Heno, which brought me with him into Ireland. Now when we were there arrived in the towne of Cork, they of the towne (because I was arrayed with some cloths of silke of my said masters) came vnto me, & threatened vpon me that I should be the duke of Clarences sonne, that was before time at Dublin.

But forsomuch as I denied it, there was brought vnto me the holie euangelists, and the crosse, by the maiore of the towne, which was called John Leweline, and there in the presence of him and others, I toke mine oth (as the truth was) that I was not the foresaid dukes sonne, nor none of his blood. And after this came vnto me an Englishman, whose name was Stephan Poitron, and one John Water, and laid to me in swearing great oths, that they knew well that I was king Richards bastard sonne: to whome I answered with like oths, that I was not. Then they aduiled me not to be afearde, but that I should take it vpon me boldlie: and if I would so doe, they would aid and assist me with all their powder against the king of England; & not onelie they, but they were well assured, that the earle of Desmond & Kildare should doe the same.

For they forced not what part they toke, so that they might be reuenged on the king of England: and so against my will made me to learne English, and taught me what I should doe and saie. And after this they called me duke of Porke, second sonne to king Edward the fourth, because king Richards bastard sonne was in the hands of the king of England. And vpon this the said Water, Stephan Poitron, John Tiler, Hughbert Burgh, with manie others, as the foresaid earles, entered into this false quarell, and within short time others. The French king sent an ambassadoz into Ireland, whose name was Loit Lucas, and maister Stephan Friham, to aduertise me to come into France. And thence I went into France, and from thence into Flanders, & from Flanders into Ireland, and from Ireland into Scotland, & so into England.

The Irish  
would have  
Perkin take  
vpon him to  
be the duke  
of Clarences  
sonne.

They knew  
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Edward the kings third sonne christened.  
The manour of Shene burnt & Richmond built in place thereof.  
L.S. pag. 374.

King Henrie the seuenth saileth to Calis.

The king of England and the duke of Burgonie meet at saint Peters church without Calis.  
Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall. in Hen. 7. fol. liij.

Anno Reg. 16.

A yeare of Jubile.

Pope Alexander maketh profit of his great pardon or beauntye grace, as he termeth it.

yeare of this kings reigne his third son was christened and was named Edward. Also in this yeare was burned a place of the kings, called the manour of Shene situate nigh the Thames side, which he after builded againe sumptuoullie, and changed the name of Shene, and called it Richmond; because his father and he were earles of Richmond: or (as some note) for that so manie notable and rich iewels were there burnt. He also new builded Wainards castell in London, and repaired Cranelwich.]

The king, whether to auoid the danger of so great and perillous sicknesse, then raging, or to take occasion to comen with the duke of Burgonie, did personallie take his ship at Dover in the beginning of Maie, and sailed to Calis, whither the duke of Burgonie sent to him honourable personages in ambassage to welcome him into those parties, and to declare that the said duke would gladlie repaire personallie to his ptesence with such a number as the king should appoint, so that it were within no walled towne nor fortreffe. For hauing denied the French king to enter into anie of his fortresses to talke with him, he would be loth now to giue a ptesent to him to desire the like meeting. The king interteining the ambassadors, and thanking the duke of his courteous offer, appointed the place at saint Peters church without Calis.

Upon tuesdaie in Whitsunweeke the archduke Philip came thither with a conuenient companie. The king and the queene with manie a lustie lord and lady rode thither to welcome him. And when the king approached, the duke at his lighting offered to hold his stirrups, which the king in no wise would suffer to be done. When the king was descended from his horse, he and the archduke embraced each other with most princelie familiaritie, and then the queene and all the nobles saluted him. And after most louing interteiments, banquettings, mirth, and pastime thewed amongest them, there was communication of marriages, treating of further strenghtening of leagues, requests of tolles in Flanders to be minished: with manie other things touching the commoditie and traffike of both their countries. And when all things were set in order, the two princes toke their leaue, and departed; the king to Calis, and the archduke to S. Amers. After his departing, there came as ambassadors from the French king, the lord Cronthouse gouernour of Picardie, and the lord Peruelliers bailiffe of Amiens, which declared to the king the getting of Millaine and taking of the duke. The king highlie feasted them, and rewarded them princelie at their departing.

Some after, when the death was slaked, the king returned againe into England about the end of June. Shortlie after there came to him one Casper Pons a Spaniard, a man of excellent learning and most ciuill behauiour, sent from Alexander the bishop of Rome to distribute the beauntye grace (as he termed it) to all such as (letted by anie forceable impediment) could not come to Rome that yeare to the Jubile, which was there celebrate, being the yeare after the birth of our Sautour, 1500. This beneuolent liberalitie was not altogether frælie giuen. For Alexander looking to the health of mens soules, thought to do somewhat for his owne priuat commoditie, & therefore he set a certeine pice of that his grace and pardon. And to the end that the king should not hinder his purpose, he offered part of his gaites to the king.

And to colour the matter with some fauourable pretext, and to make men the better willing, & more ready to giue frankie, he promised with that monie to make warre against the Turke. By this meanes the poe got a great masse of monie, which he had

conueied ouer vnto him by such trustie messengers (doubt you not) as he had appointed; and yet nothing done against the Turks, which in the meane season did much hurt to the christians. [For it was no part of his meaning (what colourable shew soener he made of tendering the succourlesse people) to impart anie portion thereof to so good a vse; but rather for the supportation of him and his swarme, who before they will bate an ace of their gorgeous gallantnesse, the whole world shalbe consumed. Such is the collusion of the pope, such be the shamelesse shifts of him and his cleargie for the maintenance of their owne courtlie bawerie, which is wicked banitie; farre passing the pompe of anie prince, were the same of neuer so rare magnificence; as he well noteth that said full trulie:

*Immensis princeps non visus in orbe est,  
Cui tanti fastus tantæque pompa fuit.  
Ingreditur quando misera Babylonis in urbes,  
Cernitur hic plusquam regia pompa comes.  
Huic equus est humanus ostrog, insignis et auro,  
Alisq; cinis sub pede terra ferit, &c.]*

About this time died thre bishops in England, John Hopton archbishop of Cantuarburie, Thomas Langton bishop of Winchester, and Thomas Bekeham archbishop of Yorke. After him succeeded Thomas Saunge bishop of London, a man of great honour and worthinesse: in whose place succeeded William Warham, of whome before is made mention. And heire Deane bishop of Salisburie, was made archbishop of Cantuarburie, and Richard For was removed from Durham to the see of Winchester. Also this yeare two notable marriages were concluded, but not consummate till afterwards, as you shall heare in place conuenient. For king Henrie granted his daughter ladie Margaret to James the fourth king of Scots. And Ferdinando king of Spaine gaue his daughter ladie Katharine to Arthur prince of Wales, sonne and heire apparant to the king of England.

Among other articles of the marriage concluded with the Scottis king this was one, that no English men should be receiued into Scotland without letters commendatozie of their soueraigne lord, or safe conduct of his warden of the marches; and the same prohibition was in like maner giuen to the Scots. This yeare the ladie Katharine of Spaine was sent by hir father king Ferdinando with a puissant nauie of ships into England, where she arrived in theauen of Wlmmouth the second daie of October then being saturday. Upon the twelfe of November she was conueied from Lambeth thorough London with all triumph and honour that might be desired to the bishops palace, the streets being hanged, and pageants erected after the maner as is vied at a coronation: which solemnitie Edward Hall describeth with the sumptuous shewes then glittering in the beholders eyes.

I passe ouer (saith he) the wise deuises, the prudent speeches, the costlie works, the cunning portraiture, practised and set forth in seuen godlie beautifull pageants, erected and set vp in diuerse places of the citie. I leaue also the godlie ballades, the sweet harmonie, the muscail instruments, which sounded with beauntye noise on euerie side of the streets. I omit further, the costlie apparell both of goldsmiths worke and imbroderie, the rich iewels, the masse chaines, the stirring hories, the beauntyfull barbes and the glittering trappers, both with belles and spangels of gold. I pretermitt also the rich apparell of the prince, the strange fashion of the Spanissh nation, the beauntye of the English ladies, the godlie demeanure of the yong damoels, the amorous countenance of the lustie bachelers. I passe ouer also the fine ingrained clothes, the costlie furs of the citizens, flaming

Arch. Fl. ex Edw. Hall. fol. liij.

The solemnization of the marriage betweene Henry prince of Wales & Katharine daughter to Ferdinando king of Spaine.

1501.

Katharine daughter to Ferdinando king of Spaine arrived in theauen of Wlmmouth.

Anno Reg.

The fourth of October as Stow hath noted.

The solemnization of the marriage betweene Henry prince of Wales & Katharine daughter to the king of Spaine.

Edw. Hall. fol. liij.

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Anno Reg. 17.

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on scaffolds, raised from Gracechurch to Paules. What should I speake of the odoriferous scarlets, the fine veluets, the pleasant furrres, the masse chaines, which the maior of London with the senat, sitting on horsebacke at the little conduit in Cheape, ware on their bodies and about their neckes? I will not speake of the rich arras, the collicke tapestrie, the fine clothes both of gold and siluer, the curious veluets, the beautifull satteens, nor the pleasant silkes which did hang in euerie street where she passed, the wine that ran continuallie out of the conduits, and the graweling of the streets needeth not to be remembred.]

Whilste this ladie sojourned for her recreation in the bishops palace of London, being in the meane time visited of the king, the quene, and the kings mother, there was erected in the bodie of S. Paules church a long bridge made of timber, extending from the west dore of the church to the step at the entring into the quere, which was six foot from the ground. On the said bridge of stage, guen direalie before the confessorie of the church, was a place raised like a mount for eight persons to stand vpon, compassed round about with steps to ascend and descend, which was covered with fine red woofes, and in likewise were all the railles of the said stage. On the north side of this mount was a place decked and trimmed for the king and quene, and such other as they appointed to haue. On the south side of the same mount stood the maior and the magistrates of the citie.

When all things were prepared and set in order, upon the foureteenth of Nouember then being Sundaye, the foresaid ladie was led to the said mount, and there prince Arthur openlie espoused her, both being clad in white, both lustie and amorous, he of the age of sixteen and more, and she of the age of eighteen or thereabouts, the king and quene standing piously on their stage. After the matrimonie celebrated, the prince and his wife went vp into the quere, and there heard a solemne masse song by the archbishop of Cantuarburie, associat with nineteen prelates mitted. And after the masse finished, the bzide was led homewards to the bishops palace by the duke of Yorke being then a godlie yong prince, and the legat of Spaine. Pert after followed the ladie Cicilie sister to the quene, suppoorting the traine of the spoule.

But to speake of all the solemne pompe, noble companie of lords and ladies, and what a sumptuous feast and plentifull was kept, with dawning and disgulings, wo:ds might sooner faile than matter wo:ds of rehearfall. Whatbeit euerie daie endeth and night insuech, and so when night was come, the prince and his beautifull bzide were brought and ioined together in one bed, where they laie as man and wife all that night. ¶ Now when the morning appeared, the prince (as his familiar seruitors, which had then nether cause nor reward to lie of faine, openlie told the tale called for drinke, which he before times was not accustomed to do. At which thing one of his chamberleines maruelling, asked the cause of his drouth. To whom the prince answered merilie, saieing: I haue this night bene in the middelt of Spaine, which is a hot region, and that iournie maketh me so drie: and if thou haddest bene vnder that hot climat, thou wouldest haue bene drier than I.]

Shortlie after the king and the quene, with the new wedded spoules went from Baimards cassell by water to Westminister, on whom the maior and communalte of London in barges gorgeously trimmed gaue their attendance. And there in the palace were such martiall seats, valiant iusts, vigorous turneis, and such fierce fight at the barriers, as before that time was of no man had in remembrance. Of this roiall triumph lord Edward duke of Bucking-

ham was chiefe challenger, and lord Thomas Greie marquisse Dorset chiefe defender, which with their aids and companions bare themselves to dauntlie, that they got great praife and honour, both of the Spaniards, and of their owne countrymen. During the time of these iusts and triumphs, were receined into London, an earle, a bishop, and diuerse noble personages sent from the king of Scots into England, for conclusion of the marriage betwene the ladie Margaret and him; which earle by prorie, in the name of king James his master, affied and contracted the said ladie. Which affiance was published at Paules crosse, the daie of the conuersion of saint Paule: in reioicing whereof *Te Deum* was song, and great fiers made through the citie of London.

These things being accomplished, the ambassadoys as well of Spaine as Scotland toke their leane of the king, and not without great rewards returned into their countries. When the ambassadoys were departed, he sent his sonne prince Arthur againe into Wales, to keepe that countrie in good order; appointing to him wise and expert counsellors, as sir Richard Pole his kinsman, which was his chiefe chamberleine, also sir Henrie Vernon, sir Richard Cross, sir David Philip, sir William Udall, sir Thomas Englefield, sir Peter Newton knights; John Malleson, Henrie Barton, & doctor William Smith, president of his counsell, and doctor Charles, of the which two doctors, the one was after bishop of Lincoln, and the other bishop of Hereford.

This yeare John Shaw (who was maior of London) caused his brethren the aldermen to ride from the Guildhall vnto the water side, when he went to Westminster to be presented in the exchequer. He also caused the kitchens and other houses of office to be builded at the Guildhall, where since that time the maiors feasts haue bene kept, which before had bene in the grocers or tallowers hall. About Easter, all the Greie friers in England changed their habit, for whereas of long time before they had used to weare browne russet of foure shillings, six shillings, and eight shillings the yard; now they were compelled to weare russet of two shillings the yard and not above, which was brought to passe by the friers of Cranelwich. This yeare, the dike called Turnemill broke, with all the course of flet dike, were so scoured downe to the Thames, that boates with fish and felwell were rowed vp to Holborne bridge, as they of old time had bene accustomed: which was a great commoditie to all the inhabitants in that part of London. Also the tower nere to the Blacke friers was taken downe by the commandement of the maior. Also this yeare were brought vnto the king three men taken in the new found Islands, by Sebastian Cabato, before named in Anno 1468. These men were clothed in beasts skins, and eat raw flesh, but spake such a language as no man could vnderstand them, of the which three men, two of them were sene in the kings court at Westminster two yeares after, clothed like Englishmen, and could not be discerned from Englishmen.]

A few moneths before the marriage of prince Arthur, Edmund de la Pole earle of Suffolke, sonne to John duke of Suffolke, and ladie Elizabeth sister to king Edward the fourth, being bold and rash withall, was indicted of murder, for sleaing of a meane person in his rage & furie. And although the king pardoned him whome he might lustie haue put to death for that offense, yet bicause he was brought to the barre before the kings Bench, and arraigned (which fact he toke as a great blemish to his honour) shortlie after vpon that displeasure he fled into Flanders vnto his aunt the ladie Margaret, the king not being ynnie to his going ouer. Peruerthelesse, the

Margaret eldest daughter to king Henrie affied to James king of Scots.

1502

Prince Arthur is sent into Wales,

John Stow pag. 874, 875.

The maiors feast first kept at Guildhall,

woollen cloth of two shillings the yarde. Dikes of London cleansed.

Men brought from the new found Islands,

Edmund erls of Suffolke flieth into Flanders.

ther he was perswaded by his friends thereunto, whom the king had willed to deale with him therein; or whether upon trust of his innocencie: true it is that he returned againe, and excused himselfe to the king, so that he thought him to be guiltlesse of anie crime that might be objected against him.

But when the marriage betwixt the prince & the ladie Katharine of Spaine was kept at London, this erle either for that he had passed his compasse in excessive charges and sumptuousnesse at that great triumph and solemnitie, and by reason thereof was farre run into debt; either else through the procurement of his aunt the foresaid ladie Margaret; or picked with some private enuie, which could not patientlie with open eyes behold king Henrie (being of the aduerser faction to his linage) so long to reigne in wealth and felicitie: in conclusion with his brother Richard fled againe into Flanders. This departure of the erle sore bereaved the king, doubting of some new trouble to issue thereof.

But yet to vnderstand the full meaning of the said erle, the king used his old fetch: for immediately after the erle was fled, he appointed sir Robert Curson, whom he had aduanced to the order of knighthood, and made capitaine of Hammes castell, a valiant man and a circumspect, to dissemble himselfe one of that conspiracie; who went into Flanders, to espie what was done there by the ladie Margaret, and his nephew the erle of Suffolke. After that the said sir Robert Curson was thus gone into Flanders, the king to put him out of all suspicion with the said ladie Margaret and the erle, caused the said erle, and sir Robert Curson, and five persons more to be accused at Paules crosse, the first Sunday of Nouember, as enemies to him and his realme.

To be briefe, the king by his meanes, and other such diligent inquisition as he made, trised out such as he suspected, partly to be deuilers of mischefe against him, and partly to beare no sincere affection towards his person, so that he could readily name them: whereof a great part were within few daies apprehended and taken. And amongst them William lord Courtencie, sonne to the erle of Devonshire, which married the ladie Katharine, daughter to king Edward the fourth; lord William de la Pole, brother to the foresaid erle of Suffolke, sir James Tirrell, & sir John Windam. Both the Williams were rather taken of suspicion, because they were so neere of kin to the conspirator, than for anie proued matter. But sir James Tirrell and John Windam, because they were traitors, and so attainted, the first daie of Maie after their apprehension, they were on the Tower hill beheaded.

When the erle of Suffolke heard what fortune thus happened to his friends, as one in bitter despaire to haue anie good successe in his pretended enterprise, wandered about all Germanie and France, to purchase some aid and succour, if by anie means he might. But when he perceived no stedfast ground to catch anchor: hold vpon, he submitted himselfe vnder the protection of Philip archduke of Austrich. But his brother Richard, being a politike man, so wisely ordered himselfe in this stormie tempest, that he was not intrapped either with net or snare. The king not yet out of all doubt of ciuill sedition, because a great number of euill disposed persons partakers of this conspiracie, were fled into sundrie sanctuaries, deuised to haue all the gates of sanctuaries and places privileged shut and locked vp, so that none should issue out from thence to perturb and disquiet him.

And for that intent he wrote vnto pope Alexander, desiring him by his authoritie to adiudge all Englishmen, being fled to sanctuarie for the offense

of treason as enemies to the christian faith, interdicting and prohibiting the refuge and priuilege of sanctuarie to all such, as once had enioied the libertie and protection of the same, and after that fled out, and euillwies returned againe. Which thing after that the pope had granted, turned to the great quietnesse of the king and his realme. For manie that had offended, for feare to fall into danger, returned to the due subiection of their prince; and other that were yet free from perill, durst not hazard themselves so boldlie as they durst haue done before, vpon hope of such starting holes.

When the king had thus settled things to his owne contentation and pleasure, there suddenlie happened to him a lamentable chance. For that noble prince Arthur, the kings first begotten sonne, after he had bene married to the ladie Katharine his wife, the space of five moneths, departed out of this transitorie life, in his castell of Ludlow, and with great funeral obsequie was buried in the cathedrall church of Worcester. His brother the duke of Yorke was deaied from the title of Prince by the space of a moneth, till to women it might appeare whether the ladie Katharine liue to the said prince Arthur was conceived with child or not. [It is reported that this ladie Katharine thought and feared such dolorous chance to come: for when she had embraced her father, and taken her leave of her noble and prudent mother, and sailed towards England, she was continually so tossed and tumbled hither and thither with boisterous winds, that what for the rage of the water, and contrarietie of the winds, her ship was prohibited diuerse times to approach the shore and take land.]

In this eighteenth yeare, the twentieth fourth daie of Januarie, a quarter of an houre afore three of the clocke at after none of the same daie, the first stone of our ladie chapel within the monastrie of Westminster was laid, by the hands of John Slip abbat of the same monastrie, sir Reginald Waie knight of the garter, doctor Barnes maister of the colleges, doctor Wall chapleine to the kings maiestie, maister Hugh Oldham chapleine to the countesse of Darbie and Richmond the kings mother, sir Edward Stanhope knight, and diuerse others. Vpon the same stone was this scripture ingrauen: *Illustrissimus Henricus septimus rex Anglia & Francie, & dominus Hibernie, posuit hanc petram in honore beate virginis Marie, 24. die Ianuarij, anno Domini 1502. Et anno dicti regis Henrici septimi, decimo octauo.* The charges wherof amounted (as some report, vpon credible information as they saie) to foureteene thousand pounds.

Queene Elizabeth lieng within the Tower of London, was brought a bed of a faire daughter on Candlemasse daie, which was there christened and named Katharine; and the eleuenth of the same moneth the said queene there deceased, and was buried at Westminster, whose daughter also liued but a small season after her mother. [King Henrie the seauenth being himselfe a brother of the talloz company in London, as diuerse other his predecessors kings before him had bene (to wit Richard the third, Edward the fourth, Henrie the first, Henrie the sixth, Henrie the fourth, and Richard the second; also of dukes eleuen, earles eight and twentie, and lordes eight and fortie) he now gaue to them the name and title of merchant talloz, as a name of worship to indure for ener. This yeare, about the later end of March, the prioz of the Charterhouse of Shene was murdered in a cell of his owne house, by meanes of one Godwine, a monke of the same cloister, and his adherents artificers of London. A drie summer hauing no notable raine from Whitson tide to the later ladie daie in haruest.

The eighteenth of Februarie, the king at his palace

The discontented mind of the erle of Suffolke.

The kings discontented mind of the erle of Suffolke.

Tirrell and Windam beheaded.

Donatus

The death of Arthur prince of Wales.

Edw. Hall in Hen. 7. lib. 1.

Anno Reg. 1503 King Henrie the seauenth chapel at Westminster first founded.

Abt. Fl. or 1503 pag. 87. Sir Kings of England have their coronations in London, before they were the coronation of Henry the eighth.

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face of Westminster created his onelie sonne Hen-  
rie prince of Wales, earle of Chester, &c: who after-  
ward succeeded his father in possession of the regall  
crown of this realme. Moreover, this yeare also,  
after the deceasse of that noble queene, for hir vertue  
commonlie called good queene Elizabeth, departed  
out of this world also sir Reginald Bate knight of  
the garter, a verie father of his countrie, for his high  
wisdom and singular loue to iustice well woorthie  
to beare that title. If anie thing had bene done a-  
gainst contrarie to law and equitie, he would after  
a humble sort plainelie blame the king, and giue  
him good aduertisement, that he should not onelie re-  
fouse the same, but also be more circumspect in anie  
other the like case. Of the same vertue and faithfull  
plaintiffe was John Foxton archbishop of Can-  
turburie, which died (as is shewed aboue) two yeares  
before.

So these two persons were restrainers of the  
kings vnbisheled libertie; whereas the common  
people (ignorant altogether of the truth in such mat-  
ters) iudged and reported, that the counsell of those  
two woorthie personages corrupted the kings cleane  
and immaculate conscience, contrarie to his prince-  
lie disposition and naturall inclination; such is euer  
the error of the common people. About this time  
died Henrie the archbishop of Canturburie, whose  
roune doctor William Warham bishop of London  
supplied. And to the see of London William Barnes  
was appointed, and after his death succeeded one Ri-  
chard fitz James. This yeare also the lord Calimire  
marquesse of Brandenburg, accompanied with an  
earle, a bishop, and a great number of gentlemen  
well apparelled, came in ambassage from the empe-  
ror Maximilian, and were triumphantlie receiued  
into London, and lodged at Croftes place.

Their message was for thre causes, one to com-  
fort the king in his tunc of heauinesse for the losse of  
his wife. The second for the renewing of amitie, and  
the old league. The third (which was not apparant)  
was to moue the king to marie the emperours  
daughter, the ladie Margarete, duchesse Dowager of  
Bourgoigne. The two first took effect: for the king vpon  
Passen Sundaye rode to Paules in great triumph,  
the said marquesse riding on his left hand. And there  
the bishop made to the king an excellent consolatorie  
oration concerning the death of the queene. And there  
also the king openlie swore to keepe the new reu-  
newed league and amitie during their two liues. But  
the third request (whether the let was on the mans  
side, or on the womans) neuer sorted to anie con-  
clusion.

The ladie Margarete the kings daughter, assied  
(as ye haue heard) to the king of Scots, was appoin-  
ted to be conueied into Scotland, by the earle of  
Surrey: and the earle of Northumberland, as war-  
den of the marches, was commanded to deliuer hir  
at the confines of both the realmes. And so here vpon  
after hir comming to Berwik, she was conuei-  
ed to Lamberton kirke in Scotland, where the king  
of Scots, with the flower of all the nobles and gen-  
tlemen of Scotland, was readie to receiue hir: to  
whome the earle of Northumberland (according to  
his commission) deliuered hir. The said earle of North-  
umberland and that date, what for the riches of his coat  
being goldsmithes worke, garnished with pearle  
and stone, and what for the gallant apparell of his  
hensmen, and braue trappers of his horse, beside  
four hundred tall men well hoised and apparellled  
in his colours, was esteemed both of the Scots and  
Englishmen more like a prince than a subiect.

From Lamberton, the foresaid ladie was con-  
ueied to Ednburgh, and there the daie after, king  
James the fourth, in the presence of all his nobilitie,

esponed hir, and feasted the English lords, and shew-  
ed iusts and other pastimes verie honourable, after  
the fashion of that countrie. And after all things  
were finished according to their commission, the earle  
of Surrey with all the English lords and ladies re-  
turned into their countrie. In this yeare the king  
kept his high court of parlement, in the which di-  
uerse acts esteemed necessarie for the preservation of  
the common-wealth were established: and amongst  
other, it was enacted, that thieues and murderers  
duelie conuicted by the law to die, and yet saued by  
their books, should be committed to the bishops custo-  
die. After this, a subsidie was granted, both of the  
temporalitie, and spiritualtie, and so that parlement  
ended.

But the king now drawing into age, and willing  
to fill his chests with abundance of treasure, was  
not satisfiied with this onelie subsidie, but deuised an  
other meane how to enrich himselfe, as thus. He  
considered that the Englishmen little regarded the  
keeping of penall lawes, and pecuniary statutes, de-  
uised for the good preservation of the common-wealth.  
Wherefore he caused inquisition to be made of those  
that had transgressed anie of the same lawes, so that  
there were but few noble men, merchants, farmers,  
husbandmen, graffers, or occupiers, that could clea-  
re proue themselves faultlesse, but had offended  
in some one or other of the same lawes. At the first,  
they that were found gilty were caslie fined. But  
after, there were appointed two maisters and suruey-  
ors of his forfeits, the one sir Richard Empson, and  
the other Edmund Dudley.

These two were learned in the lawes of the  
realme, who meaning to satisfie their princes plea-  
sure, and to see their commission executed to the vt-  
termost, seemed little to respect the perill that might  
infrue. Wherevpon they being furnished with a sort  
of accusers, commonlie called promoters, or (as they  
themselves will be named) informers, troubled ma-  
nie a man, whereby they wan them great hatred, and  
the king (by such rigorous proceedings) lost the loue  
and fauour which the people before time had borne  
towards him; so that he for setting them a worke, and  
they for executing of it in such extream wisse, ran in-  
to obloquie with the subjects of this realme.

On the thirtieth of Nouember was holden with-  
in the palace of the archbishop of Canturburie, at  
Lambeth, the sergeants feast, where dined the king  
and all his nobles. And vpon the same day, Thomas  
Granger, newlie chosen shriffe of London, was  
presented before the barons of the kings exchequer,  
there to take his oth, and after went with the maio-  
r vnto the same feast, which saued him monie in his  
purse; for if that day that feast had not bene kept, he  
must haue feasted the maio- r, aldermen, and others,  
twoorthipfull of the citie. This feast was kept at the  
charge of ten learned men, newlie admitted to be  
sergeants to the kings law, whose names were, Ro-  
bert Bidnell, William Grenill, Thomas Harlow,  
George Edgore, John More, John Cutler, Thomas  
Cliot, Lewis Pollard, Cui Palmis, William  
Fairfax. On the one and twentieth of Nouember at  
night, began a perillous fier at the signe of the pa-  
nier vpon London bridge, nere to saint Agnys  
church; where six tenements were burned yee the  
same could be quenched. On the seuenth of Janua-  
rie, were certeine houses consumed with fire against  
saint Butolphes church in Thames street. On the  
five and twentieth of Ianuarie began a parlement at  
Westminster, of the which was chosen speaker for  
the commons, maister Edmund Dudley.]

A new coine of siluer was ordeined of grotes  
and halfe grotes, which bare but halfe faces; and  
some peeces of the value of twelue pence were then  
stamped,

garet king  
Henries el-  
dest daughter.

Anno Reg. 19.

The king co-  
uetous in his  
old age.

1504

Richard  
Empson &  
Edmund  
Dudley.

Promoters.

Abt. Fl. ex  
I.S. pag. 876.  
Sergeant's  
feast whereat  
were the king  
and all his  
nobles as  
dinner.

Fire on L. ord  
don bridge.

Fire.

Parliament.

Anno reg. 20.



An. Reg. 21.

The king of  
Castile inter-  
dicted Spania  
Spain.

to sir John Carew, and to sir Thomas Trenchard, that they should intertaine him in the most honorable sort they could devise, till he might come himselfe in person to welcome him. Beside this, he sent the earle of Arundell with manie lords and knights to attend upon him. Which earle (according to the kings letters) receiued him with three hundred hostles, all by torchlight, to the great admiration of the strangers.

King Philip seeing no remedie but that he must needs tarie, would no longer gaze after king Henric comming, but took his iournie toward Windsoze castell, where the king late: and five miles from Windsoze the prince of Wales, accompanied with five earles, and diuerse lords and knights, and other to the number of five hundred persons gorgeouslie apparelled, receiued him after the most honorable fashion. And within halfe a mile of Windsoze, the king, accompanied with the duke of Buckingham, and a great part of the nobilitie of this realme, welcomed him, & so conuied him to the castell of Windsoze, where he was made companion of the noble order of the garter. After him came to Windsoze his wife quene Jane, sister to the princesse Dowager, late wife to prince Arthur.

After the two kings had renewed & confirmed the league and amitie betwixt them, king Henric desired to haue Edmund de la Pole earle of Suffolke to be deliuered into his hands. To whom the king of Castile answered, that he herelic was not within his dominion: and therefore it laie not in him to deliuer him. In deed he was loth to be the authour of his death that came to him for succour, and was receiued under his protection: yet upon the earnest request and assured promise of king Henric (that he would pardon him of all erecutions and paines of death he granted to king Henrics desire; and so in continuallie caused the said earle secretlie to be sent for. After this, to protract time till he were possessed of his priue, king Henric conuied the king of Castile unto the citie of London, that he might see the head citie of his realme.

Then he led him from Baimards castell by Cheape to Warling; and so returned by Watling street againe: during which time there was shot out of the Towre a wonderfull peale of ordinance. But he would not enter into the Towre, because as ye haue heard before he had aduised not to enter the fortresse of anye foreign prince, in the which a garrison was maintained. From London the king brought him to Richmond, where manie notable feates of armes were played both of tilt, turnie, and barriers. In the meane season the erle of Suffolke, perceiving what hope was to be had in foreign princes, and trusting that after his life to him once granted, king Henric would graunte let him at his full libertie, was in manner contented to returne againe unto his native countrey.

When all pacts and covenants betwixt the kings of England and Castile were appointed, concluded, and agreed, king Philip took his leave of king Henric passing to him and he heartie thanks for his high done and comelie entertainment. And being accompanied with diuerse lords of England, he came to the citie of Wyndesore, and so to Slough in Cornubell, and there taking ship sailed into Spaine, where he arrived after he had being thertie yeares of age. The king of Spaine commended, of countenance amiable of bodye some what grosse, quicke witted, bold and brave, somewhat the temper that he suffered on the sea was large, and wonderfull also upon the land, in command of the viceroy of the town which before an eagle of battle, being set to fight on which part the sword was, from a pike of Spanis sword,

and in the falling, the same eagle brake and battered an other eagle that was set up for a signe at a tauerne dore in Cheape side.

Whereupon men that were given to gestic things that should happen by marking of strange tokens, deemed that the emperour Maximilian, which gaue the eagle, should suffer some great misfortune: as he did shortly after by the losse of his sonne, the said king Philip. And suerlie these prodigious accidents are not to be omitted as matter of course; for they haue their weight, and shew their truth in the issue. Examples in this booke be diuerse, among which one is verie memorizable, mentioned in the thirtie & ninth yeare of Henric the first. At what time the duke of Booke making an oration to the lords of the parliament, for the iustifying of his title to the crowne, it chanced that a crowne which hang in the middle of the nether house (to garnish a branch to set lights upon) without touch of man or blast of wind suddenlie fell downe. About which season also fell downe the crowne which stood on the top of Dover castell. Which things were construed to be signes that the crowne of the realme should some waie haue a fall; and so it came to passe.

And because the events of these foresayd had their truth, as manie more of the like nature; it shall not be amisse here to ad (by waie of digression) what hath bene obserued in former ages by foreign writers in and about such foretokens. The consent of the heathens and of men, pronounced to Italie their calamities to come: for that such as made profession to haue iudgement either by science or diuine inspiration in the things to come, assured with one voice that there were in preparing, both more great mutations and more strange and horrible accidents, than for manie worldes before had bene discerned in anye part or circuit of the earth. There were scene in the night in Pouille three suns in the midst of the firmament, but manie clouds about them, with right fearefull thunders and lightnings. In the territories of Aetze, were visible scene passing in the aire, infinite numbers of armed men upon mightie horses, with a terrible noise of drums and trumpets. The images & figures of saints did sweate in manie parts of Italie.

In euery place of the countrey were brought forth manie monsters of men and other creatures, with manie other things against the order of nature comming all at one time, but in diuerse places: by means wherof the people were carried into incredible feares, being already amazed with the brute of the French powers & furie of that nation, with which according to the testimony of histories they had sometime run over all Italie, sacked and made desolate with fire and sword the citie of Rome, and subuerted in Asia manie provinces; and generally no part of the world which had not felt the vertue of their armes. But albeit these iuggements are oftentimes fallible, and rather coniectures vncertaine, than effects happening: yet the accidents that were on, brought to them, in the spirits of fraile men, an abhorrent faith, credit, & religion. So that there is in force the woe matter of moment together to be obserued, howeuer the world lieth asleep in the lap of security is touched with no feare of change. But alas the heathen could see the contrarie, and therefore said:

Quidam multumque maluerunt sepe velle,  
Nec se velle velle velle velle velle velle  
Etenim velle velle velle velle velle velle

But to returne to our owne story. Shortly after the departing of king Philip, the king of England began to suspect sir George Bouch lord of Abington, and sir Thomas Greue of Greues house, as partakers in the beginning of the conspiracy which the earle of Suffolke had in upon his independence

Prodigious  
tokens or acci-  
dents haue  
their issue in  
truth.

See pag 657.

Abt. Flern. ea  
Guic. pag. 40.

Three sunnes  
scene at once  
in the night.

Man. lib.  
Ap. lib.

they were committed to the Tower. But shortly after, when they had bene tried and purged of that suspicion, he commanded them both to be set at liberty. But sir Thomas Crâne fell sicke before, and remained in the Tower, in hope to be restored to his health as well as to his libertie, but by death he was prevented. [And here because it is good to see the consent of histories in the report of accidents, it shall not be amisse to repeat the entier relation of a late writer stranger touching this casuallie which befell to king Philip, in such sort to be cast vpon the English coasts; as also the promise of the said king to deliver the duke of Suffolke into the hands of king Henrie, with the cause (as it is supposed) why the king desired to haue him within his owne reach.

Abr. Fl. ex Guic. pag. 355. King Philip saileth out of Flanders into Spaine.

King Philip was imbarked to saile out of Flanders into Spaine with a great armie by sea; and to reduce his going to a more facilitie and safetie (for he feared least his father in law by the aid of the French would hinder his passage) he practised the Spanish subtilties, and agreed with him to leaue vnto him the managing and policie of the most part of affaires, and that they shuld take in common the title of king of Spaine, according to the example in the queenes time: and lastlie, that the reuenues and tributes shoud be diuided in an order certeine & indifferent. By reason of which accord, his father in law, notwithstanding he was not assured of the obseruation, sent him into Flanders manie ships to furnish his voyage: with the which, hauing imbarked his wife, and Ferdinand his second sonne, he toke his course into Spaine with forward winds, which, within two daies turning cleane contrarie, after his nauie had runne a dangerous fortune, and made a wearie resistance against the furie of the sea, his ships were cast vpon sundrie coasts of England and Britaine; his owne person with two or three ships being driuen with manifest perill vpon England into the haven of South Hampton.

King Philip cast by casuallie of sea vpon the coasts of England.

Whereof Henrie the seventh then king of that nation being aduertised, sent to him with speed manie barons to do him honour, and desire him to come to his court, then at London: a request which Philip could not denie, the king of Englands demand bearing no lesse honourable, than his owne estate full of necessitie and nakednesse. He remained in the court of England, vntill all his nauie was reassembled, and effences rigged, making in the meane while betwene them new capitulations: wherein albeit Philip in all other things held himselfe vsed as a king, yet in this one thing complained, that he was constrained as a prisoner, to consent to redeliver to him Henries hands the duke of Suffolke, whom he held prisoner within the castell of Hamur, and whom the king of England desired much to haue in his power, for that he quarrelled the title of the crowne, pretending the right of the kingdome to appertene to him: one lie the king of England assured Philip by the faith and word of a king, that he would not put him to death, which he did as iustlie performe, as he had honorable promised, keeping him in prison so long as he liued, and afterwards was beheaded vnder the reigne and commandement of his sonne.]

Philip promised to redeliver to king Henrie the duke of Suffolke.

Anno Reg. 22.

The sweating sicknesse effsones returneth.

This yeare the king began to be diseased of a certeine infirmite, which thise euerie yeare, but specially in the springtime sore bered him. And because for the most part the harme that chanceth to the prince, is parted with his subiects, the sweating sicknesse, which (as ye haue heard) in the first yeare of the king first afflicted the people of this realme, now assailed them againe; howbeit by the remedie found at the beginning of it, nothing the like number died thereof now this second time, as did at the first time till the said remedie was inuented. But now the third plague

equall to the pestilence insued, by the working of the maisters of the forfeitures, and such informers as were appointed thereto. By whose meanes manie a rich & wealthe person by the extremitie of the lawes of the realme were condemned and brought to great losse and hunderance.

A great part of which their bndomings proceeded by the inconuenience of such unconscionable officers, as by the abuse of exgents outlawed those that neuer heard, nor had knowledge of the lutes commensed against them, of which hard and sharpe dealing (the harme that thereof insueeth considered) if the occasion might be taken awaie by some other more reasonable forme and order of law deuised, whereby the parties might haue personall waiting, it would both preserve manie an innocent man from vnder serued beration, and danger of vnmerefull losse of goods; and also rebound highlie to the commendation of the prince, and such other as chanced to be reformers of that colourable law, where they be called onlie in the counties without other knowledge giuen to them or theirs at their dwelling houses.

But now to returne. Such maner of outlawries, old recognisances of the peace, and god abearings, escapes, riots, & innumerable statutes penall, were put in execution, and called vpon by Emplon and Dupleie; so that euerie man, both the spirituale and tempozaltie, hauing either lands or substance, were invited to that plucking banquet. For these two rauening wolues had a gard of false perjured persons appertaining to them, which were impanelled in euerie quest. Learned men in the law, when they were required of their aduise, would say; So agree is the best counsell that I can giue you. By this vaine miranes, these couetous persons filled the kings coffers, and enriched themselves. And at this vncurable and extort doing, noble men grudged, meane men kicked, poore men lamented, preachers openlie at Doles crosse and other places exclaimed, rebuked, and detested. Howbeit the good king in his last daies conferred and pardoned his poore subiects of such vcharitable yokes and ponderous burdens as they were laden withall.

Ed. Hall in Hen. 7. fol. 19.

Sir Gilbert Talbot knight, and Richard Bere abbat of Claffenburie, and doctor Robert Sherborne deane of Poules, were sent as ambassadoys from the king to Rome, to declare to Pius the thirde of that name newlie elected pope in place of Alexander the first deceased, what joy and gladnesse had entered the kings heart for his preferment. But he taried not the coming of those ambassadoys, for within a moneth after that he was installed, he rendered his debt to nature, and so had short pleasure of his promotion [not beguiling the hopes which the cardinals conceived of him at the time of his creation, the six & twentieth day after his election, which was in short time to die. This popes name was Francis Piccolomini cardinal of Sienna, in whom was no expectation of long life, both for his extream age, and present sicknesse: a cardinall sure of vnspotted report, and so for his other conditions not vnworthie that degree; who to renew the memorie of Pius secundus his vncle, toke vpon him the name of Pius the thirde.]

1507.

Abr. Fl. ex Guic. pag. 355.

Pag. 35.

Pag. 36.

He succeeded Alexander the first, who went to supper in a vineyard nere the Vatican to reioise in the delight & pleasure of the fresh aire, & was suddenly carried for dead to the bishops palace; his sonne also communicating in the same accident, but with better fortune. For the day following, which was the eighteenth day of August, the dead corps of the pope (according to custome) was borne into the church of saint Peter, blacke, swolne, and most deformed; most manifest signes of poison. But Valerincius, by the vigour and strength of his youth, and reable helpe of strong

strong medicines and counterpoisons, had his life saved, remaining notwithstanding oppressed with long and grievous sicknesse: it was assuredly beleued that the accident proceeded of poison, the discourse whereof (according to common report) was in this sort.

The duke Valentinois, who was to be present at that supper, had determined to poison Adrian cardinal of Cornette, reserving that time and place to execute his bloudie resolution: for it is most certaine that in his father and him were naturall customes to vse poison, not onelie to be reuenged of their enemies, or to be assured of suspicions; but also vpon a wicked courtlinesse, to despoile rich men of their goods, whether they were cardinals or courtiers, although they had neuer done them wrong, as hapned to the cardinall saint Ange, who was verie rich. This manner of rage they would vse also against their greifed friends & familiars, and such as had bin their most faithfull seruants, such as were the cardinals of Capua and Spodeno: a recompense vnto the merits of good men, and not disagreeable to the disposition of such a father and sonne, whereof the one made all things lawfull by vile disperation; and with the other nothing was dishonest wherein was opportunitie to his purposes. The duke Valentinois sent before certaine flagons with wine infected with poison, which he gave to a seruant that knew nothing of the matter, commanding that no person should touch them.

A common vnderment preiudiciall to his maister, as the ignorance of the seruant was the instrument in the euill that happened both to the father and son. Such is the sufferance of God, who in the execution of his iudgements raiseth one murderer to kill another, & breaketh the bands of the fire vpon the head of him that first kindled it: for the pope comming by aduenture somewhat before supper, and overcome with the brought and immoderate heat of the time, called for drinke. And because his owne pouison was not yet brought from the palace, he that had the infected wine in charge, thinking it to be recomended to his keeping for a wine most excellent, gaue the pope to drinke of the same wine which Valentinois had sent; who arriving while his father was drinkeing drinke also of the same wine, being but iust that they both should tast of the same cup which they had buyed for the destruction of others. All the towne of Rome ran with great gladnesse to saint Peters about the dead bodie of the pope, their eyes not satisfied to see dead and despoiled a serpent, who with his immoderate ambition and poisoned infidelitie, together with all the horrible examples of crueltie, luxurie, and monstrous courtlinesse, selling without distinction both holie things and prophane things, had infected the whole world.

And yet was he accompanied with a most rare, & almost perpetuall prosperitie cuen from his yong age, to the end of his life; desiring alwaies great things, and obtaining most often that he desired. An example of much importance, to confound the arrogancie of those men, who presuming to know and see perfectlie with humane eyes the depth of Gods iudgements do assure, that what happeneth either good or ill to mortall men, proceedeth either of their merits or faults: as though we saw not daillie manie god men vniuallie tormented, & wicked persons about their deservings liue in ease and honour: wherein who makes an other interpretation, derogates the iustice and power of God, the greatnesse of which being not to be contained within any script or tearme present, knoweth how well and largely to discern in an other time and place the iust from the vniuall, and that with rewards and eternall punishments. In the

meane time he poureth out his vengeance vpon the imaginers of mischance in this life; so providing, as that they are caught in their owne snares, and overtaken with such destruction as they had prepared for others, according to that saying of the Psalmist:

*Effudit puteum, foueamque eduxit ab imo,  
Et miser in latebras incidit ipse suas.*

*In verticem ipsius recurrit*

*Pernicies, reciduntque fraudes.]*

At the same time died Giles lord Daubencie the kings chiefe chamberleine, whose office Charles, barbard sonne to Henrie last duke of Summerfet occupied and entialed; a man of good wit, and great experience. Some after, the king caused Guidebald duke of Ardeine to be created knight of the order of the garter, in like maner as his father duke Frederike had bene before him, which was chosen and admitted into the order by king Edward the fourth. Sir Gilbert Talbot, and the other two ambassadors being appointed to keepe on their iourneie vnto pope Julius the second, elected after the death of the said Julius the third, bare the habit and collar also vnto the said duke Guidebald; which after he had received the same, sent sir Balthasar Castilio, knight, a Spaniard borne, as his orator vnto king Henrie, which was for him installed, according to the ordinances of the order.

This yeare that worthy prelate Thomas Savage archbishop of Dorke departed this life at his castell of Calwood: a man beside the worthinesse of his birth highlie esteemed with his prince for his fast fidelitie and great wisdom. He bestowed great cost in repairing the castell of Calwood and the manor of Scrobie. His bodie was buried at Dorke, but he appointed by his testament, that his hart should be buried at Sparckesfield in Cheshire, where he was borne, in a chapell there of his foundation, joining to the south side of the church, meaning to haue founded a college there also, if his purpose had not bene preuented by death. After him succeeded doctor Benbidge in the archbishops see of Dorke, being the fiftie and first archbishop that had sat in that see.

About this same time lettes the French king, the twelke of that name (who succeeded Charles the eighth that died at Amboise the night before the eighth date of April, of a catarrhe, which the physicians call an apoplexie, the same rising in him with such abundance, as he beheld a match played at tennisse, that in few houres he ended at the same place his life: during the which, he had with greater importunitie than vertue troubled the whole world with great apparance of danger to kindle flames new fiers of inuouation and troubles) married his eldest daughter named Clare, vnto Francis de Valois Dolphin of Mienne, and duke of Angoulesme, which ladie was promised vnto Charles the king of Castile: whereupon by ambassadors sent to and fro betwixt king Henrie and the said king of Castile, a marriage was concluded betwixt the said king of Castile, and the ladie Marie, daughter to king Henrie, being about the age of ten yeares. For conclusion of which marriage, the lord of Barolo, & other ambassadors were sent into England from the emperor Maximilian which with great rewards returned.

William Woloue mercer maior of London this yeare deceased, and forthwith sir Laurence Ailmer draper was chosen and sworn, and went home in a grate cloake, with the sword borne before him, on the eight and twentieth date of March. Item he took his oath at the Tower, and kept no feast. William Capell was put in lute by the king for things by him done in his maioraltie. Also Thomas Kneffworth that had bene maior of London, and his thirteene, were sent to the kings Bench, till they were put to their

*Eub. Hist. de G.  
Buch. in 1<sup>o</sup> 1<sup>o</sup> 7.*

*The lord  
Daubencie  
died.*

*Anno Reg. 23.  
Guidebald  
duke of Ardeine  
made knight  
of the garter.*

*Thomas Savage  
archbishop of Dorke  
departed this life.*

*Abr. Fl. ex  
Guic. pag. 184.*

*1508*

*Abr. Fl. ex  
L.S. pag. 879.*

*William Capell  
sued by the king  
for things by him  
done in his maioraltie.  
Also Thomas Kneffworth  
that had bene maior of London,  
and his thirteene,  
were sent to the kings Bench,  
till they were put to their*

*particulars of  
the story by  
relation to an  
old paper.*

*Ed. Hall in  
Hen. 7. fol. 19.*

*Excerptal  
of the story  
which was  
written by  
the said  
pope in  
the year  
1507.*

*1507*

*Abr. Fl. ex  
Guic. pag. 314.*

*Pag 315.*

*Pag 307.*

Notwich on  
her.

Free schole at  
Wolfrun-  
hampton.

John Ligh-  
ton, his rare  
example of  
charitie.

Wolfrun-  
hampton, cor-  
ruptly called Wol-  
merhampton.

Ex charta Regia

Smart.  
Hospital of  
the Sauoie.

Rec. of Can-  
turb. church.

Fr. Thin.  
Thomas Kn-  
thall bishop of  
Durham.

their fines of soareteene hundred pounds. In the mo-  
neth of June, the cite of Notwich was sore perished,  
& nere consumed with fier, that began in a French  
mans house named Peter Johnson, a surgian, in  
the parish of saint George.

Stephan Wenings merchant tailor, maior of  
London, founded a free grammar schole at Wol-  
frunhampton in Staffordshire, with conuenient  
lodgings for the maister and vsher, in the same  
place where he was borne. He gaue lands sufficient  
for the maintenance, leaving the vngelift thereof  
to the merchant tailors in London, who haue hither-  
to iustlie dealt in that matter, and also augmented  
the building there. Maister Nichols, who married the  
onellie daughter and heire of the aforesaid Stephan  
Wenings, gaue lands to mainteine the pauements  
of that towne. Also, John Leneson esquier, about  
Anno 1556, gaue lands, whereof foure pounds should  
be dealt euerie yeare, on good Friday, to the poore  
people of Wolfrunhampton, and six and thientie  
shillings eight pence yeerlie, towards the reparatur  
on of the church there.

Moreover, about Anno 1566, sir John Ligh-  
ton, which had serued in that church there, the space  
of threescore yeares, for five pounds, six shillings eight  
pence the yeare, without anie other augmentation  
of his living, who would neuer take anie benefice, or  
other preferment, gaue twentie pounds, to purchase  
twentie shillings the yeare lands, the same to be gi-  
uen yeerlie for euer to the poore of Wolfrunhampton  
upon good Friday; & twelve pounds thirtene shil-  
lings foure pence, to purchase a marke a yeare lands,  
the same to be giuen to the poore of Chisnall, in the  
countie of Salop, where the said Ligh was borne.  
This man liued nigh one hundred yeares. He bestow-  
ed besides his owne labour which was great (in bea-  
ring of stones, &c.) about twentie pounds on the high  
waies about that towne of Wolfrunhampton.

This towne of Wolfrunhampton, is now cor-  
ruptly called Wolmerhampton: for in Anno 996,  
in king Ethelreds time (who wrote himselfe Rex An-  
glorum & princeps Northanbrorum Olympiade tertia regni  
sui, for so he wrote the count of his reigne then, which  
was the fiftieth yeare) it was then called Hamp-  
ton, as appereth by an old charter written by the no-  
tarie of the said king Ethelred, which charter I haue  
sene and read. And for that a noble woman named  
Wulftrune a widow, sometime wife to Alhelme duke  
of Northampton, did obtaine of the said king to giue  
lands vnto the church there which she had founded, the  
said towne toke the addition of the same Wulftrune,  
for that charter so nameth hir Wulftrune, and the  
towne Hampton.

In this yeare was finished the goodlie hospitall  
of the Sauoie nere vnto Charing crosse, which was  
a notable foundation for the poore, done by king  
Henrie the seauenth, vnto the which he purchased and  
gaue lands for the relieving of one hundred poore peo-  
ple. This was first named Sauoie place, by Peter  
earle of Sauoie, father to Boniface archbishop of  
Canturburie, about the nine and twentieth yeare of  
king Henrie the third, who made the said Peter erle  
of Richmond. This house belonged since to the duke  
of Lancaster, and at this time was conuerted to an  
hospitall, still retaining the first name of Sauoie.  
King Henrie also builded three houses of Francis-  
cane friers, which are called obseruants, at Rich-  
mond, Grænewich, and Newarke; and three other of  
the familie of Franciscane friers which are called  
conuentuals, at Canturburie, Newcastell, and  
Southhampton.]

This yeare was Thomas Knthall made bishop  
of Durham by Henrie the seauenth, touching whose  
place of birth (being at Cirencester now Cicester)

and himselfe, I will not refuse to set downe what  
Leland (about the yeare 1542) hath written, not be-  
ing vnfit here to be recorded. Cirencester (saith he) in  
Latine called *Corinium* standeth on the river Churne.  
There haue bene three parish churches, whereof  
saint Ceciliaes church is cleane downe, being of late  
but a chappell. Saint Laurence yet standeth, but it is  
no parish church. There be two poore shires women  
endued with land. There is now but one parish church  
in all Cirencester that is verie faire, the bodie of  
which church is all new worke, to the which Knthall  
bishop of Durham, who ne and brought vp in Ciren-  
cester) promised much, but prevented by death, gaue  
nothing. One Anne Aueling aunt to doctor Knthall  
by the mothers side, gaue one hundred markes to the  
building of that church. King Henrie the first made  
the hospitall of saint Johns at Cirencester. Thus  
saith Leland.

This man thus borne at Cirencester in Gloce-  
stershire, and made bishop of Durham, was after  
the death asking Henrie the seauenth, one of the pri-  
uie counsell to king Henrie the eighth, in whose court  
he was so continuallie attendant, that he could not  
steale anie time to attend the affaires of his bishop-  
ricke. But yet not altogether carelesse (though not so  
much as he ought to haue bene) of the place and  
cause from whence and for which he receiued so great  
reuenues, as came vnto his hands from that far. He  
repaired the third part of the bridge next vnto the  
south, which he might well doe; for he was accounted  
the richest subiect through the realme. To whom (re-  
maining then at the court) the king gaue in charge  
to write a booke of the whole estate of the kingdome,  
because he was knowne to the king to be a man of  
sufficiencie for the discharge thereof, which he did ac-  
cordinglie.

Afterwards, the king commanded cardinal  
Wolfeie to go to this bishop, and to bring the booke  
alwaie with him to deliuer to his maiestie. But see  
the mishap! that a man in all other things so promi-  
dent, should now be so negligent: and at that time  
most forget himselfe, when (as it after fell out) he had  
most need to haue remembred himselfe. For this bi-  
shop hauing written two bookes (the one to answer  
the kings command, and the other intreating of his  
owne priuate affaires) did bind them both after one  
sort in vellame, iust of one length, breadth, and thick-  
nesse, and in all points in such like proportion an-  
swering one an other, as the one could not by anie  
speciall note be discerned from the other: both which  
he also laid by together in one place of his studie.

Now when the cardinall came to demand the  
booke due to the king: the bishop vnadvisedlie com-  
manded his seruant to bring him the booke bound in  
white vellame lieng in his studie in such a place. The  
seruant doing accordinglie, brought forth one of  
those bookes so bound, being the booke intreating of  
the state of the bishop, and deliuered the same vnto  
his maister, who receiuing it (without further consi-  
deration or looking on) gaue it to the cardinall to  
beare vnto the king. The cardinall hauing the booke,  
went from the bishop, and after (in his studie by him-  
selfe) vnderstanding the contents thereof, he greatlie  
reliefed, hauing now occasion (which he long sought  
for) offered vnto him to bring the bishop into the  
kings disgrace.

Wherefore he went forthwith to the king, deliue-  
red the booke into his hands, and brauelie informed  
the king of the contents thereof; putting further into  
the kings head, that if at anie time he were desir-  
tute of a masse of monie, he should not need to seeke  
further therefore than to the cofers of the bishop, who  
by the tenor of his owne booke had accompted his  
proper riches and substance to the value of a hundred  
thou-

The first  
of Cuden.

The bishop  
arch of a so  
purchall ant  
genine con  
empt.

oil.

1505  
Anno Reg.

The bishop  
was one of  
Henrie the  
eighth priue  
counsell.

The king  
maintained  
to write a  
booke of the  
whole estate  
of the king-  
dome.

The deat  
king Henrie  
the seuenth

what chyl  
he had.

The deat  
tion of hi  
Henrie th  
seuenth.

The bishop  
booke of his  
priuate affai-  
res was bound  
in white vellame  
lieng in the  
studie of the  
king.

Justice  
gave him  
merce.

The bishop  
of Exeter.

The bishop  
of Exeter.

The bishop  
of Exeter.

The bishop  
of Exeter.

The bishop  
of Exeter.

The bishop  
of Exeter.

The king  
of England.

The king  
of England.

The king  
of England.

The king  
of England.

The king  
of England.

of all which when the bishop had intelligence (what he had done, how the cardinal used him, what the king said, and what the world reported of him) he was stricken with such griefe of the same, that he shortly through extreme sorrow ended his life at London, in the yeare of Christ 1523. After whose death the cardinal, which had long before ga-  
ped after the said bishoppe, in singular hope to at-  
taine thereto, had now his wish in effect: which he the more easilie compassed, for that he had his nets  
alwaies ready cast, as assuring himselfe to take a  
trout: following therein a prophane mans cautelous  
counsell, and putting the same in practise; who saith:

*Cassus ubi valet, semper tibi pendeat hamus,  
Quo minime credis gurgite piscis erit.*

The sickness which held the king daile more and more increasing, he well perceived that his end drew nere, and therefore meaning to do some high plea-  
sure to his people, granted of his free motion a gene-  
rall pardon to all men, for all offences done & com-  
mitted against anie his lawes or statutes; theenes,  
murthers, & certeine other were excepted. He paid  
also the fees of all prisoners in the gaoles in and a-  
bout London, abiding there onelie for that dutie.  
He paid also the debts of all such persons as laie in  
the counters of Ludgate for fourtie shillings, & a-  
bove; and some he releued that were condemned in  
ten pounds. Whereupon were processions generallie  
used euerie daie in euerie citie and parish, to praise to  
almightie God for his restoring to health and long  
continuance of the same. Whereupon he was so  
afflicted with his long maladie, that nature could no  
longer susteine his life, and so he departed out of this  
world the two and twentieth of Aprill, in his palace of  
Westminster, in the yeare of our Lord 1509. His corpe  
was carried with all funerall pompe to West-  
minster, and there buried by the god quene his wife  
in a sumptuous chapel, which he not long before had  
caused to be builded.

He reigned three and twentie yeares, and more  
than seven moneths, and liued two and fiftie yeares.  
He had by his quene Elizabeth foure sonnes, and  
four daughters, of the which three remained alive be-  
hind him. Henrie his second son prince of Wales,  
which after him was king, Margarete quene of  
Scots, and the labie Marie promised to Charles king  
of Castile. He was a man of bodie but leane and  
spare, albeit mightie and strong therewith, of perso-  
nage and stature somewhat higher than the meane  
sort of men, of a wonderfull beautie and faire com-  
plexion, of countenance merie and smiling, especial-  
lie in his communication, his eyes graie, his teeth  
single, and haire thin, of wit in all things quicke and  
prompt, of a princelie stomach and haucie courage. In  
great perils, doubtfull affaires, and matters of im-  
portance, supernaturall and in maner diuine; for he  
ordered all his doings aduisedlie and with great de-  
liberation.

Besides this, he was sober, moderate, honest, cour-  
teous, bountious, and so much abhorring pride and  
arrogancie, that he was euer sharpe and quicke to  
them that were noted with that fault. He was also  
an indifferent and upright iusticer, by the which one  
thing he allured to him the hearts of manie people,  
and yet to this severitie of his he ioined a certeine  
mercifull pitie, which he did extend to those that had  
offended the penall lawes, and were put to their  
fines by his iustices. He did vse his rigour onelie (as  
he said himselfe) to dant, bring low, and abate the  
high minds and stout stomachs of the wealthie and  
wild people, nourished up in seditious factions and  
civill rebellions, rather than for the greedie desire of  
monie; although such as were scourged with aucter-  
nities cried out, and said it was rather for the re-

spect of gaine, than for anie politike provision. In-  
deed he left his coffers well stuffed, for he was no  
wastfull consumer of his riches by anie inordinat  
meanes.

To conclude, he had asmuch in him of gifts both  
of bodie, mind and fortune, as was possible for anie  
potentate or king to haue. His politike wisdom  
in gouernance was singular, his wit alwaies quicke  
and readie, his reason pitie and substantiall, his me-  
morie fresh and holding, his experience notable, his  
counsels fortunate and taken by wise deliberation,  
his speech gracious in diuerse languages, his person  
(as before ye haue heard) right comelie, his naturall  
comperion of the purest mixture, leagues and con-  
federations he had with all christian princes. His  
mightie power was dyed euerie where, not onelie  
within his realme but without. Also his people were  
to him in as humble subiection as euer they were to  
king; his land manie a daie in peace and tranquill-  
tie, his prosperitie in battell against his enemies  
was marvellous, his dealing in time of perils and  
dangers was cold and sober, with great hardnesse.  
If anie treason were conspired against him, it came  
out wonderfullie. His buildings most goodlie, and af-  
ter the newest cast, all of pleasure.

And so this king liuing all his time in fortunes  
fauour, in high honour, wealth and glorie, for his no-  
ble acts and prudent policies is worthy to be regi-  
stered in the booke of fame, least time (the consumer of  
all worthy things) should blot out the memorie of his  
name here in earth, whose soule we trust liueth in  
heauen, enioyng the fruition of the godhead, & those  
pleasures prepared for the faithfull. [In memorie of  
whome, his manifold vertues, with the fortunat suc-  
cesse of his affaires, and the gracious descent of his  
loines, as they procured a famous report in nations  
farre and nere; so haue some at the contemplation  
of his princeliesse, and euerie waie crowned with  
felicitie, made memorials of his magnificence, to the  
immortalitie of his high praise and vnblemishable  
renowme: among whome (for the truth of the report  
iustifiable by the contents of this historie) one com-  
meth to mind, which may well serue for an epitaph:

*Septimus Henricus factus est nomen adeptum  
Præclarum claris ventura in seculis fama:  
Cuius ille fuit fuerat clarissimus, hostes  
Omnes iure ipsum metuebant: numinis almi  
Religiosus erat cultor pietatis & aequi,  
Versutos hominesque malos vehementius odit.  
Viginti totos charus triſque amplius annos  
Regibus externis in summo vixit honore:  
Magnanimus, iustus rex, prudens atque modestus,  
Henrico heredi moriens sua regna reliquit,  
Diuitisque immensum argenti pondus & auri.*

The altar and sepulture of the same king Henrie  
the seuenth, wherein he now resteth, in his new chap-  
pell at Westminster, was made and finished in the  
yeare of our Lord 1519, by one Peter W. a painter  
of the citie of Florence, for the which he receiued one  
thousand pounds sterling for the whole stiffe and  
workmanship, at the hands of the kings executors,  
Richard bishop of Winchester, Richard fitz James  
bishop of London, Thomas bishop of Duresme,  
John bishop of Rochester, Thomas duke of Dorset  
folke treasurer of England, Edward earle of Wor-  
cester the king chamberleine, John ff. knight, chiefe  
iustice of the kings Bench, Robert K. knight, chiefe  
iustice of the common pleas, &c.]

Of learned men that liued in this kings daies (as  
maister Bale noteth them) these are recorded. First  
George Kipeleie a Carmelite frier at Boston, scene  
in the mathematikes, he wrote diuerse treatises,  
and after his decease was accounted a nekromanti-  
cer; John Erghom boyme in Worke, a blacke frier,  
h h h i.

Out of the  
bishop of  
Rochesters  
funerall ser-  
mon preached  
in Pauls  
church at  
London.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S.  
pag. 892.  
Sepulture of  
Henrie the se-  
uenth.

Executors to  
Henrie the se-  
uenth.



a doctor of diuinitie professed in Oxford, studious of prophesies, as by the title of the woorks which he wrote it may appeare; John Persuall a Chartreux monke; Thomas Spailloie a Welchman borne, he wrote (I wrote not what) of king Arthur, and of the round table; John Kousse borne in Warwicksheire, a diligent searcher of antiquities, wherupon few libraries were any where to be seene in England and Wales, where he made not search for the same, and wrote sundrie treatises of historicall arguments. He decessed at Warwike the fourteenth of Ianuarie in the yeare 1491, and was buried in our ladie church there.

Thomas Scrope, otherwisse surnamed Bzadleie, descended of the noble familie of the Scrops, professed sundrie kinds of religions, as that of the order of saint Benet, and saint Dominike, and likewise he became a Carmelite, and last of all he fell to and preached the gospel in haire and sackcloth, till he vnderstood himselfe to be in the displeasure of Walden and other, that could not alwaie with such singulartie in him; other, founding (as they toke it) to the danger of bringing the doctrine of the Romish church in misliking with the people; for then he withdrew himselfe to his house againe, and there remained twentie yeares, leading an anchor's life, but yet after that time he came abroad, and was aduanced to be a bishop in Ireland, and went to the Roades in ambassage, from whence being returned, he went barefooted by and downe in Poxfolke, teaching in townes and in the countrie abroad the ten commandments, he liued till he came to be at the point of an hundred yeares old, & departed this life the fiftieth day of Ianuarie in the yeare of our Lord 1491, and was buried at Lestolfe in Suffolke.

John Donneis a diuine and an Augustine frier in Poxwich, wrote certeine rules of grammar, and other things printed by Richard Binlon; Gefferie surnamed the Grammarian; John Alcocke bishop of Ely, changed a nunnrie at Cambridge into a college named Iesus college, about the yeare of Christ 1496. The chiefe cause of suppressing the nunnrie is noted to be so, that the abbelle and other of the conuent liued dissolute liues; Stephan Halwes a learned gentleman, and of such reputation, as he was admitted to be one of the priuie chamber to king Henrie the seuenth; William Bintree, so called of a towne in

Poxfolke where he was borne, by profession a Carmelite frier in Burnham, a great diuine; William Gallion an Augustine frier in Lin, and at length became prouinciall of his order.

Robert Fabian a citizen and merchant of London, an historiographer, he was in his time in good estimation for his wisdom and wealth in the citie, so that he bare office and was shiriffe in the yeare 1493; William Celling, borne beside Feuertham in Kent, a monke of Canturburie; Thomas Bourcier descended of the noble linage of the earles of Essex, was first bishop of Ely, and after removed from thence to Canturburie, succeeding John Kemp in that archbishops see, at length created by pope Paule the second a cardinall; Philip Bromier a Dominicke frier, a diuine; John Piles a doctor of both the lawes, ciuill and canon, he studied in Orenford in the college of Bzafen nose, noblie founded in the daies of this king Henrie the seuenth by William Smith bishop of Lincoln; Richard Shirborne bishop of Chichester, and imploied in ambassage to diuerse princes, as a man most meet thereto for his singular knowledge in learning and eloquence.

Robert Aldous vicar of Thakestead in Essex, and a prebendarie canon of Welles, an excellent poet; Peter Kenighall a Carmelit frier, but borne of worshipfull linage in France, hauing an Englishman to his father, was student in Orenford, and became a notable preacher; John Poxton first bishop of Ely, and after archbishop of Canturburie the fiftie and fourth in number that ruled that see, he was aduanced to the dignitie of a cardinall, and by king Henrie the seuenth made lord chancellor, a worshipfull counsellor and a modest, he was borne of worshipfull parents in Cheshire, & departed this life in the yeare of our Lord 1500; Henrie Medwall chapleine to the said Poxton; Edmund Dudleie borne of noble parentage, studied the lawes of this land, and profited highlie in knowledge of the same, he wrote a booke intituled *Arbor rei publice*, the tree of the common wealth: of this man ye haue heard before in the life of this king, and more (God willing) shall be said in the beginning of the next king, as the occasion of the historie leadeth; John Wokingham an excellent scholcman; William Blackeneie a Carmelit frier, a doctor of diuinitie, and a nekromancer.

Thus farre Henrie the seuenth, sonne to Edmund earle of Richmond.



1509  
Anno Reg. 1.

Henrie the  
eight procla-  
ming.

Polydor.

Counsellors  
to king Hen-  
rie the eight.

King Henrie's  
riches.

His counsell-  
ors good mea-  
sures.



# Henrie the eight, sonne and successor to Henrie the seuenth.



After the death  
of the noble prince  
Henrie the se-  
uenth, his sonne  
Henrie the eight  
began his reigne  
the two and twen-  
tith daie of Aprill  
in the yeare of the  
world 5475, after  
the birth of our sa-  
uour 1509, and in  
the eighteenth yeare of his age, in the sixteenth yeare  
of Maximilian then being emperor, in the eleuenth  
yeare of Helwes the twelfth that then reigned in  
France, and in the twentieth yeare of king James  
the fourth as then ruling ouer the Scots: Whose stile  
was proclaimed by the sound of a trumpet in the citie  
of London, the thre and twentieth daie of the said  
moneth, with much gladnesse and reioysing of the  
people. And the same daie he departed from his ma-  
nour of Richmond, to the Tower of London, where  
he remained close and secret with his counsell, till  
the funerals of his father were finished.

Although this king now comming to the crowne,  
was but yong (as before is said) yet hauing bene in  
his first yeares trained by in learning, did for respect  
of his owne suertie and good gouernement of his  
people, prudentlie (by the aduise of his grandmother  
the countesse of Richmond and Derby) elect & chosse  
fowth of the most wise and graue personages to be of  
his priuie counsell, namelie such as he knew to be of  
his fathers right deere and familiar frends, whose  
names were as followeth. William Warham arch-  
bishop of Canturburie and chancellor of England,  
Richard For bishop of Winchester, Thomas Ho-  
ward earle of Surrie, and treasurer of England,  
George Talbot earle of Shrewesburie, and lord tre-  
surer of the kings household, Charles Summerset  
lord chamberleine, sir Thomas Louell, sir Hen-  
rie Mat, doctor Thomas Kuthall, and sir Edward  
Poynings.

These graue and wise counsellors, fearing least  
such abundance of riches and welth as the king was  
now possessed of, might moue his yong yeares  
to riotous forgetting of himselfe (for vnto no king  
at any time before, was left greater or the like ri-  
ches, as well in readie coine, as in iewels and other  
monieables, as was left to him by his father) they  
therefore his said counsellors travelled in such pri-  
uie sort with him, that they got him to be present  
with them when they sat in counsell; so to acquaint  
him with matters pertaining to the politike gouerni-  
ment of the realme, that by little and little he might  
aplie himselfe to take vpon him the rule and admi-  
nistratioun of publicke affaires, with the which at the  
first he could not well indure to be much troubled, be-

ing rather inclined to followe such pleasant pastimes  
as his youthfull yong yeares did more delite in, and  
therefore could be verie well contented, that other  
graue personages should take paines therein.

The same daie also that the king came to the  
Tower, the lord Henrie Stafford brother to the duke  
of Buckingham was arrested, and committed to  
the Tower: and the same daie also doctor Kuthall  
was named bishop of Durham. The five and twen-  
tith daie of Aprill was proclaimed, that the kings  
grace satisfied all the pardons granted by his father,  
and also pardoned all such persons as were then in  
lute for any offence whatsoeuer it was; treason, mur-  
der, and felonie onelie excepted. And now, whereas  
the performance of the deceased kings will was  
thought right expedient with all speed to be per-  
formed, a proclamation was also set forth and publi-  
shed thorough the realme, that if any man could  
prooue himselfe to be hurt, and depriued of his goods  
wrongfullie by the commissioners of the forfeitures,  
he should come and present his plaint to the king, be-  
ing readie to satisfie euerie one of all iniuries in-  
flicted.

After this proclamation was notified abroad, all  
such as had bene constrained either by right or by  
wrong (as Polydor saith) to paie any thing for any  
forfeitures of lawes and customes by them trans-  
gressed, came flocking to the court, & there declared  
their griefs, in that for they had wrongfullie bene  
compelled (as they surmised) to paie this or that  
summe. The counsell heard euerie mans complaint,  
and such as were found to haue paid any thing with-  
out plaine prooue of iust cause, they took such order for  
them, that they had their monie againe. Which being  
once knowne, it was a strange thing to see how  
thick other came in: yea euen those that had bene  
wrongfullie fined & punished for their disorderlie trans-  
gressions, making earnest sute for restitution, se-  
ning and forging manie things to make their cause  
seeme good, and to stand with equitie.

And the better to be heard in their sute, they made  
friends as well with biibes and large gifts as other-  
wise, leauing no waies vnassailed to compasse their  
desires. Which greedines in such multitude of suiters,  
brought the commissioners, and others that had self  
in the forfeitures into danger, and did themselves no  
good: for the counsell perceiuing that it was not pos-  
sible to satisfie them all, refused to heare any further  
complaints or suites for restitution: but thought it  
best to commit those to prison, by whom the complai-  
nants pretended themselves to haue bene wronged.  
And here vpon was sir Richard Empson knight, and  
Edmund Dudley esquier, great counsellors to the  
late king attached, and brought to the Tower, there-  
by to quiet mens minds, that made such importu-  
nate sute to haue their monie againe restored, which  
in the late kings daies they had bene compelled to  
pay.

Proclamation

Of suites what  
sutes they  
made to be  
heard.

Empson and  
Dudley com-  
mitted to the  
Tower.

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1509  
An. Reg. 1.

Henrie the  
eighth  
king.

John do.

Counsellors  
using to be  
made right.

Henry  
the  
eighth.

Henrie  
the  
eighth.

By h h y.

Disburse,

disburse, thorough the rigorous proceedings, as they alleged, of the said two counsellors, and others.

Trulie great exclamacion was made against them, as often happeneth; that where anie thing is done contrarie to the liking of the people, those that be dealers under the prince, and by his commandement proceed in the execution thereof, run in hatred of the multitude. But how so ever it was, their apprehension and committing to prison was thought by the wise to be procured by the malice of them that in the late kings daies were offended with their authoritie. Shortly after (as Edward Hall saith) were apprehended diuerse other persons, that were called promoters, as Canbie, Wage, Sufith, Werbie, Wright, Simson, and Stedon; of which the more part wore papers, and stood on the pillorie. [And (as an other saith, who termeth them ringleaders of false queins in London) they rode about the citie with their faces to the horses tails, and papers on their heads, and after they had bene set on the pillorie in Coznehill, they were brought againe to Peluigate, where they died all within feauen daies after for verie shame.]

Promoters punished.

I.S. pag. 893.

The funerall pompe and solemnitie of Henric the seventh.

When all things were prepared ready for the funerall of the late king, his corps with all sumptuous pompe and solemne ceremonies, was conveyed from Richmond to saint Georges field, where the clergy of the citie met it: and at the bridge the maior and his brethren with manie commoners all clothed in blacke likewise met it, and gaue their attendance on the same thorough the citie, to the cathedrall church of saint Paule, where was song a solemne dirige and masse, and a sermon made by the bishop of Rochester John Fisher. The next daie the corps was had to Westminster, and there the daie following, put into the earth with all due solemnities as appertained. [Notwithstanding this breafe remembrance of king Henries solemne funerall, might seeme sufficient in the iudgement of some, without further amplification; yet because it is good in others opinion (and those not of meanest wit) to set downe things of state at large, if conuenient helps thereto maie be had: therefore you shall haue the whole solemnitie of the said rofall funerall, as it is found recozded by Edward Hall.

Edw. Hall, in Hen. 8. fol. j.

After that all things (saith he) necessarie for the interment and funerall pompe of the late king, were sumptuously prepared and done: the corps of the said deceased king was brought out of his private chamber into the great chamber, where he rested three daies, and euerie daie had there dirige and masse song by a prelat mitred. From thence he was conveyed into the hall, where he was also three daies, and had like seruice there; and so three daies in the chappell. And in euerie of these three places, was a hearse of war garnished with baners, and nine mourners giuing their attendance all the seruice time: and euerie daie they offered, and euerie place hanged with blacke cloth. Upon Wednesday the ninth daie of Maie, the corps was put into a charriot, couered with blacke cloth of gold, drawne with five great conuers all couered with blacke velvet, garnished with cushions of fine gold: and ouer the corps was an image or representation of the late king, laied on cushions of gold, and the said image was apparelled in the kings rich robes of estate, with a crowne on the head with ball and scepter in the hands: the charriot was garnished with baners and pencils of the armes of his dominions, titles and genealogies.

The corps put into a charriot sumptuously garnished.

The order of the pompe and mourners.

When the charriot was thus ordered, the kings chappell, and a great number of prelates set forward praieing. Then followed all the kings seruants in blacke, then followed the charriot: and after the charriot nine mourners, and on euerie side were caried

long torches & next, to the number of six hundred, & in this order they came to saint Georges field, from Richmond. There met with them all the prelates and clerks and religious men within the citie & without, which went foremost before the chappell. The maior and his brethren with manie commoners all clothed in blacke, met with the corps at London bridge, and so gaue their attendance on the same thorough the citie. And in good order the companies passed thorough the citie, whereof the streets on euerie side were set with long torches, and on the flats stood yong children holding tapers; so with great reuerence the charriot was brought to the cathedrall church of saint Paule, where the bodie was taken out and caried into the quire, and set vnder a goodlie hearse of war garnished with baners, pencils, and cushions, where was song a solemne dirige and a masse with a sermon made by the bishop of Rochester. During which time, the kings household and the mourners reposed them in the bishops palace.

The next daie the corps in like order was removed towards Westminster: first Edward Howard bearing the kings baner on a caroler trapped in the armes of the deceased king. In Westminster was a curious hearse, made of nine principals, all full of lights, which were lighted at the coming of the corps, which was taken out of the charriot by six lords and set vnder the hearse; the image of the representation lieng vpon the cushion on a large pall of gold. The hearse was double railed; within the first rales sat the mourners, and within the second rales stood knights bearing baners of saints, and without the same stood officers of armes. When the mourners were set, Cartier king at armes, cried: For the soule of the noble prince king Henric the seventh late king of this realme: then the quire began *Placelo*, and so song dirige: which being finished, the mourners departed into the palace, where they had a bold, and so reposed for that night. The next daie were three masses solemnelie song by bishops, and at the last masse was offered the kings baner and conser, his coat of armes, his sword, his target, and his helme: and at the end of masse the mourners offered by rich palles of cloath of gold and bandekin: and when the quire sang, *Libera me*; the bodie was put into the earth.

Then the lord treasurer, lord steward, lord chamberleine, the treasurer and comptroller of the kings household, brake their staves and cast them into the graue. Then Cartier cried with a loud voice; *Vive le roy Henric le huitiesme, roy d'Angleterre, & de France, sire d'Irland*. Then all the mourners, and all other that had giuen their attendance on this funerall obsequie, departed to the palace, where they had a great and a sumptuous feast. Wonder it were to write of the lamentation that was made for this prince amongst his seruants, and other of the wisest sort; and the soie that was made for his death by such as were troubled by rigour of his law: yet the toward hope which in all points appeared in the yong king did both repaie and comfort the beaue hearts of them, which had lost so wise and sage a prince: and also did put out of the minds of such as were relaxed by the said kings death, all their old grudge and rancoz, and confirmed their new soie by the new grant of his pardon.

After that the funerals of the said late king were once ended, great preparation was made for the coronation of the new king; which was appointed on the summer daie next ensuing. During the time of which preparation, the king was aduised by some of his counsell to take to wife the ladie Katherine, late wife to his brother prince Arthur, least she hauing so great a dowrie as was appointed to hir, might mar-

The chariot brought into saint Pauls church.

Description of the curious hearse at Westminster.

From sight of virginia in solace, with branches of myrtle war.

B. Henries apparail at his coronation.

The bodie of the dead king interred.

The kings traine and the pompe of the same.

Dom. 1509.

Reg. 1.

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The chariot  
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Description  
of the curious  
hearse at  
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From light  
dragging in  
box, with  
hundreds of  
white hair.

A hermes  
applied at  
Westminster.

The bodice of  
the dead king  
interred.

The kings  
cane and the  
temple of the  
same.

ric out of the realme, which should be to his hinder  
rance. The king being hereto perswaded, espoused  
the said ladie Katharine the third daie of June, at  
which marriage was dispensed with by pope Iulie, at  
the sute of hir father king Ferdinand. On the ele  
uenth daie of this moneth of June, the king came  
from Grenewich to the Tower ouer London brdge  
and so by Grace church, with whome came manie a  
gentleman richlie appareled, but speciallie the duke  
of Buckingham, which had a golwne all of gold:  
smiths worke, verie coslie.

On fridaie the two and twentieth day of June, the  
king with the quene being in the Tower of Lon  
don, made foure and ttwentie knights of the Bath.  
And the morow following, being saturday the foure  
and twentieth of June, his grace with the quene de  
parted from the Tower through London, the streets  
being hanged with tapestrie and cloth of arras, ve  
rie richlie; and a great part of the south side of Cheape  
with cloth of gold, & so was some part of Cornhill.  
The streets were railed & barred on the one side, from  
ouer against Grace church to Bedstræt in Cheape  
side, where euerie occupation stood in their liues in  
order, beginning with base and meane occupations,  
and so ascending to the worshipfull crafts. Highest  
and lastlie stood the maior with the aldermen. The  
goldsmiths stals unto the end of the Old change, be  
ing replenished with virgins in white, with branches  
of white war: the priests and clerkes in rich copes,  
with crosses and censers of silver, with censsing his  
grace and the quene also, as they passed. The features  
of his bodie, his goodlie personage, his amiable vi  
sage, princelie countenance, with the noble qualities  
of his roiall estate, to euerie man known, needeth  
no reherfall, considering that (for lacke of cunning)  
I cannot expresse the gifts of grace and of nature  
that God indued him with all.

Yet partlie to describe his apparell, it is to be no  
ted, his grace ware in his yppermost apparell, a robe  
of crimsin veluet, furred with ermins, his iacket of  
coat of railed gold, the placard imbodered with dia  
monds, rubies, emerauds, great pearles, and other  
rich stones, a great bawderike about his necke of  
great balasses. The trapper of his hourse damaske  
gold, with a deepe purple of ermins. His knights and  
esquiers for his bodie in crimsin veluet; and all the  
gentlemen, with other of his chappell, and all his offi  
cers and household seruants were appareled in scar  
let. The barons of the five portes bare the canopie  
of cloth of estate. For to recite unto you the great  
estates by name, the order of their going, the number  
of the lords spirituall & tempozall, knights, esquiers,  
and gentlemen, and their coslie and rich apparell of  
seuerall deuises and fashions, who toke by his hourse  
best, or who was richest besene; it would aske long  
time, and yet I should omit manie things, and faile  
of the number, for they were verie manie: therefore  
I passe ouer. But this I dare well saie, there was no  
lacke of scarfitie of cloth of tissue, cloth of gold, cloth  
of silver, boderie, or of goldsmiths worke: but in  
more plentie and abundance than hath bene seene  
or read of at anie time befoze, and thereto manie and  
great numbers of chaines of gold, & bawderikes both  
masse and great.

Also befoze the kings highnesse rode two gentle  
men richlie appareled, and about their bodies ouer  
thwart, they bare two robes, the one of the duchie of  
Guien, and the other for the duchie of Normandie,  
with hats on their heads powdered with ermins, for  
the estate of the same. Next followed two persons  
of god estate, the one bearing his cloke, the other his  
bat, appareled both in goldsmiths worke and bode  
rie, their hourses trapped in burned silver, drawn o  
uer with copes of grene silke and gold, the edges

and borders of their apparell being frettyed with gold  
of damaske. After them came sir Thomas Brandon  
master of the kings hourse, clothed in tissue, bodered  
with roles of fine gold, and ouerthwart his bodie a  
great bawderike of gold, great and masse; his hourse  
trapped in gold, leading by a raine of silke; the kings  
spare hourse trapped hard wise, with harnesse bodered  
with bullion gold, curiouse wrought by goldsmiths.  
Then next followed the nine children of honor vpon  
great courcers, appareled on their bodies in blue vel  
uet, powdered with foure delices of gold, & chaines  
of goldsmiths worke, euerie one of their hourses trap  
ped with a trapper of the kings title, as of England  
and France, Gascoigne, Guen, Normandie, An  
gou, Cornewall, Wales, Ireland, &c: wrought by  
on veluets, with imboderie, and goldsmiths worke.

Then next following in order, came the quenes  
retinue, as lordes, knights, esquiers, and gentlemen  
in their degrees, well mounted, and richlie appareled  
in tissue, cloth of gold, of silver, tinsels, and veluets  
imbodered, fresh and goodlie to behold. The quene  
then by name Katharine, sitting in hir litter borne  
by two white palfries, the litter covered and richlie  
appareled, and the palfries trapped in white cloth of  
gold; hir person appareled in white satin imbodered,  
hir haire hanging downe to hir backe of very great  
length, beautifull and goodlie to behold, & on hir head  
a coronall set with manie rich orient stones. Next af  
ter, sir honorable personages on white palfries all ap  
pareled in cloth of gold, and then a chariot covered,  
and the ladies therein all appareled in cloth of gold.  
And another sort of ladies, and then another chariot,  
then the ladies next the chariot, and so in order, euerie  
one after their degrees in cloth of gold, cloth of silver,  
tinsels, and veluet, with imboderies. Euerie couple  
ment of the said chariots, and the draught harnesses  
were powdered with ermins mixt with cloth of gold:  
& so with much joy & honour they came to Westmin  
ster, where was high preparation made, aswell for  
the said coronation, as also for the solemne feasts and  
iusts therevpon to be had and done.

The morow following being sundaie, and also  
Whitsunmowe daie, this noble prince with his quene  
at time convenient, vnder their canopies borne  
by the barons of the five portes, went from the said pa  
lace to Westminster abbaye vpon cloth, called bul  
garlie cloth of raie; the which cloth was cut and spo  
led by the rude and common people, immediatlie af  
ter their repaire into the abbaye; where, according to  
the sacred obseruance & ancient custome, his grace  
with the quene were annointed and crowned by the  
archbishop of Canturburie, with other prelates of the  
realme there present, and the nobilitie, with a great  
multitude of commons of the same. It was deman  
ded of the people, whether they would receiue, obte  
ine, and take the same most noble prince for their king:  
Who with great reuerence, loue, and desire, said and  
cried: Yea yea. After the which solemnitie and coro  
nation finished, the lords spirituall and tempozall did  
to him homage, and returned to Westminster hall  
with the quenes grace, euerie one vnder their cano  
pies; where, by the lord Sparshall & his tipped stanes  
was made ronne, and euerie lord, and other noble  
men, according to their tenures, befoze claimed and  
bielued, seene and allowed by the lords, and other of  
his graces counsell, entred into such ronne and office  
that daie, to execute their seruices accordinglie.

The kings estate on the right hand, & the quenes  
on the left hand, the cupbord of nine stages, their no  
ble personages being set: first, at the bringing of the  
first course, the trumpets sounded. And in came the  
duke of Buckingham, mounted vpon a great con  
ser, richlie trapped and imbodered, and the lord se  
ward in likewise on an hourse trapped in cloth of gold,  
riding

The quenes  
traime and the  
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ness of the  
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The coronation  
of king  
Henrie and  
quene Ka  
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Homage done  
to the king at  
his coronation  
both of the  
lords spiritu  
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all.

riding before the seruice, which was sumptuous, with manie subtilties, strange deuises, with seuerall posers, and manie deintie dishes. At the kings feet vnder the table were certeine gentlemen; and in likewise with the queene, who there continued, during that long and roiall feast. What should I speake of wite of the sumptuous, fine, and delicate meats prepared for this high and honorable coronation, provided for aswell in the parties beyond the seas, as in manie and sundrie places within this realme, where God so abundantlie hath sent such plentie and foison? Of the honorable order of the seruices, the cleane handling and breaking of meats, the ordering of the dishes, with the plentiful abundance: So that none of anie estate being there did lacke, nor no honorable or worshipfull person went vnfeste.

Sir Robert Dimmoche the kings champion.

The second course being serued: in at the hall doore entered a knight, armed at all points, his baces rich tissue embroidered, a great plume and a sumptuous of ostrich feathers on his helmet, sitting on a great courser, trapped in tissue, and embroidered with the armes of England, and of France, and an herald of armes before him. And passing through the hall, he presented himselfe with humble reuerence before the kings maiestie, to whom Cartier king of heralds cried and said with a lowd voice; Sir knight from whence come you, and what is your pretense? This knights name was sir Robert Dimmoche, champion to the king by tenure of his inheritance, who answered the said king of armes in effect after this manner: Sir, the place that I come from is not materiall, nor the cause of my repaire hither is not concerning anie matter of anie place or countrie, but onelie this: and therewithall commanded his herald to make an Oyes. Then said the knight to the king of armes; Now shall ye heare the cause of my coming and pretense. When he commanded his owne herald, by proclamation to saie; If there be anie person, of what estate or degree soeuer he be, that will saie or proue, that king Henrie the eight is not the rightfull inheritor and king of this realme, I sir Robert Dimmoche here his champion, offer my gloue, to fight in his quarell with any person to the utterance. Which proclamation was made in sundrie places of the hall: and at euerie time his gantlet cast downe, in the maintenance thereof.

The manner of the same knights tenure.

After these seuerall proclamations done, and offers made, the said knight or champion offones repaired to the kings presence, demanding drinke; to whom the kings grace sent a cup of gold with wine, whereof after this knight had drunke, he demanded the couer of the said cup, which to him also was deliuered: that done he departed out of the hall, with the said cup and couer as his owne. The manner of his tenure is this, that at the coronation of the king, he shall go to the armorie, and there take the kings best harness same one, the best and rich baces sauing one, then of the plumes or other things for the garnishing of his creast or helme; and so to the stable, there taking the next courser or horse to the best, with like trappers, & so furnished, to enter (as afore) and his office done, to haue all these things with the cup of gold and couer to his owne vse. After the departure of the said champion, the king of armes with all the heralds and other officers of armes, made proclamations in seuerall places of the hall, crying largesse. Whereto I passe ouer this high and long solemnitie of this honorable coronation and feast, more honorable than of the great Cesar, to whom manie historiographers so highlie set out and magnifie.

Sir Stephen Genings mayor of London.

Now when the tables were voided, the waiters were brought. Then sir Stephen Genings that time mayor of London, to whom the king before he sat downe to dinner had dubbed knight, which began the

earles table that daie, arose from the place where he sat, to serue the king with ipocras in a cup of gold: which cup, after his grace had drunke thereof, was with the couer giuen vnto the said sir Stephen, like as other his predecessors, maiors of the said citie, were wont to haue at the coronation of the king. Then after the turnap laied, and that the kings grace and the queene had washed, euerie of them vnder their cloths of estate, the tables being auoided, went vnto their chambers. For the more honour and nobling of this triumphant coronation, there were prepared both iusts and turneis to be done in the palace of Westminster, where, for the kings grace and the queene, was framed a faire house, covered with tapestrie, and hanged with rich clothes of arrais, and in the said palace was made a curious founteine and ouer it a castell, on the top thereof a great crowne imperfall, all the imbattelling with roses and pomegranats gilded.

Under and about the said castell, a curious vine, the leaues and grapes thereof gilded with fine gold, the walles of the same castell coloured white & greene losengis, and in euerie loseng either a rose or a pomegranat, and a sheafe of arrowes, or else a gilded with fine gold, with certeine arches and turrets gilded, to support the same castell. And the targets of the armes of the defendants, appointed for the said iusts, thereupon sumptuously set. And out at seuerall places of the same castell, aswell on the daie of the coronation, as on the said daies of the iusts & turneis, out of the mouthes of certeine beastes or gargels did run red, white, and claret wine. The enterprisers of these iusts, was Thomas lord Howard, heire apparent to the earle of Surrie, sir Edward Howard admerall his brother, the lord Richard brother to the Marques Dorset, sir Edmund Howard, sir Thomas Kaneuet, and Charles Brandon equier. The trumpets blew to the field, the fresh yong gallants and noble men gorgeously apparelled, with curious deuises of cuts and of emboideries, as well in their coates as in trappers for their horses, some in gold, some in silver, some in tinsel, and diuerse other in goldsmithes worke, gobbie to behold.

These first entred the field, in taking vp & turning their horses, netlie and freshlie. Then followed a deuise (caried by strength of men and other prouision) framed like a castell, or a turret, wrought with fine cloth of gold: the top whereof was spred with roses and pomegranats, hanging downe on euerie side of the said deuise; wherein was a ladie, bearing a shield of chisill named Pallas. After whom the said lord Howard with his companions followed, armed at all points, their baces and bards, or trappers, were of greene veluet, beaten with roses and pomegranats of gold, broidered with fringes of damaske gold. The said deuise or turret, being brought before the king, the ladie Pallas presented the said persons, whom she named hir scholars, to the kings highnes, beseeching the same to accept them as hir scholars, who were desirous to serue him, to the increase of their honours; which said scholars had about them on foot to the number of an hundred persons, freshlie apparelled, in beluets of sundrie colours, with hose & bonnets according to the same. And further, the said ladie desired the king, that it might please his grace, that hir said scholars might be defendants to all comers, which request was granted.

Then came in an other band of horsemen, freshlie and well appareled in cloth of gold, in silver, in goldsmithes worke, & broiderie, to the number of threescore, with trappers according to their garments, with great bauderikes, collars, and chaines of gold about their necks and trauerse their bodies, euerie man with a coife of gold on his head, and a great plume

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Dimas knights.

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plume of feathers thereupon, some of one colour and some of another, entering before into the field with drums and fifes a great number, euerie man taking up his horse in his best manner, as well for their ladies, as also for laud or praise to be given them. After whom followed a good number of footmen, in helmets and other filkes, cut and embzodered, with hose to the same accordingle, and bonets and other furniture, after a fresh and lustie fashion. Pert to them came on horsebacke eight persons, whose names were, sir John Pechie, sir Edward Penell, sir Edward Guildeford, sir John Carre, sir William Carre, sir Giles Capell, sir Griffith Dun, and sir Rowland, armed also at all points, with shields of their owne armes, with rich plumes, and other deuises on their head peeces, their bases and trapers of russe, cloth of gold, silver and velvet; and next before them, a gentleman on horsebacke, in a coat of blue velvet, embzodered with gold, and his horse trapped in the same sute, with a speare of gold on his thigh, and the same presented to the quene: saieing, that it was informed those knights of Pallas knights, how that dame Pallas had presented six of hir scholars to the king, but whether they came to learne, or to teach feats of armes they knew not.

He further declared, that his knights were come to do feats of armes, for the loue of ladies. Wherefore he besought hir grace, to licence those knights to proue themselves against dame Pallas scholars: and that in case hir scholars brake more speares on the said knights, by the view of the iudges, and the report of the heralds, than the same knights should do on them; then the said scholars of Pallas knights to haue the speare of gold for their prize. And if the knights brake more speares than dame Pallas scholars, the said knights to haue the christall shield. The which request to them granted, the iusts began, where euerie man did acquite himselfe well and valiantlie: but who had the prize of other, I know not. The night coming on, the iusts ended. The next daie approached the foresaid defenders, scholars to Pallas on horsebacke, armed a cape a pie, the one side of their bases and bards of their horses white velvet, embzodered with roses of gold and other embzoderies; the other side greene velvet embzodered with peagranats of gold, euerie one of them on his head pece had an heare of flat gold of damaske, and so presented themselves before the king readie to tourneie.

Then immediatlie on the other part came in the foresaied eight knights, readie armed, their bases and bards of their horse greene satin, embzodered with fresh deuises of bzamble bzanches, of fine gold curiouse wrought, powdered all over. And after than a great number of hoznes blowne, by men apperrelled in greene cloth, with caps and hosen of like sute, as foresters or keepers; & a pagent made like a parke, paled with pales of white and greene, wherein were certeine fallow deare, and in the same parke curious trees made by craft, with bushes, fernes, and other things in likewise wrought, goodlie to behold. The which parke or deuise, being brought before the quene, had certeine gates thereof opened, the deare ran out thereof into the palace, the greiehounds were let slip and killed the deare: the which deare so killed, were presented to the quene and the ladies by the foresaid knights.

Crochman, which the daie before brought in the speare of gold, there declared, that the same knights were seruants to Diana, and being in their pastime of hunting, newes were brought unto them, that dame Pallas knights were come into those parts, to do deeds of armes: wherefore they had left their hunting and chase, and repaired also thither, to en-

counter with the knights of Pallas, and so to fight with them for the loue of ladies, to the utterance: saieing, that if Pallas knights vanquished the other, or made them to leaue the field, then they to haue the deare killed, and the greiehounds that slue them. And in case Dianas knights ouercame the other, they to haue their swords, and none other thing more. Whereupon the quene and ladies sent to the king to haue his aduise and pleasure in this behalfe. His grace conceiuing that there was some grudge and displeasure betwene them, thinking if such request were to them granted some inconuenience might insue, would not thereto agree: so that for the appeasing thereof it was awarded, that both parties should tourneie together, giuing but some certeine strokes, which done they departed: and so these iusts brake vp, and the prizes giuen to euerie man after his deserts.]

The king pardoned the lord Henrie brother to the duke of Buckingham, committed to the Towre (as ye haue heard) upon suspicion of treason: but when nothing could be proued against him, he was set at libertie, and at the parlement after created earle of Wiltshire. Also this yeare the king ordeined fiftie gentlemen to be speares, euerie of them to haue an archer, a demilance, and a custrell; and euerie speare to haue three great hozses to be attendant on his person, of the which band the earle of Essex was lieutenant, and sir John Pechie capteine. This ordinance continued but a while, the charges was so great, for there were none of them, but they and their hozses were apparrelled and trapped in cloth of gold, silver & goldsmithes worke. This yeare also was a great pestilence in the towne of Calis, so that the king sent one sir John Pechie with three hundred men to tarrie there upon the defense of that towne till the sickness was ceased. Furthermore, this yeare the king summoned his parlement in the moneth of Nouember, to begin in the moneth of Ianuarie next ensuing: whereof sir Thomas Anglefield was choise speaker.

At this parlement sir Richard Empson knight, and Edmund Dobleie esquier late counsellors vnto king Henrie the seauenth, were atteinted of high treason. They were charged with manie offenses committed in the late kings daies, as partlie before ye haue heard; who being brought before the counsell, as they were graue and wise personages, and both of them learned and skillfull in the lawes of the realme: so had they biterance verie tractable whereby to deliuer the conceits of their minds with singular dexteritie, speciallie in a case of importance; in so much that when the said parties were conuenced before the assemblee of the lordes, they alleged for themselves right constantlie (in their owne defenses) much good and sufficient matter, of whome Empson (being the elder in yeares) had these wordes.

A speech vttered by Empson to the lords of the counsell to find fauour.

**I** know (right honorable) that it is not vnknowne to you, how profitable and necessarie lawes are for the good preseruacion of mans life: without the which neither house, towne, nor citie can long continue or stand in safetie. Which lawes here in England, thorough negligence of magistrates, were partlie decayed, and partlie quite forgotten and worne out of vse: the mischance

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of Buckingham  
his brother  
created earle of  
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mischaſe whereof dailie increaſing, Henric the ſeauenth a moſt graue and prudent prince wiſhed to ſuppreſſe, and therefore appointed vs to ſee, that ſuch lawes as were yet in uſe might continue in their full force; and ſuch as were out of uſe might againe be reuiued and reſtozed to their former ſtate; & that alſo thoſe perſons which tranſgreſſed the ſame, might be puniſhed according to their demerits. Wherein we diſcharged our dueties in moſt faithfull wiſe, and beſt maner we could, to the great aduantage & commoditie (no doubt) of the whole commonwealth. Wherefore we moſt humble beſeech you in reſpect of your honours, courteſie, goodneſſe, humanitie, and iuſtice, not to decree any grieuous ſentence againſt vs, as though we were worthe of puniſhment; but rather to appoint how with thankfull recompenſe our paines & trauell may be wortheilie conſidered.

Spanie of the counſell thought that he had ſpoken well, and ſo as ſtood with great reaſon: but yet the greater number ſuppoſing that the reuiuing of thoſe lawes had proceeded rather of a couctous meaning in the king and them, than of anie zeale of iuſtice, and hauing alſo themſelues felt the ſmart latelie befoze for their owne offences and tranſgreſſions) had conceiued ſuch malice towards the men, that they thought it reaſon, that ſuch as had bene dealers therein, were worthe to loſe their heads, in like ſort as they had cauſed others to loſe their monie. Whereupon, their accuſors were mainteined, and manie od matters narrowly ſought out againſt them, as by two ſeueral indiſcments framed againſt ſir Richard Empſon (the copies whereof I haue ſene) it may well appeare.

In the one he is charged, that to win the fauour and credit of the late king, not weieing his honoz nor the proſperitie of him, or wealth of his realme, hee had (in ſubuerſion of the lawes of the land) procured diuerſe perſons to be indicted of diuerſe crimes and offences ſurniſhed againſt them, and thereupon to be committed to priſon, without due proces of law; who not ſuffered to come to their anſwers, were kept in durance, till they had compounded for their fines, to their great importable loſſes, and vtter impoueriſhment. Alſo diuerſe vntrue offices of intruſions and alienations, made by ſundrie the late kings liege people, into manors, lands, and tenements were found; it being vntrulie alleged, that they held the ſame of the king *In capite*. And when ſuch perſons as were thus berred, offered to traueſſe thoſe offices, they could not be admitted thereto, in ſuch due and lawfull forme as in ſuch caſes the law prouideth, till they had compounded to paie great fines and ranſomes.

Moreouer the kings wards, after they had accompliſhed their full age, could not be ſuffered to ſue their ſueries, till they had paid exceſſiue fines and ranſomes, vnto their great annoiance, loſſe, and diſquieting, and to no leſſe contempt of the ſaid king. And further, whereas diuerſe perſons had bene outlawed, as well at the ſute of their aduerſaries, as of the ſaid late king; they could not be allowed to purchaſe their charters of pardon out of the chancerie, according to the law of the realme, till they were diſcuen to anſwer halfe the iſſues and profits of all their lands and tenements by the ſpace of two peares, which the king receiued to his uſe, by the ſaid Richard Empſons procurement, who informed him that hee

might lawfullie take the ſame, although he knew that it was contrarie to the lawes and cuſtomes of the realme. Whereupon the people, berred and moleſted by ſuch hard dealings, ſore grudged againſt the ſaid late king, to the great perill and danger of his perſon and realme, and ſubuerſion of the lawes and ancient cuſtomes thereof.

Alſo it was alleged againſt the ſaid Empſon, that he had ſent forth precepts directed vnto diuerſe perſons, commanding them, vpon great penalties, to appeare befoze him, and other his aſſociats, at certaine daies and times within his houſe in S. Brides parith, in a ward of London, called ſtarrington without: where they making their appearances, according to the ſame precepts, were impleaded afoze him and other his ſaid aſſociats, of diuerſe murders, felonies, outlawries, and of the articles in the ſtatute of prouidoz contained; alſo of wilfull eſcapes of felonies, and ſuch like matters and articles appertaining to the ples of the crowne, and common lawes of the realme. And that done, the ſaid perſons were committed to diuerſe priſons, as the Fleet, the Towzer, and other places, where they were detained, till they had fined at his pleaſure, as well for the comoditie of the ſaid late king, as for the ſingular aduantage of the ſaid ſir Richard Empſon.

Moreouer, whereas the ſaid Empſon, being recorder of Countreie, and there ſate with the maiors and other iuſtices of the peace, vpon a ſpeciall gaole deliuerie within that citie, on the monday befoze the feaſt of ſaint Thomas the apoſtle, in the ſixteenth yeare of the late kings regnie; a priſoner that had bene indicted of felonie, for taking out of an houſe in that citie, certaine goods to the value of twente ſhillings, was arreigned befoze them. And becauſe the iurie would not find the ſaid priſoner gilty, for want of ſufficient euidence (as they after alleged) the ſaid ſir Richard Empſon, ſuppoſing the ſame euidence to be ſufficient, cauſed them to be committed to ward, wherein they remained foure daies togither, till they were contented to enter bond in forty pounds a pece, to appeare befoze the king and his counſell, the ſecond returne of the tearme then next enſuing, being *Quindena Hilary*. Whereupon they keeping their daie, and appearing befoze the ſaid ſir Richard Empſon, and other of the kings counſell, according to their bonds, were adiudged to paie exerie of them eight pounds for a fine, and accordingly he made payment thereof, as they were then thought well worthe ſo to do. But now this matter ſo long paſt, was ſtill kept in memorie, and ſo earnest ſome were to enforce it to the vttermoſt againſt the ſaid Empſon, that in a ſeſſions holden at Countreie now in this firſt yeare of this kings regnie, an indiſcment was framed againſt him for this matter, and thereof he was found gilty, as if therein he had committed ſome great and heinous offence againſt the kings peace, his crowne and dignitie.

Thus haue I thought good to ſhew what I find hereof, to the end ye may perceiue how glad men were to find ſome colour of ſufficient matter, to bring the ſaid ſir Richard Empſon, and maſter Edmund Dubleie, within danger of the lawes; whereby at length they were not onelie condemned by act of parlement, though malice of ſuch as might ſeeme to ſeake their deſtruction for priuat grudges; but in the end alſo, they were arreigned: as firſt the ſaid Edmund Dubleie in the Guildhall of London, the ſeuenteenth of Iulie; and ſir Richard Empſon at Northampton in October next enſuing; and being there condemned, was from thence brought backe againe to the Towzer of London, where he remained till the time of his execution: as after ye ſhall heare.

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heare.  
This yere the plague was great, and reigned in  
diuerse parts of this realme. The king kept his  
Christmas at Richmond. The twelfe of Januarie,  
diuerse gentlemen prepared to iust, and the king and  
one of his priue chamber called William Com  
ton, secretly armed themselves in the little parke  
of Richmond, & so came into the iustes, unknowne  
to all persons. The king neuer ran openlie before,  
and did exceeding well. Maister Compton chanced  
to be soe hurt by Edward Beuill esquier, brother to  
the lord of Aburgauennie, so that he was like to haue  
died. One person there was that knew the king, and  
cried; God saue the king: and with that, all the peo  
ple were astonied, and then the king discovered  
himselfe, to the great comfort of the people. The king  
some after came to Westminster, and there kept his  
shrouetide with great banquettings, danlings, and  
other iollie pastimes.

And on a time the king in person, accompanied  
with the earles of Essex, Wilshire and other noble  
men, to the number of twelue, came suddenlie in a  
morning into the queenes chamber, all apparelled  
in short coates of Kentish Kendall, with hodes on  
their heads & hosen of the same, euerie one of them  
his bow and arrowes, and a sword and a buckler,  
like outlawes, or Robin Hoods men. Whereat the  
queene, the ladies, and all other there were abashed,  
as well for the strange sight, as also for their sudden  
coming, and after certeine danles and pastime  
made, they departed. On Shrouetidaie the same  
yeare, the king prepared a goodlie banquet in the pa  
rlement chamber at Westminster, for all the ambal  
sadors, which then were here out of diuerse realmes  
and countries. The banquet being readie, the king  
leading the queene, entered into the chamber, then  
the ladies, ambassadours, and other noble men fol  
lowed in order.

The king caused the queene to keepe the estate, and  
then sate the ambassadours and ladies, as they were  
marshalled by the B. who would not sit, but walked  
from place to place, making cheare to the queene and  
the strangers: suddenlie the king was gone. And  
shortlie after, his grace, with the earle of Essex, came  
in apparelled after the Turkie fashion, in long robes  
of bandekin, powdered with gold, hats on their beds  
of crimsin veluet, with great rolles of gold, girded  
with two swordes called ciminteries, hanging by  
great bauderiks of gold. Then next came the lord  
Henric earle of Wilshire, and the lord Fitzwater,  
in two long gownes of yellow sattin, trauesed with  
white sattin, and in euerie band of white was a band  
of crimsin sattin after the fashion of Russia or Rus  
land, with furred hats of graie on their heads, either  
of them hauing an hatchet in their hands, and boots  
with pikes turned vp.

And after them came sir Edward Howard then  
admerall, and with him sir Thomas Parre, in dub  
lets of crimsin veluet, voided low on the backe,  
and before to the chanell bone, lased on the breast  
with chaines of siluer, and ouer that short cloakes of  
crimsin sattin, and on their heads hats after dan  
lers fashion, with feaunt feathers in them: they  
were apeared after the fashion of Russia or Spence.  
The torchbearers were apparelled in crimsin sattin  
and greene, like spozeshoes, their faces blacke: and  
the king brought in a mummerie. After that the  
queene, the lords, & ladies (such as would) had plaied,  
the said mummers departed, and put off the same ap  
parell, and some after entered into the chamber in  
their vsuall apparell. And so the king made great  
cheere to the queene, ladies and ambassadours. The  
upper or banquet ended, and the tables voided, the  
king in communication with the ambassadours,

the queene with the ladies took their places in their  
degrees.

Then began the danling, and euerie man took  
much heed to them that danced. The king perceiuing  
that, withdrew himselfe suddenlie out of the place,  
with certeine other persons appointed for that pur  
pose. And within a little while after there came in a  
dum and a sife apparelled in white damaske & greene  
bagpets, and hosen of the same sute. Then certeine  
gentlemen followed with torches, apparelled in blue  
damaske, purfelled with amts greie, fashioned like  
an albe, and hods on their heads, with robes and  
long tipets to the same of blue damaske, in bisards.  
Then after them came a certeine number of gentle  
men, whereof the king was one, apparelled all in one  
sute of short garments, little beneath the points, of  
blue veluet and crimsin, with long sleeves, all cut  
and lined with cloth of gold. And the bitter part of the  
garments were powdered with castels and sheafes  
of arrowes of fine duckett gold; the vpper parts  
of their hosen of like sute and fashion; the nether parts  
were of skarlet, powdered with timbrels of fine gold,  
on their heads bonnets of damaske, with siluer flat  
women in the skole, & thereupon wrought with gold,  
and rich fethers in them, all with bisards.

After them entered sir ladies, whereof two were  
apparelled in crimsin sattin and purple, embzodered  
with gold, and by vniuersities ran flour delices of gold,  
with marvellous rich & strange tiers on their heads.  
Then two ladies in crimsin and purple, made like  
long slops embzodered and fret with gold after an  
tike fashion: and ouer that garment was a short  
garment of cloth of gold scant to the knee, fashioned  
like a tabard all ouer, with small double rolles, all of  
flat gold of damaske, fret with frised gold, and on  
their heads skarfs and wappers of damaske gold,  
with flat pipes, that strange it was to behold. The  
other two ladies were in kirtels of crimsin & purple  
sattin, embzodered with a vniuersities of pomegranats of  
gold, all the garments cut compasse wise, hauing  
but demie sleeves, naked downe from the elbowes,  
and ouer their garments were bochets of pleafants,  
rolled with crimsin veluet, and set with letters of  
gold like characts, their heads rolled in pleafants and  
tipets like the Egyptians, embzodered with gold.  
Their faces, necks, armes, and hands, covered in  
fine pleafants blacke: some call it Lumbardines,  
which is marvellous thin; so that the same ladies se  
med to be sligers or blacke spozes. Of these foresaid  
sir ladies, the ladie Marie sister vnto the king was  
one, the other I name not. After that the kings grace  
and the ladies had danced a certeine time, they depar  
ted euerie one to his lodging.

In this yere also came ambassadours, not onelie  
from the king of Arragon and Castile, but also from  
the kings of France, Denmarke, Scotland, and o  
ther places, which were highlie welcomed, and noble  
intertained. It happened on a daie, that there were  
certeine noble men made a wager to run at the ring  
and parties were taken, and which partie attained or  
toke awaie the ring offnest with certeine courses,  
shoulde win the wager. Whereof the kings grace  
hearing, offered to be on the one partie with sir com  
panions. The ambassadours hearing thereof, were  
much desirous to see this wager tried, and speciallie  
the ambassadours of Spaine, who had neuer sene  
the king in harnesse. At the daie appointed, the king  
was mounted on a goodlie courser, trapped in purple  
veluet cut, the inner side whereof was wrought with  
flat gold of damaske in the skole, and the veluet on  
the other side cut in letters: so that the gold appeared  
as though it had bene embzodered with certeine rea  
sons or posies. And on the veluet betwene the let  
ters were fastened castels and sheafes of arrowes of  
ducket

A maske  
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after a strange  
fashion.

The ladie  
Marie sister  
vnto the king.

Edw. Hall in  
Hen. 8. fol. vij.  
Running at  
the ring.

The king be  
rie roiallie ar  
ranged runneth  
at the ring in  
the sight of the  
ambassadours  
& beareth the  
prize awaie.

bucket gold, with a garment, the sleeves compassed  
ouer his harnesse, and his bales of the same worke;  
with a great plume of feathers on his head pece,  
that came downe to the ardon of his saddle, and a  
great companie of fresh gentlemen came in with  
his grace richlie armed and decked, with manie other  
right gorgeouslie apparelled, the trumpets before  
them goodlie to behold, whereof manie strangers (but  
speciallie the Spaniards) much reioiced; for they had  
neuer seene the king before that time armed.

On the other side came in another band of gen-  
tlemen freshlie apparelled, and pleasant to behold, all  
apparelled in cloth of gold, checkered with flat gold of  
damaske, & powdered with roses; and so euerie man  
raie: but to conclude, the pise was given unto the  
king. Euerie man did run twelue courses, the king  
did beare away the ring fise times, and attained it  
there. And these courses thus finished, the Spanishe  
ambassadors desired to haue some of the badges of  
heretics, which were on the kings trapper. His grace  
therof knowing, commanded euerie of them to take  
thereof what it pleased them, who in effect took all of  
the more part; for in the beginning they thought  
they had bene counterfeit, and not of gold; as they  
were. On the next day then next following in the second  
yeare of his reigne, his grace being young, and wil-  
ling not to be idle, rose in the morning verie earlie  
to fetch maie of Greene boughs; himselfe fresh & rich-  
lie apparelled; and clothed all his knights, squiers and  
gentlemen in white sattin, and all his gard and peo-  
ple in the colour of white sarcenet: and so went e-  
uerie man with his bow and arrowes shooting to the  
wood, and so repaired againe to the court, euerie man  
with a Greene bough in his cap.

Now at his returning, manie hearing of his  
going on making, were desirous to see him shot, for  
at that time his grace shot as strong and as great a  
length as anie of his gard. There came to his grace  
a certaine man with bow and arrowes, and desired  
his grace to take the muster of him, and to see him  
shot; for at that time his grace was contented. The  
man put the one foot in his bosome, and so did shoot,  
and shot a verie good shot, and well towards his  
marke: whereof, notwithstanding his grace, but all other  
greatlie marvelled. So the king gaue him a reward  
for his so doing; which person afterwards of the peo-  
ple, and of them in the court, was called, foot in bo-  
sone. The same yeare in the feast of Pentecost, hol-  
den at Greenwich, that is to say, the thursdaie in the  
same weeke, his grace with two other with him,  
challenged all commers, to fight with them at the  
barriers with target, and casting the speare of eight  
foot long; and that done, his grace with the said two  
aides to fight euerie of them twelue strokes with  
two handed swordes, with and against all commers,  
none excepted being a gentleman; where the king be-  
haued himselfe so well, and deliuered himselfe so ball-  
antlie by his hardie prowesse and great strength, that  
the praise and laud was given to his grace, and his  
aides: notwithstanding that diuerse and strong per-  
sons had assailed him and his aides.

From thence the whole court removed to Wind-  
sor, then beginning his progresse, & exercising himselfe  
dailie in shooting, singing, dancing, wrestling, casting  
of the barre, plateng at the recorders, flute, virgi-  
nals, in setting of songs, and making of ballads; he  
did set two full masses, euerie of them fise parts,  
which were song oftentimes in his chappell, and af-  
terwards in diuerse other places. And when he came  
to Woking, there were kept both iustes and turnies:  
the rest of this progresse was spent in hunting, haw-  
king, and shooting. & Doctor Colet deane of Poules  
erected a free schoule in Poules church yard in Lon-  
don, and committed the ouersight thereof to the ma-  
sters and wardens of the mercers, because himselfe  
was borne in London, & was sonne to Henrie Co-  
let mercer, sometime lord maior of the citie of Lon-  
don. On the thirde summer night, the king came princi-  
pally into Cheape, in one of the cotes of his gard; and on  
saint Peters night, the king and queene came ri-  
ding roiallie to the kings hed in Cheape, there to be-  
hold the watch of the citie.

Now when the said progresse was finished, his  
grace, the queene, with all their whole traine, in the  
moneth of October following, removed to Grenewich.  
The king not minded to see young gentlemen  
dinerper in martiall feates, caused a place to be pre-  
pared within the park of Grenewich, for the queene  
and the ladies to stand & see the fight with battle axes  
that should be done there, where the king himselfe  
armed, fought with one Ciot a gentleman of Al-  
maine, a tall man, and a good man of armes. And  
then after they had done, they marched alwaies two  
and two together, and so did their feats and enter-  
pises euerie man verie well. Albeit, it happened the  
said Ciot to fight with sir Edward Howard, which  
Ciot was by him stricken to the ground. The morow  
after this enterprize done, the king with the queene  
came to the Towre of London. And to the intent  
that there should no displeasure nor malice be borne  
by anie of those gentlemen, which fought with the ar-  
gainst other; the king gaue unto them a certeine  
summe of gold, valued at two hundred markes, to  
make a banquet among themselves withall. The which  
banquet was made at fishmongers hall in Thames  
street, where they all met to the number of foure and  
twentie, all apparelled in one sute of liuerie, after Al-  
maine fashion; that is to say, their bitter garments  
all of yellow sattin, yellow hosen, yellow shoes, gir-  
dels, scabbards, and bonnets with yellow feathers,  
their garments and hosen all cut & lined with white  
sattin, and their scabbards wound about with sattin.  
After their banquet ended, they went by torchlight to  
the Towre, & presented themselves before the king,  
who took pleasure to behold them.

From thence the eight day of November, his grace  
removed to Richmond, and willed to be declared to  
all noble men and gentlemen, that his grace with  
two aides, that is to wit, maister Charles Brandon,  
and maister Compton, during two daies would an-  
swer all commers; with speare at the tilt one daie,  
and at turnie with sword the other. And to accom-  
plish this enterprize, on the thirtieth day of Novem-  
ber, his grace armed at all peeces with his two aides  
entered the field, their bales and trappers were of  
cloth of gold, set with red roses, wrought with gold  
of broderie. The counterpart came in freshlie ap-  
parelled, euerie man after his deuise. At these iustes the  
king brake more fraues than anie other, & therefore  
had the pise. At the turnie in likewise, the honour  
was his. The second night were diuerse strangers of  
Maritiman the emperours court and ambassadors  
of Spaine with the king at supper. When they had  
supped, the king willed them to go into the queenes  
chamber, who so did.

In the meane season, the king with sixene other, & roiall  
apparelled in Almaine iackets of crimson and purple  
sattin, with long quartered sleeves, and hosen of the  
same sute, their bonnets of white velvet, wrapped in  
flat gold of damaske, with visards and white plumes,  
came in with a munimie; and after a certeine time  
that they had played with the queene and the stran-  
gers, they departed. Then suddenly entered sir mi-  
nors richlie apparelled, plaieng on their instru-  
ments; and then followed fourtene persons, gentle-  
men, all apparelled in yellow sattin, cut like Al-  
maine, braving torches. After them came sir disgui-  
sed in white sattin and Greene, embroidered and set  
with

King Henrie  
goeth a ma-  
ring with o-  
ther of his  
courtiers.

The king a  
good archer.

The king cha-  
lenged all  
commers at  
tunipier  
cites of ac-  
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Abt. Fl. ex  
I. S. pag. 894.  
Poules church.

The king  
fighteth  
a battle  
against  
a Spaniard.

The king  
fighteth  
a battle  
against  
a Spaniard.

The birth of  
the first be-  
sonne of  
king Henrie  
the eighth.

A goodlie de-  
vise of a moue-  
ment pageant.

The king  
with his  
sittants  
length  
commers  
at tilt.

The king  
with his  
sittants  
length  
commers  
at tilt.

A goodlie  
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2. Dom. 1510

An. Reg. 1.

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with letters and cassels of fine gold in bullion, the garments were of strange fashion, with also strange cuts, euerie cut knit with points of fine gold, and tassels of the same, their hosen cut and tied in likewise, their bonnets of cloth of siluer wond with gold. The first of these sir was the king, the earle of Essex, Charles Brandon, sir Edward Howard, sir Thomas Baneet, and sir Henrie Guilford.

Then part of the gentlemen bearing torches departed, and hostlie returned, after whom came in sir ladies, appavelled in garments of crimfin sattin embodered and trauesed with gloth of gold, cut in pomegranats and pokes: stringed after the fashion of Spaine. When the said sir men danced with these sir ladies: and after that they had danced a season, the ladies took off the mens visors, whereby they were known: whereof the quene and the strangers much passed the king, and ended the pastime: It is to be noted, that at this time the quene was great with child, & hostlie after this pastime, she took her chamber at Richmond, for the which cause the king kept his Christmase there. And on the twelfth daie the first daie of Januarie the quene was belivered of a priue to the great gladnesse of the realme, for the honour of whome fiers were made, and diuerse vessels with wine set for such as would take thereof in certeine streets in London, and generall processions thereupon to laud God. As touching the preparation of the princes chylfening, I ouerpass, which was honorable done, whose godfathers at the font were the archbishop of Canturburie, and the earle of Surreie, & godmother the ladie Katharine countesse of Deuonshire, daughter to king Edward the fourth: his name was Henrie.

Against the twelue daie of the date of the Epiphanie at night, before the banket in the hall at Richmond, was a pageant deuised like a mounteine, glistering by night as though it had bene all of gold and set with stones, on the top of which mounteine was a tree of gold, the branches and bonghes frised with gold, spreading on euerie side ouer the mounteine with roses and pomegranats, the which mounteine was with vices brought vp towards the king, and out of the same came a ladie appavelled in cloth of gold, and the chylzen of honour called the benchmen, which were freshlie disguised, and danced a morrice before the king; and that done, reentred the mounteine, which then was drawn backe, and then was the wastall or banket brought in, and so brake vp Christmase. Hostlie after and before the quenes churching, the k. rode to Wallingham. The quene being churched or purified, the king and the remoued from Richmond to Westminster, where was preparation for solemne iusts in the hono: of the quene; the king being one, and with him thre aides: his grace being called Cure loial, the lord William erle of Deuonshire called Bon voloire, sir Thomas Baneet named Bon espoir, sir Edward Peuill called Valiant desire, whose names were set vpon a goodlie table, & the table hangd in a tree curiouslie wrought, and they were called Les quater cheualiers de la forest saluigne, these foure to run at the tilt against all comers, with other certeine articles compised in the said table.

A place in the palace was prepared for the king and quene, richlie hangd, the inner part with cloth of gold, & the utter with rich cloth of arras. These iusts began the thirteenth daie of Februarie. Now after that the quene with hir traine of ladies had taken their places, into the palace was conueied a pageant of a great quantitie, made like a Forrest with rockes, hills, and dales, with diuerse sundrie trees, flowers, herbes, fernes, and grasse, with sir foxesters standing within the same Forrest, garnished in cotes and hoods

of greene beluet, by whome laie a great number of speares; all the trees, hearbs, and flowers of the same Forrest were made of greene beluet, greene damaske, & silke of diuerse colours, as sattin & sarcenet. In the midst of this Forrest was a castell standing made of gold, and before the castell gate sat a gentleman freshlie appavelled, making a garland of roses for the quene. This Forrest was drawn as it were by strength of two great beastes, a lion and an antelope; the lion flozshed all ouer with damaske gold, the antelope was wrought all ouer with siluer of damaske, his beames or hories and tuskes of gold.

These beastes were led with certeine men appavelled like wild men, or woodhouses, their bodies, heads, faces, hands, and legs couered with greene silke flozshed: on either of the said antelope and lion sat a ladie richlie appavelled, the beastes were tied to the pageant with great chaines of gold, as hostles be in the cart. When the pageant rested before the quene, the forenamed foxesters blew their hories, then the deuise or pageant opened on all sides, and out issued the foresaid foure knights armed at all peeces, euerie of them a speare in his hand on horsebacke with great plumes on their heads, their bales and trappers of cloth of gold, euerie of them his name embodered on his bale and trapper. On the other part with great noise a swell of trumpets as of drums entered into the field, the erle of Essex, the lord Thomas Howard with manie other cleane armed, their trappers and bales all of crimfin satin embodered with branches of pomegranats of gold and pokes; with manie a fresh gentleman riding before them, their footmen well appavelled: and so the iusts began and endured all that daie.

The morrow, being the thirteenth of Februarie after dinner, at time conuenient, the quene with the ladies repaired to see the iusts, the trumpets sounded, and in came manie a noble man and gentleman richlie appavelled, taking vp their horses; after whom followed certeine lords appavelled, they and their horses in cloth of gold and russet tinsell: knights in cloth of gold and russet beluet; and a great number of gentlemen on foot in russet sattin and pellow, and peomen in russet damaske and pellow, all the nether part of euerie mans hosen scarlet and pellow caps. Then came the king vnder a pavilion of cloth of gold and purple beluet embodered, and powdered with y. and k. of fine gold, the compasse of the pavilion above embodered richlie, and balansed with flat gold, beaten in wire, with an imperiall crowne in the top of fine gold, his bales and trappers of cloth of gold, frettyed with damaske gold, the trapper pendant to the taile. A crane and chaftron of Steele, in the front of the chaftron was a goodlie plume set full of musers or trembling spangles of gold. After followed his thre aides, euerie of them vnder a pavilion of crimfin damaske and purple, powdered with y. and k. of fine gold, balansed and fringed with gold of damaske: on the top of euerie pavilion a great k. of goldsmiths worke.

The number of the gentlemen and peomen attending on foot, appavelled in russet and pellow, was an hundred thre score and eight. Then next these pavilions came twelue chylzen of honour, sitting euerie of them on a great courser richlie trapped and embodered in severall deuises and fashions, where lacked neither beverie nor goldsmiths worke, so that euerie childe and horse in deuise and fashion was contrarie to other, which was goodlie to behold. Then on the contrarie part entered sir Charles Brandon, first on horsebacke in a long robe of russet sattin, like a recluse or religious person, and his horse trapped in the same lute, without drum or noise of minstrelsie, putting a bill of petition to the quene, the effect where

The foure  
knights issue  
out of the pa-  
geant all ar-  
med.

Georgens  
shewes in  
apparel.

The king be-  
der a pavilion  
of cloth of gold  
and purple  
beluet, &c.

Sir Charles  
Brandon on  
horsebacke in  
a long robe of  
russet sattin  
like a religio-  
ous person.



of was, that if it would please hie to licence him to run in his presence, he would do it gladly; and if not, then he would depart as he came. After that his request was granted, then he put off his said habit, and was armed at all peeces with rich bases and horse also richly trapped, and so did run his horse to the tilt end, where diuerse men on foot appaelled in russet sattin waited on him.

Henrie Guilford esquier in russet cloth of gold, with his deuise.

The mar-  
quess Dowset  
and sir Thomas  
Bullen  
like pilgrims.

Next after came in alone yong Henrie Guilford esquier, himselfe and his horse in russet cloth of gold and cloth of siluer, closed in a deuise, or a pageant made like a castell or a turret, wrought of russet saycenet florence, wrought and set out in gold with his word or posie, and all his men in russet sattin & white, with hosen to the same, and their bonets of like colour, demanding also licence of the queene to run; which to him granted, he took place at the tilts end. Then came next the marquess Dowset and sir Thomas Bullen like two pilgrims from saint James, in taberds of blacke velvet, with palmers hats on their helmets, with long Jacobs staves in their hands, their horse trappers of blacke velvet, their taberds, hats, and trappers set with scalop shels of fine gold, and strips of blacke velvet, euery strip set with a scalop shell, their seruants all in blacke sattin with scalop shels of gold in their breeches. Some after came in the lord Henrie of Buckingham earle of Wiltshire, himselfe and his horse appaelled in cloth of siluer, embroidered with his posie or word, and arrowes of gold in a posie, called La maison du refuge, made of crimson damaske bordered with roses & arrowes of gold, on the top a greibound of siluer, bearing a tree of pomegranats of gold, the branches whereof were so large that it ouersped the pageant in all parts.

Then entered sir Giles Capell, sir Rowland with many other knights richly armed and appaelled. And thus began the tilts, which was valiantly achieved by the king and his aids, among whom his grace attained the prize. These tilts finished, euery man withdrew, the king was disarmed, and at time convenient he and the queene heard euensong, and that night all the ambassadoes supped with the king and had a great banquet. After supper, his grace with the queene, lords & ladies came into the White hall within the said palace, which was hangd richly, the hall was scaffolded and railed on all parts. There was an enterlure of the gentlemen of his chapel before his grace, and diuerse fresh songs: that done, his grace called to him a great man, or a lord of Ireland called O neall, whom in the presence of the said ambassadoes he made knight: then the minstrels began to plaie, the lords & ladies began to danse. Now in the midst of this pastime, when all persons were most attentue to behold the danfing, the king was suddenly gone, unknown to the most part of the people there, unlesse it were of the queene and certaine other. Within a little while after his departing, the trumpets at the end of the hall began to sound.

A pageant deuised to run upon wheeles.

Then was there a deuise or a pageant upon wheels brought in, out of the which pageant issued out a gentleman richly appaelled, that shewed how in a garden of pleasure there was an arbor of gold, where in were lords and ladies, much desirous to shew pastime to the queene & ladies, if they might be licensed so to do: who was answered by the queene, how she & all other there were verie desirous to see them and their pastime. Then a great cloth of arras that did hang before the same pageant was taken away, and the pageant brought more nere. It was curiously made and pleasant to behold, it was solemne and rich; for euery post or pillar thereof was couered with frised gold, therein were trees of bathorne, eglantine, roses, vines, and other pleasant floures of diuerse

colours, with gilliflowers, and other hearbs all made of sattin, damaske, siluer and gold, accordingly as the naturall trees, hearbs, or floures ought to be.

In this arbor were six ladies, all appaelled in white sattin and greene, set and embroidered full of gold and siluer, knit together with laces of gold of damaske, and all their garments were replenished with glittering spangles gilt ouer, on their heads were bonets all opened at the foure quarters, overfrised with flat gold of damaske, the orlelets were of rolles, twetted on lampas dancke holow, so that the gold shewed through the lampas dancke; the hells of their head set full of new deuised fashions. In this garden also was the king and five with him appaelled in garments of purple sattin, all of cuts with gold and siluer, euery edge garnished with frised gold, and euery garment full of posies, made of letters of fine gold in bullion as thicke as they might be, and euery person had his name in like letters of masse gold. The first Cure loial, the second Bon voloir, the third Bon espoir, the fourth Valiant desire, the fifth Bon foy, the sixth Amour loial, their hosen, caps, and coats were full of posies, with gold and siluer of fine gold in bullion, so that the ground could scarce appeare, & yet was in euery void place spangles of gold. When time was come, the said pageant was brought forth into presence, and then descended a lord and a lady by couples, and then the minstrels which were disguised also danced, and the lords and ladies danced, that it was a pleasure to behold.

In the meane season the pageant was conueyed to the end of the palace, there to tarie till the dances were finished, & so to haue receiued the lords & ladies againe; but suddenly the rude people ran to the pageant, and rent, tare, and spoiled the pageant, so that the lord steward nor the head officers could not cause them to abstaine, except they should haue foughten and dauen bloud, and so was this pageant broken. When the king with the queene and the ladies returned to his chamber, where they had a great banquet, and so this triumph ended with much glories. At this solemnitie a shipman of London caught certaine letters, which he sold to a goldsmith for three pounds fourtene shillings & eight pence; by reason whereof it appeared that the garments were of a great value. After this great toy came a sorrowfull chance, for the yong prince which was borne upon shewe peares day last past, upon the two and twentieth daie of february, being then the euen of saint Matthe, departed this world at Richmond, and from thence was caried to Westminster and buried. The king like a wise prince took this dolorous chance wondrous wifely; and the more to comfort the queene he dissembled the matter, and made no great mourning outwardly: but the queene, like a naturall woman, made much lamentation; howbeit, by the kings good perswasion and behauiour, his sorrow was mitigated, but not shorted.

In the moneth of februarye this yeare came ambassadoes from the king of Arragon and Castile, to require an aid of fiftene hundred archers to be sent to the same king, hauing at that time war against the Moors, enemies of the christian faith. The king hearing their message gentlie granted their request. And because the lord Thomas Darcie a knight of the garter, made humble sute to the king to be generall of the crue that should be thus sent into Spaine, the king upon trust of his approued ballance granted his desire. There were appointed to go with him the lord Anthoine Greie brother to the marquess Dowset, Henrie Guilford, Weston Boloue, and William Stone esquiers of the kings house, sir Robert Constable, sir Roger Hastings, and sir Rafe Elderton, with other gentlemen to be captiues.

The seventh  
the hath John  
down  
Amplon and  
public be-  
sach.  
The king lost  
much money  
there.  
Ano. Reg. 3.  
Hall in  
the 1509.  
The king and  
his other  
quarters  
challengers.  
The deuce of a  
ship under  
sail.  
The deuce  
of the people  
assembled in  
the square  
for the  
The deuce  
of the  
king's young  
came out of  
this life.  
The king  
broke more  
times than  
the rest and  
had the prize  
given him.  
The king  
broke more  
times than  
the rest and  
had the prize  
given him.  
The king  
broke more  
times than  
the rest and  
had the prize  
given him.

Dom. 1509

fn. Reg. 2, 3.

8. 2. 3. In this second yere, the king being forth on his  
progreſſe, heard euertie daie moze & moze complaints  
of Empſon and Doble, ſet forth and advanced no  
doubt by the drift of their deable entymies. Where-  
fore, he ſent toxts to the ſheriffes of London, to put  
them to execution, and ſo the ſeuenteenth daie of Au-  
guſt, they were both beheaded at the Tower hill, and  
both their bodies and heads buried, the one at the  
White friers, and the other at the Blacke friers. The  
king about this ſeaſon was much giuen to plaiſe at  
reſuſite, and at the diſe, which appetite certeine craftie  
perſons about him perceiving, brought in French-  
men and Lombards to make wagers with him, & ſo  
loſt much monie; but when he perceived their craft,  
he eſqued their companie and let them go.

On the first daie of Maie the king accompanied with manie lustie batcheiers, on great and well doing horses rode to the wood to fetch Maie, where a man might haue sene manie a horse raised on high with carrier, gallop, turne, and stop, meruellous to behold: where he & thre other, as sir Edward Howard, Charles Brandon, and Edward Penill, which were challengers with the king, shifed themselves into coats of greene sattin garded with crimsin velvet. On the other part the earles of Essex, of Devonshire, the margarett Dowset, & the lord Howard were all in crimsin linn, garded with a pounced garb of greene velvet. And as they were returning on the hill, a ship met with them vnder saile: the maister hailed the king and that noble companie, and said that he was a mariner, and was come from many a strange port, and came thither to see if anie deeds of armes were to be done in the countrie, of the which he might make true report in other countries. An herald demanded the name of his ship: he answered she is called Jfame, & is laden with good Renowme: then said the herald, If you will bring your ship into the baie of Harbinelle, you must double the point of Gentlenesse, and there you shall see a companie that will meddle with your merchandize. Then said the king, Siftens Renowme is their merchandize, let vs buie it if we can. When the ship shot a peale of guns, and sailed forth befoze the kings companie, full of flags and banners, till it came to the tilt yard.

At after noone, the king and his thre fellowes entered into the field, their bardes and bafes of crimfin and blue veluet, cut in quozdant cuts, embzodded full of pomegranats, and all the wafters in filke of the fame colour. The other partie were in crimfin fatten and greene veluet. When began the trumpets to found, and the hozfles to run, that manie a fpeare were burft, and manie a great ftripe giuen: and fo, a truth the king excēded in number of ftaues all other euerie daie of the thre daies. Wherefore on the third daie, the queene made a great banket to the king and all them that had yfte: and after the banket done, the gaue the chiefe paffes to the king, the fecond to the earle of Effer, the third to the earle of Devonfhire, and the fourth to the lord marquess Dorset. Then the heralds cried: My lordz, for your noble feats in armes, God fend you the loue of your ladies that you moft defire. The king euer defirous to ferue Mars, began another iusts the fifteenth daie of the faid moneth. The king's his band were all in greene filke, and the earle of Effer and his band in blue, garned with gold, and all the fpeares were painted of the fame colours. There was god running and manie a fpeare buyt: but for all the fpozt euerie man feared leaft fome ill chance might happen to the king, and faine would haue had him a looker on rather than a dmer, and fpake thereof as much as they durft: but his courage was fo noble that he would erer be at the one end.

In this mean time, the lord Darcie and other ap

pointed to the viage against the Moors, made such diligence, that they and all their people were ready at Plinimouth by the midnes of Maye, and there mustered their soldiers before the lord Wake, and other the kings commissioners. The lord Darcie as capitaine generall, ordeined for his prouost marshall Henrie Guilford esquire, a lustie yong man, & welbeloued of the king, for his manifold good seruice. On the mondate in the Rogation weeke, they departed out of Plinimouth hauen with foure ships roiall, and the wind was so favourable to them, that the first date of June, being the euen of the feast of Pentecost, he arriued at the port of Calis in south Spaine; and immediatlie by the aduise of his counsell, he dispatched messengers to the king, whom they found before the citie of Cinth where he then laie, and declared to him, how the lord Darcie by the king their masters appointment, was come thither with sixtē hundred archers, and laie still at Calis to know his pleasure. The king of Castile answered them gentlie, that the lord Darcie and all other that were come from his louing sonne were welcome, and hartlie thanked them of their paines, requiting the messengers to returne to their capitaine, and tell him that in all hast he would send certeine of his counsell to him.

¶ Hereupon they departed from the king, and made report to the lord Warcie, which kept his ship in great estate, and would not land, but onlie suffered such as were sicke and feeble, and few other to go a land. The Englishmen which went a land, fell to drinking of hot wines, & were scarce maisters of themselves, some ran to the fletches, some bake hedges and spoiled orchards and vineyards, and oranges before they were ripe, and did manie outrageous deeds: wherefore the chiefe of the towne of Calis came to complaine to the lord Warcie in his ship, which sent forth his prouost marshall, who scarcelie with paine restrained the peoman archers, they were so hot and wilfull, yet by commandement & policie they were all brought on board to their ships.

Then vpon saturdaye, the eight of June, a bishop and other of the kings counsell came to Calis, and there abode till wednesdaye, being the euen of Corpus Christi; at which date, the lord capteine took land, and was honorably receiued of the king of Aragon's counsell, and on the morrowe was highlye feasted at dinner and supper. And at after supper, the bishop declared the king his masters pleasure, giuing to the lord capteine as heartie thanks for his pains and trauell, as if he had gone forward with his enterprise against the Moyses. But whereas by the aduise of his counsell, circumspectiue considering the suertie of his owne realme, vpon perfect knowledge had that the Frenchmen meant to inuade his dominions in his absence, he had altered his former determination, and taken an abstinence of war with the Moyses, till an other time.

60 He therefore required the lord Warcie to be contented to returne home againe, promising him wages for all his soldiers; and if it should please him to come to the court, he should receive high thanks of the king, and such there as there could be made him. The lord Warcie was nothing pleased with this declaration, but sith he saw there was no remedie, he said, that whatsoever the king had concluded, he could not be against it, considering he was sent to him: but suerlie it was against his mind to depart home, without doing anye thing against Gods enemies, with whome he had euer a desire to fight. And as for his comming to court, he said, he could not leaue his men whome he had brought out of their countrie, without an head; and as for the kings banquet, it was not the thing that he desired.

Darcie and his compa-  
nie readie at  
Wilmington.

Abr.Fl. ex  
Edw.Hall in  
Hen.8.folxij.

The unruly  
behaviour of  
the English  
men,

The lord  
Darcie honorable  
recet-  
ued of the R.  
of Dragons  
councell.

The lord  
Darcie dis-  
contented at  
the bishops  
declaration.

File.

On

Dom. 1509

An. Reg. 23.

In this second yeare, the king being forth on his progresse, heard euerie daie more & more complaints of Empton and Doble, set forth and advanced no doubt by the drift of their deadlie enemies. Wherefore, he sent writs to the Sherriffes of London, to put them to execution, and so the seventeenth daie of August, they were both beheaded at the Tower hill, and both their bodies and heads buried, the one at the White friers, and the other at the Blacke friers. The king about this season was much giuen to plate at tennis, and at the dise, which appetite certeine craftie persons about him perceiuing, brought in Frenchmen and Lombards to make wagers with him, & so lost much monie; but when he perceiued their craft, he eschued their companie and let them go.

¶ On the first daie of Maie the king accompanied with manie lustie batcheles, on great and well doing horses rode to the wood to fetch Maie, where a man might haue seene manie a horse raised on high with carrier, gallop, turne, and stop, meruellous to behold: where he & thre other, as Sir Edward Howard, Charles Brandon, and Edward Perrell, which were challengers with the king, thifted themselves into coats of greene sattin garded with crimson velvet. On the other part the earles of Essex, of Devonshire, the marquisse Dorset, & the lord Howard were all in crimson satin, garded with a pounced gard of greene velvet. And as they were returning on the hill, a ship met with them vnder saile: the maister hailed the king and that noble companie, and said that he was a mariner, and was come from many a strange port, and came thither to see if anie deeds of armes were to be done in the countrie, of the which he might make true report in other countries. An herald demanded the name of his ship; he answered she is called Flame, & is laden with good Renoume: then said the herald, If you will bring your ship into the baie of Hardinesse, you must double the point of Gentlesse, and there you shall see a companie that will meddle with your merchandize. Then said the king, Shewens Renoume is their merchandize, let vs bue it if we can. Then the ship shot a peale of guns, and sailed forth before the kings companie, full of flags and banners, till it came to the tilt yard.

At after none, the king and his thre fellows entered into the field, their bards and bases of crimson and blue velvet, cut in quadrant cuts, embzodered full of pomegranats, and all the waiters in silke of the same colour. The other partie were in crimson sattin and greene velvet. Then began the trumpets to sound, and the horses to run, that manie a speare was burst, and manie a great stripe giuen: and so a truth the king excceeded in number of stanes all other euerie daie of the thre daies. Wherefore on the third daie, the queene made a great banket to the king and all them that had iusted: and after the banket done, she gaue the chiefe pisse to the king, the second to the earle of Essex, the thirde to the earle of Devonshire, and the fourth to the lord marquisse Dorset. When the heralds cried; My lords, for your noble seats in armes, God send you the loue of your ladies that you most desire. The king euer desirous to serue spars, began another iusts the sixteenth daie of the said moneth. The king & his band were all in greene like, and the earle of Essex and his band in blue, garded with gold, and all the speares were painted of the same colours. There was good running and manie a speare burst: but for all the sport euerie man feared least some ill chance might happen to the king, and saue would haue had him a looker on rather than a doer, and spake thereof as much as they durst: but his courage was so noble that he would enur be at the one end.

In this meane time, the lord Darcie and other ap-

pointed to the biage against the Mores, made such diligence, that they and all their people were readie at Wlhimmouth by the middes of Maie, and there mustered their soldiers before the lord Brooke, and other the kings commissioners. The lord Darcie as capteine generall, ordeined for his prouost marshall Henrie Gullford esquier, a lustie young man, & wel beloued of the king, for his manifold god seruice. On the mondaie in the Rogation weeke, they departed out of Wlhimmouth haueu with foure ships roiall, and the wind was so fauourable to them, that the first daie of June, being the euen of the feast of Pentecost, he arriued at the port of Calis in south Spaine; and immediatlie by the aduise of his counsell, he dispatched messengers to the king, whom they found beside the citie of Ciuill where he then late, and declared to him, how the lord Darcie by the king their maisters appointment, was come thither with sixteen hundred archers, and late still at Calis to know his pleasure. The king of Castile answered them gentlie, that the lord Darcie and all other that were come from his louing sonne were welcome, and hartlie thanked them of their paines, requiting the messengers to returne to their capteine, and tell him that in all hast he would send certeine of his counsell to him.

¶ Hereupon they departed from the king, and made report to the lord Darcie, which kept his ship in great estate, and would not land, but onelie suffered such as were sicke and feeble, and few other to go a land. The Englishmen which went a land, fell to drinking of hot wines, & were scarce maisters of themselves, some ran to the stables, some brake hedges and spoiled orchards and vineyards, and oranges before they were ripe, and did manie outrageous deeds: wherefore the chiefe of the towne of Calis came to complaine to the lord Darcie in his ship, which sent forth his prouost marshall, who scarcelie with paine restrained the peoman archers, they were so hot and wilfull, yet by commandement & policie they were all brought on board to their ships.

Then vpon saturdaye, the eight of June, a bishop and other of the kings counsell came to Calis, and there abode till wednesdaye, being the euen of Corpus Christi; at which daie, the lord capteine took land, and was honozablie receiued of the king of Aragons counsell, and on the morrow was highlie feasted at dinner and supper. And at after supper, the bishop declared the king his maisters pleasure, giuing to the lord capteine as heartie thanks for his pains and trauell, as if he had gone forward with his enterprise against the Mores. But whereas by the aduise of his counsell, circumspectlie considering the suertie of his owne realme, vpon perfect knowledge had that the Frenchmen meant to inuade his dominions in his absence, he had altered his former determination, and taken an abstinence of war with the Mores, till an other time.

He therefore required the lord Darcie to be contented to returne home againe, promising him wages for all his soldiers; and if it should please him to come to the court, he should receiue high thanks of the king, and such chere as there could be made him. The lord Darcie was nothing pleased with this declaration, but sth he saw there was no remedie, he said, that whatsoeuer the king had concluded, he could not be against it, considering he was sent to him: but suerlie it was against his mind to depart home, without doing anie thing against Gods enemies, with whome he had euer a desire to fight. And as for his coming to court, he said, he could not leaue his men whome he had brought out of their countrie, without an head; and as for the kings banket, it was not the thing that he desired.

Darcie and his companie readie at Wlhimmouth.

Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall in Hen. 8. fol. xij.

The vntrulle behauiour of the Englishmen.

The lord Darcie honorablie receiued of the king of Aragons counsell.

The lord Darcie discontented at the bishops declaration.

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The rubbing of the people assembled to see the shew

The departure of the kings young sonne out of this life.

Embassadors from the king of Spaine to and against the Mores.

Lord Darcie knight of the garter.

The French soldiers

The king lost much monie at tennis.

The king and the other carriers challengers.

Thou of a bynders like.

The king take more than three and two the quide gown him.

The king

A shew  
fraie begun  
upon a small  
occasion.

Edw. Hall.

On the next daie in the morning, monie was sent to paie the souldiers their wages for their conduct on againe into England, with diuerse gifts giuen to the lord Darcie, and other gentlemen, yet notwithstanding, he was highlie displeased: howbeit, like a wise man he dissembled the matter. The same daie, being the fourteenth daie of June, and fridaie, there chanced a fraie to be begun in the towne of Calis, betwixt the Englishmen, and them of the towne; by reason that an Englishman would haue had for his monie a loafe of bread from a maid that had bene at the bakers to buie bread, not to sell, but to spend in his mistress house. Howbeit the Englishman followed him, as making proffer not to be denied, in so much that the maid perceiuing what he went about, cried out; A force, a force. Then was the common bell rung, and all the towne went to harnesse, and those few Englishmen that were a land, went to their bowes. The Spaniards cast darts, and the Englishmen shot. But the captains of England, and the lords of the counsell for their part, took such paine, that the fraie was ceased; and but one Englishman slaine, though diuerse were hurt: and of the Spaniards diuerse were slaine. Thus of a sparkle was kindled a flame to the spoiling of manie; which is no rare thing to see, according to the scripturall:

*Concitat ingentes flammæ scintilla minuta.*

After this, upon request made by the lords of Spaine, the lord Darcie and all his men the same night went aboard their ships, but Henrie Guilford, Weston Bolone, and William Sidonie, young and lustie esquiers, desired licence to see the court of Spaine: which being granted, they went thither, where they were of the king highlie interteined. Henrie Guilford and Weston Bolone were made knights by the king, who also gaue to sir Henrie Guilford a canton of Granada, and to sir Weston Bolone an eagle of Sicill on a chefe, to the augmentation of their armes. William Sidonie so encouraged himselfe, that he was not made knight. When they had sojourned there a while, they took their leaue of the king and quene, and returned through France into England.

The English  
men desire to  
see the Spa-  
nish court.

The lord  
Darcie return-  
eth out of  
Spaine.

The duchesse  
of Sanote se-  
deth to king  
Henrie for aid  
against the  
duke of Gel-  
ders.

During which season, the lord Darcie made saile toward England, and arriuing at Plimmouth, came to the king at Windsor, and so this tournee ended. During the time that the lord Darcie was in Spaine, the ladie Margaret duchesse of Sanote, and daughter vnto Maximilian the emperor, and gouernour of Flanders, Brabant, Holland, Zeland, and other the low countries appertaining to Charles the young prince of Castile, sent in the end of Maie to the king of England, to haue sixtene hundred archers, to aid him against the duke of Gelders, which sore troubled the countries aforesaid. The king tenderlie regarding the request of so noble a ladie, most gentlie granted his request, and appointed sir Edward Poynings, knight of the garter, and comptroller of his house, a valiant capteine and a noble warrior, to be lieutenant and leader of the said sixtene hundred archers.

This gentleman accompanied with his sonne in law the lord Clinton, sir Mathew Bolone, sir John Digbie, John Werton, Richard Whethill, and Schelleie esquiers, with other gentlemen and yeomen, to the foresaid number of sixtene hundred, took their ships a mile beside Sandwich, the eighteenth daie of Iulie, and landed at Armele the nineteenth daie, not without some trouble, by reason of a little storme. From thence they were conducted to Barlowe, whither the ladie Regent came to welcome them. On the sundae, being the seuen & twentieth of Iulie, they departed to Rossendale, and on thursdaie the last of Iulie they came to Bulduke. And the next daie the

whole armie of the Almans, Flemings, and other appertaining to the said ladie met with the English, men without Bulduke, where they set forth in order, the ladie Regent being there present, which took his leaue of all the captains, and departed to Bulduke.

The armie, to the number of ten thousand, beside the sixtene hundred English archers, passed forward; and the tenth daie of August, being saint Laurence daie, came before a little castle, standing on the higher side of the Mase, called Westmoist, belonging to the ballard of Gelderland. The same night, Thomas Hert, cheefe gouernour of the ordinance of the English part, made his approach; and in the morning, made batterie, so, that the assault thereupon being giuen, the castle was worne, and the capteine with eighte and six men were slaine, and nineteene taken; of the which, eleven were hanged. John Foxton, capteine of one hundred Englishmen, and one Guiot an esquier of Burgognie, crying saint George, were the first that entered; at which assault, there was but one Englishman slaine. On thursdaie, the fourteenth of August, the armie ferried ouer the river of Mase into Gelderland. The next daie, they came to a little towne called Aiske.

The people were fled, but there was a little castle raised, and cast towne, which was newlie built by on the side of the said river. Upon the twentieth daie of August, they burnt the foresaid towne of Aiske, and all the countrie about it, and came at the last to a towne called Straulle, being verie strong, double diked and walled. Within it were three hundred & fiftie god men of war, beside the inhabitants. At the first, they shewed good countenance of defense but when they saw their enemies approach nere vnto them with rammers and trenches, they yielded by composition, so that the souldiers might depart with a little sicke in their hands. But the townsmen refused prisoners, at the will of the prince of Castile. And so on s. Bartholomewes day the admerall of Flanders, and sir Edward Poynings entered the towne with great triumph.

On the fir and twentieth daie, the armie came before Wenlow, and sent an herald called Arthois, to summon the towne; but they within would not heare but shot guns at him. On the eight and twentieth daie, the armie remoued vnto the north side of Wenlow, and part went ouer the water, and made trenches to the water, & so besieged the towne as straitlie as their number would giue them leaue; but yet for all that they could do without, they within kept one gate euer open. At length, the English captains perceiuing that they laie there in vaine, considering the strength of the towne, and also how the armie was not of number sufficient to enuiron the same on each side, wrote to the king, who willed them with all speed to returne, and so they did. Sir Edward Poynings went to the court of Burgognie, where he was receiued right honozable of the young prince of Castile and of his aunt the ladie Margaret.

John Foxton, John Fog, John Scot, and Thomas Linde, were made knights by the prince. And the ladie Margaret perceiuing the souldiers coates to be worne and foule with lieng on the ground (for euerie man laie not in a tent) gaue to euerie peoman a coate of wollen cloth of pealowe, red, white, and graine colours, not to his little land & passe among the Englishmen. After that sir Edward Poynings had bene highlie feasted and more praised of all men for his valiantnesse and good order of his people, he returned with his crue into England, and had lost by war and sicknesse not fallie an hundred persons. When the Englishmen were departed, the Gelders issued out of the gates of Wenlow, daily skirmished with

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of Sanote  
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The duchesse  
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in Reg. 3.

with the Bargognions, and asked for their archers, and herewith winter began sharple to approach, and the river of Paze by abundance of raine rose so high, that it drowned up the frenches: so that all things considered, the captains without determined to raise their siege, and so they did, and after they had wasted all the countrie about Aenlow, they returned euerie man to his home.

In June the king being at Leicester, heard tidings, that one Andzew Barton a Scottishman and pirat of the sea, sailing that the king of Scots had warre with the Portingals, robbed euerie nation, and stopped the kings streames, that no merchant almost could passe. And when he took Englishmens goods, he bare them in hand that they were Portingals goods, and thus he haunted and robbed at euerie hauens mouth. The king displeased herewith, sent sir Edward Howard lord admerall of England, and lord Thomas Howard, sonne and heire to the earle of Surrie in all hast to the sea, which battell made readie two ships, and taking sea, by chance of weather were seuered. The lord Howard lying in the downes, perceluted where Andzew was making toward Scotland, and so fast the said lord chased him, that he ouertoke him; and there was a soze battell betwixt them. Andzew ever blew his whiffle to encourage his men, but at length the lord Howard and the Englishmen did so ballantie, that by cleane strength they entered the maine decke. The Scots fought soze on the hatches: but in conclusion Andzew was taken, and so soze wounded, that he died there. Then all the remnant of the Scots were taken with their ship called the Lion.

All this while was the lord admerall in chase of the barke of Scotland, called Jennie Piruine, which was went to saille with the Lion in companie, & so much did he wish other, that he laid him aboard: and though the Scots manfully defended themselves, yet the Englishmen entered the barke, slue manie, and took all the residue. Thus were these two ships taken, and brought to Blackewall the second of August [and all the Scots were sent unto the bishop of Poxhes place, where they remained at the kings charge, till other direction was taken for them. After this, the king sent the bishop of Winchester, and certaine of his counsell, to the archbishop of Poxhes place, where the Scots were prisoners: and there the bishop rehearsed to them, whereas peace was yet betwene England and Scotland, that they contrary to that, as theues & pirats, had robbed the kings subiects within his streames. Wherefore they had deserved to die by the law, and to be hanged at the low water marke. Then said the Scots; We acknowledge our offense, and aske mercie and not the law. Then a preest which was also a prisoner, said; My lords we appeale from the kings iustice to his mercie.

When the bishop asked him if he were authorized by them to saie so, and they cried all; Yea, yea. Then (said he) you shall find the kings mercie aboue his iustice. For where you were dead by the law, yet by his mercie he will rentue you; wherefore you shall depart out of this realme within twentie daies, by paine of death, if you be found after the twentieth daie; and praise for the king: and so they passed into their countrie. Thus was their captiuitie converted into libertie, and their liues saved by the kings mercie. The king of Scots hearing of the death of Andzew Barton, and the taking of the two ships, was wonderfull wroth, and sent letters to the king requiring restitution, according to the league and amitie. The king wrote to the king of Scots againe with brotherlie salutation, of the robberies done by the said Andzew, and that it became not a prince to

laie breach of peate to his confederat, for doing iustice vpon a pirat and these: and that all the Scots that were taken, had deserved to die by iustice, if he had not extended his mercie. And with this answer the Scottish herald departed.

About this season, the French king made sharpe warre against pope Iulie: wherefore the king of England wrote to the French king, that he should leaue off to vex the pope in such wise, being his friend and confederat. But when the French king seemed little to regard that request, the king sent him word to deliuer him his lawfull inheritance both of the duchie of Normandie and Guien, and the countie of Anjou & Maine, and also of his crowne of France; or else he would come with such a power, that by fine force he would obtaine his purpose: but notwithstanding those writings, the French king still pursued his warres in Italie. Whereupon the king of England, joining in league with Maximilian the emperor, and Ferdinando king of Spaine, with diuerse other princes, was resolved by aduise of his counsell to make warre on the French king and his countie, and made preparation both by sea and land, setting forth ships to the sea for safegard of his merchants.

The foresaid pope Iulie, the kings confederat, was (before his aduancement to the popedom) cardinal of saint Petri ad Vincula, a man mightie in friends, reputation, and riches, who had giuene to him the voices of so manie cardinals, that entering the conclaue, he was with an example all new and without shutting the conclaue, elected pope the verie same night following the deceasse of his predecessor pope Pius (those that were of the contrarie opinion not daring to oppose against him.) He, either hauing regard to his first name Iulie, or (as coniectures were made) to signifie the greatnesse of his conceptions, or lastlie because he would not giue place to Alexander, no not in the excellencie of name, took vpon him the name of Iulie, the second of that name. Amongest all the popes that had passed, it was wondered that by so great consent, they had created for pope, a cardinal who was knowne to be of a disposition rigozous and terrible, and in whome was no expectation of rest and tranquillitie, hauing consumed his youth in continuall trauels, offended manie by necessitie, and exercised hatreds against manie great personages; a man to whose wit nothing was more familiar, than the inuention of trouble, faction, and conspiracie.

But on the other side, the causes of his election to that degre appeared clerelie, and surmounted all other difficultes: for he had bene of long time a cardinal of great power and might, & with his magnificence, wherein he had alwayes excelled the residue, and with the greatnesse of his spirit, by the which he did great things, he had not onelie made himselfe mightie in opinion and friends; but by times and degrees had erected high his authoritie in the court of Rome, bearing the name, title, and dignitie of the principall defensor of the ecclesiastike libertie. But that which serued most to his aduancement, was the promises immoderate and infinite which he made to the cardinals, princes, and barons, and to all others whome he might make profitable to him in that action. Besides, he had the meane to distribute monie, benefices, and spirituall dignities, as well such as were his owne, as those that were the rights of others; for that such was the hute & renoume of his liberalitie, that manie made willing offers to him to dispose as he best liked of their treasures, their names, their offices, and benefices.

They considered not that his promises were farre too great, than that being pope he was either able or ought

King Henrie  
the eight taketh  
the popes part  
against the French  
king.

Abr. Fl. ex  
Guic. pag. 14.  
Cardinal S.  
Petri ad Vincula  
made pope.

Pope Iulie a  
factions fellow  
and an  
ennemie to  
peace.

Indirect  
means to  
attaine the popes  
dome.



ought to oblerue, for that he had of so long continuance intioed the name of iust and vpright, that pope Alexander himselfe (his greatest enimie) speaking ill of him, in all other things could not but confesse him to be true of his word. A praise which he made no care to defile and flaine, to the end to become pope; knowing that no man more easilie beguileth an other, than he that hath the custome and name neuer to be false anie. Which practise of dissimulation was much frequented of those that aspired & possessed the popedom; in so much that the same was in Alexander the first so notable, that it was a proverbe ordinarie in Rome, that the pope did neuer the thing which he said, and his sonne the duke of Valentinois seldome spake that which he ment. Which kind of people (pretend they what they will) are excluded from the rest of Shion, as the psalmist saith:

Quem fraudis expers simplicitas inuauat,  
Vrgétque rectum propofiti tenax,  
Nec mente fauus grata blandam  
Edocuit fimulare linguam,  
Perpetua requie fruétur.]

In this yeare he requir'd his Christmasse at Greenwich, where was such abundance of viands serued to all comers of anie honest behaviour, as hath bene few times sene. And against Ietoveres night was made in the hall a castell, gates, towers, and dungeon, garnished with artillerie and weapon after the most warlike fashion : and on the front of the castell, was witten *Le fortresse dangereux*, and within the castell were six ladies, clothed in russet sattin, laid all ouer with leanes of gold, and euerie one knit with laces of blew silke and gold. On their heads, colles, and caps all of gold. After this castell had bene caried about the hall, and the queene had beheld it, in came the king with five other, apparelled in coats, the one halfe of russet sattin, spangled with spangles of fine gold, the other halfe of rich cloth of gold, on their heads caps of russet sattin, embroidered with works of fine gold bullion.

These first assaulted the castell. The ladies seeing them so lustie and couragious, were content to solace with them, & upon further communicatton, to yeeld the castell and so they came downe & danced a long space. And after the ladies led the knights into the castle; and then the castell suddenlie vanished out of their sights. On the daie of the Epiphanie at night, the king with eleven other were disguised, after the manner of Italie, called a masque, a thing not sene before in England: they were apparelled in garments long and broad, wrought all with gold, with visors and caps of gold. And after the banquet done, these maskers came in, with fir gentlemen disguised in silke, bearing staffe torches, and desired the ladies to dance; some were content, and some refused. And after they had danced, and communed together, as the fashion of the masque is, they took their leave and departed, and so did the queene, and all the ladies.

The five and twentieth daie of Ianuarie began the parlement, where the bishop of Canturburie began his oration with this verbe *In iustitia et pax osculata sunt.* Upon which wordes he declared how iustice should be ministred, and peace should be nourished, and by what meanes iustice was put by, and peace turned into warre. And thereupon he shewed how the French king would doe no iustice in ressoying to the king his right inheritance: therefore for lacke of iustice, peace of necessitie must be turned into warre. In this parlement was granted two fifths of the temporall, and of the clergie two tenths. After that it was concluded by the whole bodie of the realme in the high court of parlement assembled, that warre should be made on the French king and his dominions. Whereupon was wonderfull speed made in preparing all

things necessarie both for sea and land.

In this parlement was sir Robert Sheffield knight, sometime recorder of London, speaker for the commons. During this parlement, in the moneth of March, a yeoman of the crowne, one of the kings gard, named Newbolt, due within the palace of Westminster a seruant of maister Willoughbies, for the which offense the king commanded to be set by a new paire of gallowes in the same place where the said seruant lost his life; and vpon the same the said Newbolt was hanged, and there remained on the gallowes by the space of two daies. A notable example of iustice, whereby the king verified the report that was commonlie noised abroad of him; namelie that he could not abide the shedding of mans blood, much lesse wilfull murder. Wherein he shewed how tender he was ouer his subiects, and also how seuer against malefactors, specialie mankillers; whome he thought vnworthy of life, that had bene the instruments of others death; according to the law:

—oculos oculis & dentibus esse  
*Pensandos dentes: sic par erit ultio culpa.*

¶ In this season one Jerome Bonuiffe, which was borne in Luke, and was factor in London for merchants of that nation, and had plaied bankrupt, and was conuicted out of the realme for debt, was now in such fauour with pope Iulie, that he made him his collector; and pector in England: & so he kept a great post, and refoited to the king and his counsell for the popes affaires (which then was soe troubled by the French king) so that he knew both the popes counsell and the things, and falselie and vnturilie refoited by night to the French ambassadours lieng in London, and to them discouered what the king and the pope intended, which was not so closelie done, but the king knew it: and so he was laid for, & was taken communicating with one of the said ambassadours by on London wall at midnight, and brought to the Tower, where he remained untill by the sute of his friends he was deliuered, and thostlie for shame vnderde the realme.]

The king of Aragon also, hauing at that time in  
warre with the French king, wrote to his sonne in  
law king Henrie, that if he would send ouer an ar-  
mie into Bilkaie, and so to inuade France on that  
side, for the recouerie first of his duchie of Guien; he  
would aid them with ordinance, horsemen, beasts,  
and cariages, with other necessaries appertaining to  
the same. The king and his counsell putting their  
assistance in this promise of king Ferdinando, prepa-  
red a noble armie all of footmen, and small artillerie,  
appointing the noble lord Thomas Grete Mar-  
quesse Dorset to be cheefe conductour of the same. The  
king dalleie finding to set forth his warre which he  
had begun against the French king, caused sir Ed-  
ward Howard his admerall with diligence to make re-  
adie diuerse goodlie tall ships, as the Soueraigne  
and others, to the number of eightene, beside other  
smaller vessels.

Thereof he having in his companie sir William  
Broune, Griffith Dohie, Edward Cobham, Tho-  
mas Widdham, Thomas Lucie, William Pir-  
ton, Pharris Sherborne, Stephan Wall, George  
Wiltwange, John Hopton, William Gunning,  
Thomas Dwyer, Edmund Coke, John Barret,  
and divers others, he took the sea, and following the  
same, about the middle of Maie he came before  
Dorchester. About the very selfe time the lord mar-  
quisse Dorset, and other noblemen appointed for the  
raiment of Wilske, as the lord Howard sonne and  
heir to the earle of Burrie, the lord Brooke, the lord  
Willoughby, the lord Ferrers; the lord John, the  
lord Arundell, and the lord Howard Cretes, all these  
brethren to the marquisse; sir Griffith ap Ives, the

A proverbe  
vpon the  
popes dissem-  
bling, Guicc.  
305.

Buch in Pfa.  
15.

I 5 I 2  
Abr. Fl. ex  
Ed. Hall in  
Hen. 8 fol. xv.  
**Christmase**  
**palmes or**  
**delights at**  
**Greenwich.**

The king &  
foure other al=  
saile the ca=  
stell.

Masks disguised after the Italian fashion.

A parlement.  
The summe  
of the bishop  
of Canturbu-  
ries oration in  
the parle-  
ment.

Gu. H. 11

Edw. Hall  
Hen. 8. fol.  
Jerome  
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The first king hath hands full of troubles.

E Anno Reg  
 e Sir Edm  
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appointed  
the bishop  
Bishop.

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The Eng-  
lish nobles ar-  
rune on the  
coast of Bil-  
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The Engli  
campe great  
he hindered  
for want of  
beasts to  
draw their  
ordnance.

A gentle off  
by the king  
Nauarre to  
Englishmen

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The effect  
the bishops  
message sent  
from the bi  
of Dragon  
the lord ma



Dom. 1512

An. Reg. 4.

feld Abr. Fl. ex. 1512  
for pag. 896.

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Edw. Hall in  
Hen. 8. fol. 10.  
Jerome Bo-  
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The Eng-  
lishes are  
not on the  
call of Sil-  
lun.

The English  
camps great-  
ly increased  
by reason of  
bells to  
draw their  
armies.

Ignorant offer  
by the king of  
Navarre to  
Englishmen.

The effect of  
the bishops  
message sent  
from the king  
of Aragon to  
the lord mar-  
quis.

apozis Berkeleie, sir William Sands, the baron of  
Burford, sir Richard Cornetwall brother to the said  
baron, William Hulleie, John Melton, William  
Kington elquiers, sir Henrie Willoughbie, and di-  
uerse others, with souldiers to the number of ten  
thousand.

Amongst these were five hundred Almans clad  
all in white, under the leading of one Guiot a gentle-  
man of Flanders, all which (with the residue above-  
named) came to Southampton, and there mustered  
their bands which were appointed and trimmed in the  
best manner. On the firste daye of Maie they were  
all bestowed aboard in Spanish ships furnished with  
bittels, and other necessaries for that iournee. The  
wind serued so well for their purpose, that they came  
all in safetie on the coast of Biskaye at the port of  
Bassaghy southwesterly of Fonterabie; and so the third  
daye of June they landed, and took the field, imbat-  
telling themselves for their safegard right strong-  
lie. Within three daies after that the armie was  
thus aland, there came to the marquesse an earle  
and an other noble man, to welcome him and his  
companye.

Then the lord capteine removed his field, & took  
an other place nearer to Fonterabie, where he laie a  
long time, looking euerie daie to haue aid of horse-  
men and artillerie of the king of Aragon, but none  
came. Sir John Stile caused to be bought two hun-  
dred mules and asses of such price as the Spaniards  
gained greatlie, and when they were put to carie and  
draw, they would not serue the turne, for they were  
not exercised thereto before that time; and so for want  
of beasts to draw such ordnance as the Englishmen  
had there with them, they lost the doing of some  
great exploit against the Frenchmen on the fron-  
tiers of Gascoigne, for they might haue run a great  
waite into that countrie, being as then destitute and  
improuided of men and munitions.

On a daie the Frenchmen made a skrie toward  
the English campe, but the Englishmen perceiuing  
them, passed the riuer that was betwixt them, and  
with arrowes chased the Frenchmen; so that for hast  
manie of their horses foundered, and fell, per they  
came to Baion: if there had bene anie horsemen a-  
mongst the Englishmen, they had soze indamaged  
their enemies. The king of Navarre doubting least  
the Englishmen were come into those parties for no  
good meaning towards him, sent to the lord mar-  
quesse a bishop, and diuerse other, offering to mini-  
ster bittels vnto the Englishmen for their monie, if  
it should stand so with his pleasure. The lord mar-  
quesse thanked him for the offer, and promised that if  
they of Navarre would bittell his people, they should  
paye them well and trulie for the same.

He said also that he would warrant their passing  
and repassing in safetie, and that by the Englishmen  
no preiudice should be done to his realme. Hereupon  
were the Englishmen bittelled out of Navarre, to  
their great comfort. After that the armie had laine  
thirtie daies in the second campe, there came from  
the king of Aragon a bishop and other nobles of his  
councell. This bishop was the same that made the  
answer to the lord Marcie at Calis the last yeare.  
The effect of his message was, to desire the lord cap-  
teine and his people to take patience for a while, and  
they should see that such preparation should be made  
for the furnishing of their enterpryse, as should stand  
with the honour of his maister and their advance-  
ments.

The Englishmen soze discontented with their idle  
leng tye in the field, misliked with his excuses, sup-  
posing the same (as they proued in deed) to be no-  
thing but delates. In the meane time that the  
Englishmen thus lingered without attempting any

exploit, their bittels were much part garike, & they  
eating thereof with all their meats, and drinking  
hot wines, & feeding also on hot fruits, procured their  
blood to boile within their bellies, that there fell sicke  
thre thousand of the sir: & thereof died an eightene  
hundred persons. The lord marquesse perceiuing  
this mischefe, sent to the king of Spaine certeine of  
his capteins to know his pleasure. The king told  
them that shoulde the duke of Alua should soine with  
them, bzinging with him a mightie power; so that  
they might the moze assuredlie proceed in their en-  
terpryse. With this answer they returned to the lord  
marquesse, who liked it neuer a deale; because he sus-  
ged that the king meant but to dzyne time with him,  
as after it proued.

In the meane time there began a mutinie in the  
English campe thorough a false report, contriued  
by some malicious person; which was, that the cap-  
teins should be allowed eight pence for euerie com-  
mon souldier; where the truth was, that they had  
allowed to them but onelie six pence. The lord ge-  
nerall aduertised that the souldiers began to gather  
in companies, found meanes to apprehend the chiefe  
beginner, and deliuered him vnto William King-  
ston elquier, then prouost marshall; and so was he  
put to death to the terrour of all other. Whilist the  
Englishmen laie thus in campe on the borders of  
Biskaye towards Guen, the archers went often-  
times a foraging into the French confines almost  
to Baion, and burnt manie pretie villages. The king  
of Spaine raised an armie, and sent south the same  
under the leading of the duke of Alua, which came  
forward as though he meant to haue come to the  
Englishmen; who being aduertised of his approach,  
were maruellouslie glad thereof, in hope that then  
they should be imploted about the enterpryse for the  
which they were come.

But the duke intending an other thing, when he  
was advanced south within a daies iournee of them,  
suddenlie removed his armie toward the realme of  
Navarre, and entering the same, chased out of his  
realme the king of that land, and conquered the  
same to the king of Spains vse, as in the historie of  
Spaine more plainelie it doth appeare. After that  
the king of Spaine was thus possessed of the king-  
dome of Navarre, he sent vnto the lord marquesse,  
promising to soine with him shoulde, and so to in-  
uade the borders of France; but he came not.  
Wherefore the Englishmen thought themselves not  
well vsed: for it graued them much, that they should  
lie so long tye, with there was so great hope conceiued  
at their setting south, that there should be some great  
exploit atchieued by them, thorough the aid that was  
promised by the king of Spaine.

Thus whilist the armie lingered without re-  
mouing, there chanced an affraie to rise betwixt  
the Englishmen and the townes-men of Sancta  
Maria, a village so called, whereunto such Eng-  
lishmen as fell sicke, had their resort; and theret-  
on the alarms, brought into the campe, the Eng-  
lishmen and Almans ran in great furie to the suc-  
cour of their fellowes: and notwithstanding all that  
the capteins could do to stalle them, they slue and  
robbed the people without mercie. The Bis-  
taines that could get awaie, fled ouer that water  
into Guen. The capteins yet so ordered the mat-  
ter, that all the pillage was restored, and one and  
twentie souldiers were condemned, which were  
apprehended as they were fleeing awaie with a bo-  
tie of ten thousand ducats into Gascoigne; seauen  
of them were executed, and the residue pardoned of  
life, at the sute of certeine lords of Spaine, which  
were as then present.

The Frenchmen hearing of this riot came south  
A l l i g.

Great death  
of the sir by  
unwounded  
died.

The lord  
marquesse  
sundereth to the  
king of Spaine  
to performe  
promise.

The king of  
Spaine ar-  
me under the  
conduct of the  
duke of Alua.

The kingdom  
of Navarre  
gotten to the  
king of Spaine.

A fraie be-  
twixt the  
Englishmen  
& the townes-  
men of Sancta  
Maria.

S. Jehans  
burnt by the  
English.

of Basen, to see and vnderstand the maner thereof: but perceiuing that the Englishmen had desiered them, suddenly they returned. The Englishmen followed, & coming to the towne of S. Jehan de Lucie, they burnt and robbed it, & slue the inhabitants. Diuerse other villages they spoiled on the borders of Guien; but because they wanted both hosties of seruice, and hosties to draw forth their ordnance, they could not do anie such damage as they might and would haue done, if they had bene furnished according to their desires in that point. Thus continued the English armie in such wearisome sort till the moneth of October, and then fell the lord marquisse sick, and the lord Howard had the chiefe gouernance of the armie.

Then were sent from the king of Spaine diuerse lords of his priue counsell vnto the said lord Howard, to excuse the matter for that he came not according to his promise, requiring them, that sith the time of the peare to make warre was past, it might please them to breake vp their campe, and to diuide themselves abroad into the townes and villages of his realme till the spring time of the yeare, that they might then go forward with their first pretended enterprise. The lord Howard shewed well in words that the Englishmen could not thinke well of the king of Spaines falsh excuses, and unprofitable delays, to his much hono<sup>r</sup> & their great hinderance & losse, hauing spent the king their maister so much treasure, and done so little hurt to his aduersaries. The Spaniards gaue faire words; and so in courteous maner departed.

The English  
campe in Biscaye  
haue breakech  
vp.

The armie  
dispersed into  
diuerse villa-  
ges.

Then about the end of October. it was agreed amongst all the lords of the English host that they should breake vp their campe, and so they did. The lord marquisse and his people went to saint Sebastian, the lord Howard and his retinue to Hendre, the lord Willoughbie to Castilang, and sir William Sands with manie other capitaines repaired to Fotherable, and so euery capitaine with his retinue was placed in one towne or other. The king of England aduerted of the king of Spaine this meaning, sent an herald called Windsor with letters vnto his armie, willing his men there to tarry, & promising to send ouer to them right shortly a new supply, vnto the guiding of the lord Herbert his chamberlaine.

An appeare-  
ble rage a-  
mongest the  
English sol-  
diers.

When this letter was read, and the contents thereof notified, the soldiers began to be so highly displeased, and spake such outrageous words, as it was maruell to heare: & not contented with words, they were bent to haue done outrageous deeds; insomuch that in their furie they had slaine the lord Howard and diuerse others, if they had not followed their intents: and hereupon they were glad to hire ships, and so imbarried themselves in the moneth of Nouember. When the lord marquisse was brought aboard, he was so weake and feeble of remembrance though sickened, that he asked where he was. In the beginning of December they landed here in England, and were glad to be at home, and got out of such a countrey, where they had little health, little pleasure, and much losse of time. The king of Spaine seemed to be sore discontented with their departure, openly affirming, that if they had tarried vntill the next spring, he would in their companies haue invaded France.

The lord ad-  
mirall in  
Britaine.

About the same time that the marquisse went in to Spaine, that is to wit, about the middell of spate, sir Edward Howard lord admirall of England, being on the sea afoze Portsmouth, made south againe to the sea, and directing his course towards Britaine on Trinitie sundae arrived at Berthram baie with twentie great ships, and suddenly set his men on land, and there was a bulwoke, which the Britains

kept and defended a while, but being overcome, fled out of their hold, & left it to the Englishmen. When the lord admirall passed leauen miles into the countrey, burning and halting townes and villages, and in returning, skirmished with diuerse men of armes, and slue some of them: and notwithstanding that the Britains fought valiantlie in defense of their countrey; yet they were put to the worse, and so the lord admirall returned to his ships.

On the thre & twentieth daie of spate being mon, daie, he landed in the morning, and commanded to burne the house of the lord Piers Hoguns, with the towne of Conquet, & diuerse other places, and chased the Britains into the castell of West: and notwithstanding all the assemblies and shewes that the Britains made, yet they suffered the English peace, able to returne with their priues and hosties. The first of June the Englishmen took land in Croston baie, and then the lords of Britaine sent word to the lord admirall, that if he would abide, they would giue him battell. The admirall rewarded the messenger, and willed him to say to them that sent, that all that day they should find him in that place tarieng their coming.

Thereto encourage diuerse gentlemen the more earnestlie to shew their valiancie, he dubbed them knights; as sir Edward Brooke, brother to the lord Cobham, sir Griffith Dohne, sir Thomas Windham, sir Thomas Lucie, sir John Burdet, sir William Winton, sir Henrie Shirborne, and sir Stephan Bull. When the lord admirall saw the Frenchmen come, he comforted his men with pleasant words, therby the more to encourage them. The whole number of the Englishmen was not much above 25 hundred, where the Frenchmen were at the least ten thousand; and yet when they saw the order of the Englishmen, they were suddenly astonished.

Then a gentleman of good experience and credit amongst them, aduised the other capitaines not to fight, but to retire a little and take a strong ground, there to remaine till the Englishmen returned to ward their ships: and then to take the advantage. And so the capitaines began to retire, which when the commons saw, they all ran apace as fast as they might, supposing that the capitaines had some unknowne kind of great perill at hand, because they were not priue to the purpose of their capitaines. The lord admirall seeing what happened, when the night came departed to his ships. After this the gentlemen of Britaine sent to the admirall for a safe conduct for diuerse persons, which they meant to send to him about a treatie. The lord admirall was of his gentleness content to grant their request. Then certaine lords of Britaine took a bote, and came to the ship of the lord admirall, where he was set with all his counsell of the armie about him.

The request of the Britains was, that it might please him to increase his retell kind of warre, in burning of townes and villages: but the admirall plainlie told them, that he was sent to make warre and not peace. Their they required a truce for six daies, which would not be granted; and to their reproof, the admirall told them, that gentlemen ought to defend their countrey by force, rather than to sue for peace. And thus making them a banquet he sent them apace. And after hearing that there was ships of warre on the seas, he coasted from thence along the countrey of Normandie, still scotoring the sea, so that no enemie durst appeare. And at length he came and late by the Ile of Wight, to see if anie enemies would appeare. During which time, diuers ships were kept in the north seas, vnder the conduct of sir Edward Schingham, John Welwes, John Louedale, and others.

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An. Reg. 4.

2007

The Engli  
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a Sinaime

The French king, in this meane while had prepared a manie offshottine nine saile in the haven of West, and for these he ordeined a great Carrike of West, appertaining to the queene his wife, called Conquerer, a verie strong ship, and verie well appointed. This manie sett forth out of West the tenth of August, and came to Brittain bate, in the which the same day was the English fleet arrived. When the Englishmen perceived the Frenchmen to be issued forth of the haven of West, they prepared themselves to battell, and made forth towards their enemye, which came sterke forwarde; and comming in sight each of other, they shot off their ordnance so terrible together, that all the sea coast sounded of it. The lord admirall made with the great ship of Dèpe, and aided him; sir Henrie Gilford and also sir Charles Brandon made with the great Carrike of West, being in the Souveraigne, and laid them to stein to the Carricke; but by negligence of the master, or else by smoke of the ordnance, or otherwise, the Souveraigne was cast at the sterne of the Carrike, with which advantage the Frenchmen fought for long.

40

The king of England hearing of the losse of the Regent, caused a great ship to be made, such a one as the like had neuer bene sene in England, and named it Henrie grace de Dieu. The French king about the same time sent to a knight of the Rhodes called Dniour Jehan, a Frenchman bozne, of the countrie of Guien, requiring him to come by the streits of Sparracke into Britaine: the which he did, bringing with him three gallies of force, with diuerse foists and roge-gallies, so well ordinaed and trimmed, as the like had not bene sene in these parties before his comming. He came laine on the coasts of Barbarie to defend certeine of the religion, as they came from Tripolie. This yeare in the moneth of Nouember the king called his high court of parlement, in the which it was concluded, that the king himselfe in person with an armie of all shuld inuade France, whereupon notice being giuen to such as shuld attend, they made their purueiance with all diligence that might be. In this parlement was granted to the king twelff fiftens, and foure demies, and head monie, of euery duke ten markes, an earle five pounds, a lord four pounds, a knight four markes, & euerie man rated eight hundred pounds in goods, to paie foure markes and so after that rate, till him that was valued a fortie shillings, paid twelue pence, and euerie man that toke fortie shillings wages twelue pence, and euerie man and woman of fiftene yeares or byward foure pence. The steeple and lanterne of Wol church in Cheape was this yeare finished. By this yeare a great part of the kings palace of Westminster, and the chappell in the Towler of London and manie other places in England were burned. In Aprill, the king sent a great nauie of twelue thousand

1, Kings palace  
D. at westmin=  
ster burned.

3

Erkundet die  
in Frage be-  
zogene.

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Vol. Hall in  
Rich. 8. fol. xxij.  
describes  
of a rich  
mount being  
a Chyrtmasse  
stone.

thousand men to the sea. On Maie euen, Edmund de la Pole was beheaded on the Tower hill, his brother Richard was after slaine in France.]

After this parlement was ended, the king kept a  
solemne Chiffenaffe at Greenwiche, with dances and  
mummings in most princelike maner. And on the  
twelffe daie at night came into the hall a mount,  
called the rich mount. The mount was set full of rich  
flowers of silke, and especiallie full of bryarne slips  
full of cods, the branches were greene sattin, and the  
flowers flat gold of damaske, which signified plan-  
tagenet. On the top stood a goodlie beaçon giuing  
light, round about the beaçon sat the king and queene o-  
ther, all in cotes and caps of right crimsin velvet,  
embroidered with flat gold of damaske, their cotes  
set full of spangles of gold. And foure woodhouses  
drew the mount till it came befoze the queene, and  
then the king and his companie descended and dan-  
ced. When suddenly the mount opened, and out came  
six ladies all in crimsin sattin and plunket, embrode-  
red with gold and pearle, with french hoods on their  
heads, and they danced alone. When the lordes of the  
mount toke the ladies and danced together: and the  
ladies reentered, and the mount closed, and so was  
conquered out of the hall. When the king shewed him,  
and came to the queene, and sat at the banquet which  
was verie sumptuous.

Sir Charles  
F. Gordon cre-  
ated vicount  
Lille.

**The naui set  
cut again.**

The English  
naue purpo-  
sing to set vp  
on the french  
in the hauen,  
are defeated  
by a mischance.

After Candlemasse, the king created sir Charles Brandon vicount Lisle. In March following was the kings naue of ships totall & other set forth to the number of fortye and two, beside other balangers vnder the conduct of the lord admerall, accompanied with sir Walter Deuerent, lord Ferrers, sir Mol- tan Wyborne, sir Edward Ingtham, sir Antonie Pointz, sir John Wallop, sir Thomas Wilmadam, sir Stephan Bull, William Fitz Williams, Arthur Plantagenet, William Sidneie esquires, and diuerse other noble and balliant capteins. They failed to Portsmouth, and there late abiding wind, and when the same serued their turne, they weied anchor, & making saile into Britaine, came into Berthram baie, and there late at ancho; in sight of the French naue, which kept it selfe close within the haueu of Wexf. without proffering to come aboard.

The English perceiuing the maner of the French men, determined to fet on them in the haven, and making forward in good order of battell, at their first encounter one of their ships, whereof Arthur Plantagenet, was captaine, fell on a blind rocke, and burst in sunder, by reason thereof, all the other staid: and the English captaine perceiuing that the haven was dangerous to enter without an expert lordesman, they cast about, and returned to their harborowgh at Worcham baie againe. The Frenchmen perceiuing that the Englishmen meant to assaile them, moored their ships so nere to the castell of Bzelt as they could, and placed bulwarks on the land on euerie side, to shoot at the Englishmen. Also they frayed together foure and twentie great hulkes that came to the baie for salt, and set them on a row, to the intent that if the Englishmen had come to assaunt them, they would haue set those hulkes on fire, and haue let them dyue with the streame amongst the English ships.

Prior Jehan also laie still in Blanke sable baie, and plucked his gallies to the shoze, setting his bassilikes and other ordinaunce in the mouth of the baie, which baie was bulwarked on euerie side, that by water it was not possible to be wone . The lord admerall perceiuing the French naute thus to lie in feare , wrote to the king to come thither in person, and to haue the honour of so high an enterprisc: which writing the kings counsell nothing allowed, for putting the king in teopardie vpon the chance of the sea.

Therefore the king wrote to him Charlie againe,  
commanding him to accomplish that which appertained to his dutie: which caused him to adventure things further than his wisdom would he should (as after ye shall heare) to his utter vndoying and casting awaie, God hauing ordeined the means by his prouidence, which the pagans implied (though wanting the light of grace) in the name of deslinie, of them counted inuitable. [A deslinie lamentable considering the qualitie of the person, with the manner of his dieng. wherein although manie baineite dispute, that fortune led him to so miserable an accident: yet if we will lift vs to our considerations to God, we shall find that he hath reserved such a prerogative ouer all things which he hath created, that to him onelie belongeth the authoritie to dispose all things by the same power where with he hath created them of nothing.] And yet the foolish world (doting in blind ignorance, but pretending a singular insight in matters of secretie) bluseth not to falseth rather to asseuer, casualtie, chance, meerie, misfortune, and such like foolish imaginations: whereas indeed the prouidence of God compasseth all things thatsoener, for nothing can be pruilleged from the amplenesse of the same.

Prizor Zehan keeping him still within his hold, as a prisoner in a dungeon : did yet sometime send out his small foists to make a sloop before the English maue, which chased them to the baie. But becaue the English ships were mightie vessels, they could not enter the baie : and therefore the lord admirall caused certeine boats to be manned forth, which tooke one of the best foists that Prizor Zehan had, and that with great banger: for the gallies and bulwokes shot so freshlie all at one instant, that it was maruell how the Englishmen escaped. The lord admirall perceiving that the Frenchmen would not come aboard, called a councill, wherein it was determined, that first they would assaile Prizor Zehan and his gallies lieng in Blanche sable baie, and after to set on the residue of the French fleet in the haven of West. When first it was appointed, that the lord Ferrers, sir Stephan Bull, and other, should go along with a conuenient number to assaile the bulwokes, while the admirall entered with xvj. barges and little gallies into the baie, and so should the Frenchmen be assailed both by water and land.

The lord admerall by the counsell of a Spanissh knight called sir Alfonse Charant, affirming that he might enter the baie with little leoparde, called to him William Fitz Williams, William Cobbe, John Colleie, and sir Wolstan Bzotone, as his cheefe and most trustie freends, making them ppytie to his intent; which was to take on him the whole enterprise, with their assistance. And so on S. Marcs daie, which is the five and twentieth of Aprill, the said admerall put himselfe in a small row barge, appointing three other small rowing ships, and his owne ship bote to attend him; and therewith upon a sudden rowed into the baie, where Don Sebastian had moored by his gallies iust to the ground: which gallies with the bulwokes on the land, shot so terrible, that they that followed were afraid. But the admerall passed forward, & as some as he came to the gallies, he entered & droue out the Frenchmen. William Fitz Williams within his ship was sore hurt with a quarell. The baie was shallow, and the other ships could not enter, so the tide was spent.

Which thing the Frenchmen perceiving, they entered the gallies againe with moris pikes, and fought with the English in the gallies. The admerall perceiving their approach, thought to have entred againe into his rove barge, which by violence of the tide was driven downe the Streame, and with a pike he was

An. Dom. 157

An. Reg. 5

Edward  
Howard  
General  
owned.

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The lord  
Thomas Ho-  
ward made  
generall.

The earle of  
Brewesbury  
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In Reg. 5.

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Guic pag 316

the French  
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the lord  
Thomas How-  
ard made  
admirall.

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about the al-  
fauling of  
the lord How-  
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The admi-  
rall rowth  
into the bay  
where the  
the lord How-  
ard.

the lord Howard over the board, and so drowned, and also the  
renowned Alphonse was there slain: all the other  
boats and vessels escaped verie hardlie awaie: for  
if they had taried, the tide had failed them, and then  
all had bene lost. The lord Ferrers and the other  
captains were right sorrowfull of this chance: but  
when there was no remedie, they determined not to  
attempt anie further, till they might understand  
the kings pleasure, and so they returned into Eng-  
land.

The Frenchmen perceiuing that the English  
fleet departed from the coasts of Britaine and drew  
towards England, did come forth of their hauens,  
and the lord Jehan set forth his gallees and foists, and  
drawing alongst the coasts of Normandie and Bri-  
taine, coasted ouer to the borders of Souther with all  
his companie, and there landed, and set fire on cer-  
taine poze cotages. The gentlemen that dwelt nere,  
raised the countie, and came to the coast, and drew  
the lord Jehan to his gallees. The king was right sozie  
for the death of his admerall; but sorrowfullie  
not when the chance is past. Therefore the king hear-  
ing that the French nauie was abroad, called to  
him the lord Thomas Howard eldest brother to the  
late admerall, and sonne and heire apparant to the  
earle of Surrie, whome he made admerall, willing  
him to reuenge his brothers death. The lord Ho-  
ward humbly thanked his grace of the trust that he  
put in him, and so immediatlie went to the sea, and  
scowred the same, that no Frenchman durst shew  
himselfe on the coast of England, for he fought with  
them at their owne ports.

The king hauing all his prouisions readie for the  
warre, and meaning to passe the sea in his owne per-  
son, for the better taining of the losse Frenchmen,  
appointed that worthy counsellor and right redoub-  
ted cheffaine, the noble George Talbot earle of  
Shrewsburie, high steward of his household, to be  
captaine generall of his foreward; and in his com-  
panie were appointed to go, the lord Thomas Stan-  
leie earle of Derby, lord Deuolweie prior of saint  
Johns, sir Robert Kitchiffe lord Fitzwater, the lord  
Hastings, the lord Cobham, sir Alice ap Thomas, sir  
Thomas Blunt, sir Richard Sacherell, sir John  
Digbie, sir John Alketo, sir Lewes Bagot, sir Tho-  
mas Coznewall, and manie other knights, equi-  
ers, and souldiers; to the number of eight thousand  
men. These passed the sea, and came all to Calis a-  
bout the middle of Maie.

The lord Herbert called sir Charles Summer-  
set, lord chamberleine to the king, in the end of the  
same moneth followed the said earle of Shrewsbu-  
rie, with sir thousand men: in whose companie were  
the erls of Northumberland and Berrie, of Kent Greie,  
of Wilshire Stafford, the lord Mable, the lord De-  
lauiere, and his sonne sir Thomas West, sir Ed-  
ward Huseie, sir Edward Dimmoche, sir David  
Owen, with manie other knights, equiers, and  
gentlemen. After they had sojourned certine daies  
in Calis, and that all their necessaries were readie,  
they issued forth of the towne, so to begin their  
campe. And first the earle of Shrewsburie and his  
companie toke the field, and after him the lord Her-  
bert with his retinues in manner of a reerward.  
Then followed that valiant knight sir Alice ap Tho-  
mas, with five hundred light horsemen and archers  
on horsebacke, who ioined himselfe to the foreward,  
a gentleman of such spirit and hardinesse, that he is  
named the floure of the Welshmen, as the poet saith:

— Ricus Thomas flus Cambrobritanum.

These two lords thus imbattelled did remoue the  
seventeenth of June to Sandifield, and on the eighteenth  
they came to Marguison, on the further side of the  
water, as though they would haue passed straight

waies to Bullongne. But they meaning an other  
thing, the next daie toke an other waie, and so coasted  
the countie with such diligence, that the two and  
twentieth of June they came before the strong citie of  
Teronan, and pight their tents a mile from the  
towne. The same night (as certine captains were in  
councell within the lord Herberts tent) the baron  
Carew was slain with a bullet shot out of the  
towne; which sudden aduenture much dismayed the  
assemblie, but the lord Herbert comforted them with  
manlie words, and so his death was passed ouer. All  
the countie of Artois and Picardie fortified their  
holds, and made thewes as the English armie pas-  
sed, but they durst not once assaile them.

The citie of Terrouan was stronglie fortified  
with walles, rampiers, bulwarks, and large ditches.  
The lord Pontremie was gouernour within it, ha-  
uing with him sir hundred horsemen, and 2500 Al-  
mans, besides the inhabitants. The walles and towers  
were full of ordinance, which oftentimes did much dis-  
pleasure to the Englishmen. The earle of Shrews-  
burie planted his siege on the north west side of the  
towne, and the lord Herbert on the east side, causing  
great trenches to be made to coner his people with-  
all: for on that side there was no hill to succour or  
defend him. The Frenchmen and Almans would di-  
uerse times issue out, but the archers were cuer rea-  
die to beat them into the citie againe. The earle of  
Shrewsburie got into an hollow ground or ballie  
nere to the citie, and likewise the lord Herbert (by  
reason of his trenches) approached likewise verie nere  
to the ditches.

The seven and twentieth daie of June being mor-  
daie, sir Nicholas Taur and sir Edward Belknap,  
hauing with them foure hundred and thre score men  
set from Guines to conduct foure and twentie carts  
laden with vittels towards the siege at Terrouan;  
but the duke of Glendosme lieutenant of Picardie  
with eight hundred horsemen set on them as they  
passed through Ard, and found them so out of order,  
that notwithstanding all that the English captains  
could do to bring men into arraie, it would not be:  
for the Frenchmen set on so readilie, that they kept  
the Englishmen in sunder. Yet the horsemen of  
Guines, being not past foure and twentie in all,  
toke their speares and ioined with the Frenchmen  
right manfullie, and likewise thre score archers shot  
freshlie at their enemies; but the Frenchmen were so  
manie in number, that they obtained the place, slue  
eight gentlemen, and diuerse archers. Sir Nicholas  
Taur and sir Edward Belknap fled toward Guis-  
nes.

Thus were the vittels lost, and yet the French-  
men went not awaie with cleere hands: for those few  
archers that closed together, shot so egerlie, that they  
slue and hurt diuerse Frenchmen; and on the field  
laie foure score and seuen great horses, which died  
there in the place, and neuer went further. On the  
fiftenth day of June the king departed from Crene-  
wich, taking his iourneie towards Douer, whither  
he came by easie iournies, and the quene in his com-  
panie. After he had rested a season in the castell of  
Douer, and taken order for the rule of the realme in  
his absence, he toke leave of the quene, and entring  
his ship the last daie of June, being the daie of saint  
Panle: he sailed ouer to Calis, where he was recei-  
ued with great top by the deputie sir Gilbert Talbot  
and all other there. At his entring into Calis, all the  
banished men entred with him, and were restored to  
the libertie of the towne. The king laie in Calis a  
certine time, till all his prouisions were readie, but  
the armie laie in campe at Pelwatham bridge.

On the one and twentieth of Julie, the kings ma-  
iestie passed forth of Calis, and toke the field, din-  
ding

The English  
armie mar-  
cheth into  
Teruine.

The baron of  
Carew slain.

The lord  
Pontremie  
captaine of  
Teruine.

Teruine  
besieged;

The king in  
person passeth  
ouer into  
France.

The order of  
the kings ar-  
mie.

ding the armie which he had there with him into three battells. The lord Lisle marshall of the host was captain of the foreward, and under him three thousand men: sir Richard Carew with three hundred kept on the right side of the same foreward as a wing there: to: and the lord Darcie with other three hundred men was a wing on the left hand. The fore-riders of this battell were the Northumberland men on light geldings. The earle of Essex was lieutenant general of the speares, and sir John Perchie was vicegovernour of all the horsemen, and sir John Burdet standard-bearer to the kings speares. An eight hundred Almans went on a plume by themselves before the kings battell, and the duke of Buckingham with six hundred men was on the kings left hand, equall with the Almans, in like manner as sir Edward Poynings was on the right hand, with other six hundred men equall with the Almans.

\* This man  
was after-  
ward carbin-  
nall.

In the kings battell, there was the standard of the armes of England borne by sir Henrie Guilford, there were three thousand; & the lord of Aburgauenie with eight hundred men was wing on the right hand, and sir William Compton with the retinue of the bishop of Winchester, and of maister \* Wolfe the kings almoner, being in number eight hundred was in manner of a reere-gard. Sir Anthony Dugher and sir John Penill with the kings speares that followed were four hundred, and so the whole armie contained eleven thousand and three hundred men. The number of the carriages were thirtene hundred, and the number of them that attended the same were nineteen hundred men, and all these were reckoned in the battell: but of good fighting men & soldiers appointed for the purpose, there were not full nine thousand. In this order the king with his armie marched forward through the confines of his enemies to the siege of Terrouan, entering into the French ground the five and twentieth of Julie being mondaie. On the morrow after as the armie marched forward, by negligence of the carters that mistooke the waie, a great curtall (called the John Cuanellist) was overthrowne in a deepe pond of water and could not quicklie be recovered.

The French  
armie appro-  
cheth, & their  
number.

The king being advertised that the Frenchmen approached to fight with him, left the gun (because the maister carpenter undertooke to weie it thorowly out of the water) & set forward, passing on by Tornohan, which he left on his right hand, and a little beyond pitched downe his field abiding for his enemies, the which (as he was informed) were not far off. On the morrow after being wednesdaie, the reliefe of the speares brought word that they had ascried the French armie comming forward in order of battell, to the number of eleven thousand footmen, and four thousand horsemen. Captains of this armie were the lord de la Palice, the lord de Biennes, the duke of Longueville, the earle of S. Paule, the lord of Floranges, the lord of Cleremont, & Richard de la Pole a banished man, son to John duke of Suffolke. They came within two miles of the kings armie, and there the footmen scaled, and came no further.

The northern  
pickers place  
the men.

But certeine of the horsemen to the number of three thousand came forward, and at the end of a wood shewed themselves in open sight of the English armie. And thus they stood countenancing the Englishmen. Some of the northern pickers made to them, and in skirmishing with them, took some of them prisoners. About none the same daie, that valiant Welsh knight sir Rice ap Thomas with his retinue of horsemen being departed from the siege of Terrouan came to the king, and freightwaies was sent to the earle of Essex, which with two hundred speares was laid in a scale, if the Frenchmen had come nearer. When they were joined together, they

drew about the hill, having with them sir Thomas Guilford, with two hundred archers on horsebacke, meaning to set on the Frenchmen: which perceiving that, and doubting least more companies had followed, they suddenlie drew backe, and joined them with their great battell.

Then the earle of Essex and the English horsemen followed them, till they came nere to the armie of France, and then scaled and sent forth light horsemen to view the demeanour of the Frenchmen. When the Frenchmen of armes were returned to their battell, then both the horsemen and footmen withdrew in order of battell, and still the English curraes followed them for the space of three leagues, and then returned to the earle, making report to him of that they had seen, who then brake up his scale, and came to the king, declaring to him how the Frenchmen were gone backe. This was called the daye wednesdaie; for the daie was wonderfull hot, and the king with his armie stood in order of battell, from six of the clocke in the morning till three of the clocke in the afternoon. And some died for lacke of moisture, and generallie euerie man was burned about the mouth with heat of the stomack; for drinke lacked, and water was not nere.

After this the king remoued toward Terrouan, and as he was setting forward, the lord Malon of Flanders came to him with his horsemen, which were already in the kings wages. As the armie passed, by negligence the same daie in a lane was overthrowne one of the kings bombardes of iron, called the red gun, and there left. The king lodged that night two miles from saint Omers on the north side of the towne. On the thursdaie, being the eight and twentieth of Julie, the maister carpenter with an hundred carpenters and labourers, without knowledge of the marshall, went to weie up the great gun that was in the pond (as ye haue heard) and by force of engines drew it up, and carted it ready to bring to waie: but suddenlie there came an eight hundred Frenchmen with speares, crossbowes, and hand-guns, which set on the labourers so fiercely, that notwithstanding their manfull defense, the most part of them were slaine and the residue taken, and both they and the peece of ordinance conveyed to Bullangne.

The Frenchmen glad of this chance, assembled a great number to fetch the other gun, which lay yet in the lane. But the lord Werners being captaine of the pionsers, and hearing all these things, prepared to recover that gun; and so in the morrow went to fetch it. There were appointed to go backe to see him safe conducted, the earle of Essex with his company of speares, sir Rice ap Thomas with his retinue, and sir John Penill with the Northumberland men. The Almans also were commanded to retire backe to the succours of them that were gone for the gun. The Almans went forth, till they came within two miles of the place where the gun lay, and further they would not go. The Frenchmen to the number of nine or ten thousand men (as some esteemed) were abroad, and came toward the place where the Englishmen were carting the peece of ordinance.

The Northumberland horsemen having espied them, gave knowledge to the residue of the Englishmen; who prepared themselves to defend their ground against the enemies: and the earle of Essex sent to the lord Malon, willing him with his company to come to his aid: but the lord Malon sent word againe, that he was come to serve the king of England more than for one daie, and therefore he wished that all the Englishmen would returne, with the great power of France they were not able to match. This answer was much displeasing to the earle of Essex and the other captains. In this manner

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saweth

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called the red  
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thence.

The great  
gun gotten by  
the French  
by the which  
harmes the  
maister  
carpenter.

The lord  
Malon  
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that he was  
come to serve  
the king of  
England.

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*Dom. 1512*

Mr. Reg. 3.

time the foreriders of the French part were come to the hands of the Englishmen, and so they fell in skilfully very hottly: but at length all things considered, and speciallie the small number of the Englishmen, being not above seven hundred hoisemen, it was thought best that they should returne and follow the gun, which they had sent forward.

Whereupon they retreated in order, and not in any hasty manner, still following the gun. The Frenchmen perceiving that, picked forward to the number of two thousand horsemen; & came in to the backs of the Englishmen, who there with cast about, and made return to the Frenchmen. Sir William Eller and Sir John Sharpe were the first that charged, and after all the other Englishmen. The Frenchmen fled immediately so fast backe, that happie was he that might be foremost. The whole host seeing their horsemen thus had in chase, suddenly returned: The earle of Eller with drew to an hill, and there caused his trumpet to blow to the standard for feare of subtle dealing; and when his men were come in, and gathered together, he returned. On the same daie being fridaie, the nine and twentieth of Julie, the king came to Arkes, & there incamped; whither the earle of Eller came to him, and declared what had bene done that daie, the king thanking him and other the captains for their paines and diligence.

The king late here at Arkes till mondaye the first of August, and then removed to a village midwaie betwixt Teruaine and saint Omers, where he lay till thursdaie the fourth of August, and came that daie in good order of battell before the citie of Teruaine, & there pight vp his tents and pauillions in most roiall manner, sending his campe right strangle with ordnance and other warlike deuises. [The king for himselfe had a house of timber with a chimney of iron, and for his other lodgings he had great and goodlie tents of blew water tooke garnished with yelow and white, diuerse comes within the same for all officers necessarie. On the top of the pauillions stood the kings beaues holding fances, as the lion, the dragon, the greihound, the antelope, the dun cow : all within the lodging was pointed full of the sunnes rising, the lodging was one hundred and five and twentie fote in length.]

The king lieng befoze Terwine, his great ordnance did foze beat the towne walles, & they with in likewise shot ordnance out of the towne, and due diuerse Englishmen in the trenches, among which shots they had one gun that euerie date and night was ordinarilie shot at certeine hours without faile: this gun was of the Englishmen called the whiffing gun, but it neuer did harme in the kings fielde. The siege thus lieng befoze the citie of Terwine, sir Alexander Baintam a capteine of the miners, caused a mine to be enterprised to enter into the towne: but the Frenchmen perceiuing that, made a countermine, and so destroyed the other mine, and diuerse miners slaine within the same. The french armie hauered euer a farre to take the Englishmen at advantage, as they went a foraging; and manie a skirmish was done, and manie good scates of armes achieved on both sides, and diuerse prisoners taken. Among the Frenchmen were certeine light horsemen called Stradiots, with short stirraps, beuer hats, small speares, and swords like cimeteries of Turkie: diuerse times the notherne light horsemen vnder the conduct of sir John Penill skirmished with these Stradiots and took diuerse of them prisoners, and brought them to the king.

While the king laie thus before Terwine, the  
captaine of Bullongne knowing by his espials, that  
manie of the garrison of Calis were with the king  
at the siege, and also that vittells were daillie brought

out of England to Calis to succour the campe, imagined a great enterprize, and sent for all the men of warre vnder his dominion and rule, and declared to them what honour they should obtaine if they hurted or spoiled the out parts of Calis, the king of England on that side of the sea. The men of warre perceiving the good courage of the capitaine, assented to his purpose, and so with all diligence they, to the number of a thousand men, in the evening set forward, & came to *Stewards* bridge by three of the clocke in the morning, and found the watchmen that kept the bridge asleepe, & so entered the buttooke and slew the watchmen, and toke the ordinance of the bridge, and then let the bridge fall, so that all entred that would.

The capitaine of Bullongne kept six hundred men for a skale at the bidge, & sent the other into the marshes and medowes to fetch a towate the beafts and cat-tell which they shoulde find there. This was done, and some of them came to nere the walles of Calis, that they were scleried. And about a six-score coupers, bakers, shipmen & other which laie without the towne, hearing the alarme, got together, & setting on those Frenchmen which were advanced to nere the towne, slue them downe that abode, chased them that fled euen into Petronam bidge, and recouered the same, and put backe their enemies. About fise of the clocke in the morning, the gate of Calis called Bullongne gate was opened, and then by permission of the deputie, one Tulpeper the vnder-marschall with two hundred archers vnder a banner of saint George issued forth.

All these in great hast came to Betonsam byzde, where they found the other Englishmen that had twone the byzde of the Frenchmen, and so altogether set forward to assaile the Frenchmen that kept the scale, and taried till the residue of their compaignes which were gone foraging onto Calis walles were come : for the other that had spoiled the marchers were returned with a great bovie. At the first, when the Frenchmen saw the Englishmen approach, they thought they had bene their owne fellows. But when they saw the banner of saint George, they perceived how the matter went, and so determined to defend themselves against their enemies; but the Englishmen set so fiercelie on, that finalie the Frenchmen were discomfited, and foure and twentie of them slaine, beside twelve score that were taken prisoners, and all the ordnance and bovie againe recovered.

These prisoners were brought to Calis, & there sold in open market. [Among all other, a couper of the towne of Calis bought a prisoner of this botie that dwelt in Bullongne, and had of the prisoner an hundred croins for his ranfome. When the monie was paid, the Frenchman praid the couper to see him safe deliuered, and to condua him out of danger. The couper gentille granted, and without anie knowledge of his friends, all alone went with the Frenchman till he came beyond the caufete, & there would haue departed: but the Frenchman perceiving that the couper was aged, and that no rescue was nie, by force toke the couper prisoner, and caried him to Bullongne, & made him paie two hundred croins for his ranfome: thus thorough follie was the poore couper decelued. Wherefore it is iudgement for a man to hold fast his possession, and to fupplie his want of strength by subtiltie; imitating therein the fox, which although in force he be inferior to the lion, as not able to beare the perking of his taile, or a pelt of his paw; yet in craft he goeth beyond that boisterous beaft, and so elapeth danger, which otherwife he might fuffeine.]

On the eleventh day of August, being Thursday, the king being at the siege of Terwint, had knowledge that Maximilian the emperor was in the town of Aire.

watchmen  
found sleeping  
served justice.

**Culpeper br-  
der-marshall  
of Calif.**

Abr. Fl. ex  
Ed. Hall in  
H. 8, fol. xxviii.

**The felicité of  
a couper.**

The emperor  
Heriman  
and the king  
of England  
met.

Alre. The king prepared all things necessarie to meet with the emperor in triumph. The noble men of the kings campe were gorgeously apparelled, their courters barded with cloth of gold, of damaske and byzerie, their apparell all tissue, cloth of gold and silver, and goldsmiths worke, great chains of hauberkes of gold, and belles of bullion: but in especiall the duke of Buckingham, he was in purple sattin, his apparell and his bard full of antelops and swans of fine gold bullion, and full of spangles, & little bels of gold marvellous costlie and pleasant to behold. The duke was in a garment of great riches in jewels and stone, he was armed in a light armour. The master of his horse followed him with a spare horse, the henchmen followed bearing the kings peces of harnesse, euerie one mounted on a great courser.

The kings  
harnesse and  
furniture.

The one bare his helmet, the second his grangard, the third his speare, the fourth his are, and so euerie one had something belonging to a man of armes. The apparell of the nine henchmen were white cloth of gold, and crimson cloth of gold, richlie embroidered with goldsmiths worke, the trappers of the courters were mantell harnesse coulered, and in euerie bent a long bell of fine gold, and on euerie pendent a deepe tassell of fine gold in bullion, which trappers were verie rich. The king and the emperor met betwene Alre and the campe, in the foulest weather that lightlie hath bene sene. The emperor gentlie intertelled the king, and the king likewise him, and after a little communication had betwene them, because the weather was foule, they parted for that time. The emperor & all his men were at that date all in blacke cloth, for the emperesse his wife was lately deceased.

A letter of de-  
fiance sent by  
the Scottish  
king to king  
Henric.

Within a day or two after this interuiew, and that the king was returned to his campe, thither came a king at armes of Scotland called Lion, with his cote of armes on his backe, who within short time was by Cartier king of armes brought to the kings presence, where he being almost dismayd to see the king so noble accompanied, with few words & meetlie good countenance, deliuered a letter to the king, which his grace received and read it himselfe; and therewith hauing conceiued the whole contents thereof, made his answer immediatly to the herald.

The king of  
Englands  
speech to the  
Scottish  
kings herald  
bittered with-  
out premedi-  
tation.

Now we percelue the king of Scots our brother in law, and your master to be the same person whom we euer take him to be, for we neuer esteemed him to be of anie truth: and so now we haue found it. For notwithstanding his oth, his promise in the word of a king, and his owne hand and seale; yet now he hath broken his faith & promise to his great dishonour and infamie for euer, and intendeth to invade our realme in our absence, which he durst not once attempt, our owne person being present. But he sheweth himselfe not to be degenerat from the conditions of his forfathers, whose faiths (for the most part) haue euer bene violated, and their promises neuer obserued, further than they list. Therefore tell thy master, first, that he shall neuer be comprised in anie league wherein I am a confederat; and also that I suspecting his truth (as now the deed proueth) haue left an earle in my realme at home, which shall be able to defend him and all his power. For we haue prouided so, that he shall not find our land destitute of people as he thinketh to do: but this saie to thy master, that I am the very owner of Scotland, & that he holdeth it of me by homage. And inasmuch as now, contrarie to his bounden dutie, he being my vassall, doth rebell against me, with Gods helpe I shall at my returne expell him his realme, and so tell him.

Sir said the king of armes, I am his naturall subiect, and he is my naturall lord, and that he commandeth me to say, I may boldlie say with fauour, but the commandements of other I may not, nor dare say

to my souereigne: but your letters, with your honours sent, may declare your pleasure, for I may not say such words of reproch to him, to whom I owe onelie mine allegiance and faith. Then said the king, wherefore came you hither & will you receiue no answer? Yes said Lion, but your answer requirith doing and no waiting, that is, that immediatly you should returne home. Well said the king; I will returne to your damage, and not at thy masters summoning. Then the king commanded Cartier to take him to his tent, and to make him good cheare, which he did, and cherisshed him well: for he was sore abashed.

After he was departed, the king sent for all the capteins, and keshe them and his counsell caused the letter to be read, the contents wherof were, that king Henric had not dealt with him by rightlie in sundrie points, as in maintaining of those which had laine his people of Scotland by sea, and also in succouring bassard Heron with his complices, which had (under trust of daies of meeting for iustice) laine his warren. Also his twines legacie was by him withheld: & moreover, where first he had desired him in fauour of his dere cousin the duke of Gelder, not to attempt anie thing against him; yet had he sent his people to invade the said dukes countrie, which did what in them lay to destroe and dishonour the said duke, that had nothing offended against him.

And now againe, where he had made the like request for his brother & cousin the most christian king of France: yet notwithstanding, had the king of England caused him to lose his duchie of Aquitaine, and at this present invaded his realme with all his puissance, to destroe him and his subiects, whereas yet the said king of France had bene euer friend to him, & neuer giuen him occasion thus to do. In consideration of which iniuries receiued in his owne person, and in his friends, he must needs seeke redress, and take part with his brother and cousin the said king of France. Wherefore he required him to desist from further invasion and destruction of the French dominions, which to do if he refused, he plainlie declared by the same letters, that he would do what he could to cause him to desist from further pursuit in that his enterprise, & also giue letters of marque to his subiects for the deniall of iustice made to them by the king of England.

The letters thus sent to the king of England, were dated at Edinburgh the six and twentieth daie of Iulie, and giuen vnder the signet of the said Scottish king. When the king had thus caused these letters to be read, and thoroughlie considered of them as appertained, he sent them straight to the earle of Surrie, which then late at Bonnet, and caused other letters to be deuised to the king of Scots, the effect whereof was; that although he well perceived by the kings letters, which he had receiued from him, in what sort, vnder colour of contriued occasions and feined quarrelles, he meant to breake the peace, he did not much maruell thereat, considering the ancient accustomed manners of some his progenitors.

Whombeit, if loue and dread of God, nightnesse of blood, honour of the world, law and reason had bound him, it might be supposed, that he would neuer so farre haue proceeded; wherein the pope and all principall christned might well note in him dishonorable demeanour, which had dissembled the matter, whilst he was at home in his realme; and now in his absence thus went about vpon forged causes to utter his old rancor, which in covert manner he had long kept secret. Peruerselesse, vpon mistrust of such vnfedfastnesse, he had put his realme in a readinesse to resist his enterprises, as he doubted not through Gods fauour, and the assistance of his confederats, he should be able to resist the malice of all chisnatikes, and

The other  
the Scotch  
kings letter  
to the  
Scottish  
king  
1547, and  
Hall, in  
fol. 111, 112.

King Henric  
his answer  
to the  
Scottish  
kings letter  
the  
Scottish  
king  
1547, and  
Hall, in  
fol. 111, 112.

An emil  
to be  
league of  
peace.

The king of  
France  
writing  
to the  
king of  
England  
1547.

The king of  
England  
writing  
to the  
king of  
France  
1547.

King Henric  
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King Henric  
writing  
to the  
king of  
France  
1547.

The emperor  
writing  
to the  
king of  
France  
1547.

The king  
writing  
to the  
king of  
France  
1547.

1. Dom. 1513

An. Reg. 5.

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The effect of the Scottish kings letter to H. Henrie

The king of France a day without reason, and

The king of England and

Subscribed by a

franchise

Wentworth

The emperor

I have be

their adherents, being by generall counsell expellie  
excommunicated & interdicted, trusting in time con  
venient to remember his friends, & requite his foes.  
Whereover, he willed him to let before his eyes the  
example of the king of Navarre, who for assistance  
given to the French king was now a king without  
a realme. And as touching answers to be made to  
the manifold griefs in the Scottish kings letters sur  
mised, if law or reason could haue removed him from  
his sensual opinions, he had bene manie times al  
readie answered sufficientlie to the same; vntlesse to  
the pretended griefs therein amongst other compai  
sed, for denying of a safe conduct to the Scottish an  
balladour to haue bene lastly sent vnto him. Where  
vnto thus he answered; that the same safe conduct  
had bene granted, if the Scottish herald would haue  
taken it with him.

And finally, as touching the Scottish kings re  
quest, to desist from further attempting against the  
French, he signified to him, that he knew him for  
no competent iudge of so high authoritie, as to re  
quire him in that behalfe, and therefore God willing  
he went with the aid and assistance of his confede  
rats & allies to prosecute his begun attempt. And as  
the Scottish king should doe to him, & to his realme,  
so it should be hereafter remembred and acquitted.  
These letters were written in the campe before  
Teruine the twelfe of August, and given vnder the  
kings signet, and therewith deliuered to Lion king  
of armes, who had of the king 100 angels in reward.

Then departed he with his letters into flan  
ders, there to take ship to saile into Scotland, but per  
he could haue a desell and wind for his purpose, his  
maister was laine, as after ye shall heare. In this  
meane while the Frenchmen being assembled and  
lodged in campe at Blangie on this side Antenna,  
the French king appointed that all the hoisemen to the  
number of eight thousand (as Paulus Iopius recoz  
deth) should go with vittels vnto Teruine, and  
put the same into the towne, if by any means they  
might, for that those within stood as then in great  
necessitie for want of vittels.

The charge of this conuete was committed vn  
to Monsieur de Piennes, because he was lieutenant  
of those marches: notwithstanding there were a  
mongst the number, other noble men of more high  
degree in honor, and also of great prouesse, fame, and  
experience, furnished with sundrie bands of men at  
armes of long appoyued valancie, and used to go a  
waie with victorie in manie a dangerous conflict and  
battell, wanting at this present nothing but their old  
accustomed god fortune. Whiles the Frenchmen

were thus prepared to come with vittels to Ter  
uine, the emperor Maximilian came from Aire to  
the kings campe before Teruine the twelfe of Au  
gust, wearing a crosse of saint George as the kings  
souldier, & receiuing of him salarie for seruice; which  
Anglorum praelia noteth as noteworthie, saieing:

Subrege Anglorum magnus meret induperator.

The emperor was honourable received, and lod  
ged in a rich tent of cloth of gold prepared for him,  
according as was conuenient for his estate. He tar  
ried until sundae being the fourteenth of August,  
and then returned to Aire: and on the morrow after  
came againe being mondaie the fiftenth of August,  
on which daie there chanced a great frate betwixt the  
Almans of the kings campe, and the Englishmen,  
insomuch that manie were laine. The Almans ran  
to the kings ordinance and toke it, and imbattelled  
themselves, and bent the ordinance against the king  
and his campe. The English prepared their bowes,  
and the Almans made redie their pikes; but the cap  
tains toke such paines in the matter, that the fraie  
was appeased.

How as this trouble was in hand, the emper our  
came from Aire, and saw all the demeanour of both  
parts, and was glad to behold the discret behaviour  
of the capitains. After that the emperor was thus  
come to the kings field, the king called a counsell, at  
the which the emperor was present, where it was de  
bated, by what means they might best constraene  
them within to deliuer vp the towne, and especial  
lie how to keepe them from vittels & other succours,  
which the French armie (as it was knowne) meant  
verie shortly to minister vnto them. Some were of  
this mind, and namelie the emperor; that bridges  
should be made ouer the riuer, to passe ouer a part of  
the armie to besiege the towne on that side; where o  
therwise the French armie might hit tell the towne  
at their pleasures.

Others were of a contrarie mind, doubting what  
might happen, if the armie should be so diuided, least  
the Frenchmen setting on the backe of the one part  
of the armie, and they within the towne to fallie out  
in their faces, some misfortune might happen per the  
other part could passe the riuer to the succour of the  
fellowes. Yet at length the former purpose was al  
lowed as most necessarie; and therefore commande  
ment was given to the maister of the ordinance,  
that in all hast he should cause fise bridges to be  
made ouer the water for the armie to passe. The car  
penters so applied their worke that night, that the  
bridges were made by the next morow, and all the  
hoisemen first passed ouer, and then the king with  
his whole battell, and the great ordinance followed  
and passed ouer to the other side of the water. This  
was on the sixteenth daie of August being tuesday.

On the same morning the Frenchmen were com  
ming with their conuete of vittels to refresh the  
towne, hauing appointed one part of their troops to  
keepe on that side the riuer where the English armie  
was first incamped, and where the earle of Shrewes  
burie still kept his field; that in offering the skir  
mish on that side, the residue of the hoisemen might  
with more ease and safetie put the vittels and other  
necessarie things into the towne on the other side.  
Here might a man haue sene of what force in wars  
sudden chance is oftentimes. For the king thus with  
his battell passing the riuer, meaning to besiege the  
towne on euerie side, and the Frenchmen at that  
same instant hauing also passed the riuer with other  
carriages laden with vittels, purposing to releue  
the towne on that side, caused no small doubt to be  
conceiued of ech others meaning, on both parts, least  
that the one, hauing knowlege of the others purpose,  
had bene prepared for to hinder the same.

And yet was it nothing so, for neither the king  
knew of the Frenchmens approach that daie, neither  
they of his passing ouer the water. But when the  
king had aduertisement given him (by the light  
hoisemen that were sent abroad to discover the  
countrie) how the Frenchmen were at hand; he pre  
pared himselfe to the battell, and first set forth his  
hoisemen, and then followed himselfe with his bat  
tell of footemen. The French capitains being hereof  
advised, determined not to fight without their foot  
men; and therefore with all speed sent backe their  
carriages, and staid with their hoisemen, until the  
carriages might haue leasure to get out of danger.  
In the meane time the Englishmen advanced for  
ward, and their hoisemen mounted by the hill,  
where the French hoisemen were in troope, with  
thirtie and thre standards sped, & might see the Eng  
lishmen coming, and the kings battell marching  
forward with the Almans.

There were amongst the Frenchmen certeine  
companies of Estradiots, which being placed before  
the French host, as they came downe the hill to  
the k k k.

The king and the emperor  
consist which  
waies were  
best to besiege  
Teruine, to  
prevent the  
battelling of  
it.

Five bridges  
made in one  
night for the  
armie to passe  
ouer the riuer  
at Teruine.

Polydor.  
The force of  
sudden chance  
in warre.

Edw. Hall,  
Polydor.

The king  
with his bat  
tell of footmen,



The Estradiots  
milita-  
king footmen  
for horsemen  
led first.

skirmish with the Englishmen saw where the banners of the English horsemen were coming, and the kings battell following upward, weening verelie that all had bene horsemen, whereupon they cast themselves about and fled. The Frenchmen were so fast in arraie, that the Estradiots could not enter; and so they ran still by the ends of the Frenchmens ranks. Here with the English horsemen set on, and about an hundred archers on horse-backe, being lighted beside their horses, and set by an hedge all alongest a village side called Bomie, shot freshlie at their enemies; & also certeine culuerings being placed on the top of an hill were discharged amongst the thickest prease of the Frenchmen; so that finalie the French were discomfited: for those that were behind saw the fall of some of their standards, which the Englishmen overthrew, and their Estradiots also (in whome they had great confidence) returne.

A great ones  
throw given  
to the French,  
king Henrie  
in person be-  
ing present.

They that were furthest off fled first, and then the Englishmen & Burgognian horsemen, which were with them, egerlie followed the chase, in the which were taken the duke of Longuile, brother to the earle of Dunois that had married the daughter and heire to the marquesse of Rothlois, the lord of Cleremort, capteine Baiard, monsieur de Buse, and other, to the number of twelue score prisoners, and all brought to the kings presence with six standards, which were likewise taken. The Burgognians brought not their prisoners to fight. Monsieur de la Palice, and monsieur de Imbrecourt being taken of them and knowne, were put to their ransomes, and licenced maintenanthe to depart vpon their word. Thus was the power of the French horsemen by the sharpe encounter of the English horsemen, and full flight of the battels of the footmen, following in arraie at the backs of the horsemen, and the discharging of certeine culuerings amongst them, quickelie put to flight without anie great resistance.

The emperor  
courageously  
his Almans  
to play the  
men.

The emperor Maximilian was present with the king, and wore saint Georges crosse, greatlie incouraging the Almans to shew themselves like men, sith the place was fortunate to him and them, to trie the chance of battell in: as they might call to remembrance by the victorie there obtained against the Frenchmen a foure and twentie yeares past. This encounter chancing thus on the sixteenth daie of August, being tuesday, in this fift yeare of king Henryes reigne, which was the yeare after the incarnation 1513, was called the battell *Des espours*, by the Frenchmen themselves, that is to saie, the battell of spurs: forsomuch as they in stead of sword and lance used their spurs, with all might and maine to prick their horses to get out of danger; so that in them was verified the old proverbe, One paire of heles is worth two paire of hands.

The battell of  
spurs.

That wing of the horsemen also, which was appointed to skirmish with the Englishmen on the other side the river, whilest the other might have conveyed the vittels into the towne, was fiercelie beaten backe by the martiall prowesse of the valiant erle of Shrewesburie, sir Alice ap Thomas, and other worthy capteins, which laie on that side the water. The duke of Alancon, the earle of saint Paule, and monsieur de Florences, had the leading of those Frenchmen. They within the towne were in great hope of succour this daie, and when they saw the French power approach, they sallied forth on that side where the lord Herbert laie, and skirmished with his people verie proudly, but they were repelled to the gates of their towne, and manie of them slaine by the high valiancie of the said lord Herbert and his capteins.

After that the Englishmen were returned from

the chase of the Frenchmen, whome they had followed a thre long miles from the field, the king made sir John Peddie a baneret, and John Carr knight, which was sore hurt: sir John Peddie had his gubdon taken, and diuerso of his men hurt, they followed so farre in the chase. After this overthrow of the French horsemen, the king compassed the towne more streitlie on each side, and the batterie was brought so nigh the walls as might be, wherewith breaches were made in sundrie places, by meanes whereof the lord Pontremie despairing any long time to keepe the towne, fell to a composition, and yielded it vp to the kings hands. This encounter and overthrow, with the giving vp of Teruine, is extant to the knowledge of foreyn nations (to be read) recorded as followeth:

*Francorum pugnax equitatus praelia miscet,  
succurrit inique suis, sed frustra infirmior arma  
Turba capit; palmam bellando potentior Anglus  
Aufert, lathifera transfusus hostilibus hasta.  
Diruta turris fragis bombardis mania praebeant  
Britigena ingressum facilem, Gallique timorem  
Injuunt, tandem Terronana deditur Angli.*

Notwith this yielding vp of the said towne was with condition, that the souldiers might depart with horse and armour, & that such townesmen as would there remaine, might haue their liues and goods saved. Thus (I saie) was the citie of Teruine deliuered vp to the king of England, with all the ordinance and munitions then being found within the same. This was on the eighteenth of August. The earle of Shrewesburie entered the same night, and caused the banner of saint George to be set vp in the highest place of the towne in signe of victorie. When the lord Pontremie, and all the souldiers were departed, and that the earle of Shrewesburie had searched all the towne to see that euerie thing was sure, he called the townesmen afoze him, and swore them to be true to the king of England. The foure and twentieth of August the king himselfe entered the towne with great and roiall triumph, and dined in the bishops palace. At after none he returned to his campe, and on the six and twentieth daie of August he removed againe to Cutingate, where he first incamped after the chase of the French horsemen.

Here it was determined in counsell, that the walls and fortifications of Teruine should be razed, which was done, and the towne burned; except the cathedrall church and the palace. All the ordinance was sent to Aize to be kept there to the kings vse. After this, it was concluded that the king should laie siege to the citie of Coimate; whereupon he set forward in thre battels: the earle of Shrewesburie leading the backward, the king and the emperor governing the battell, and the lord Chamberleine following with the reerward. The first night they incamped beside Aize. Diuerse Englishmen tarieng behind at Teruine for pilage, were surprised by the Frenchmen, which slew some of them, & cast some into the fire. Those that fled escaped verie narrowlie. The king with his armie passed forward towards Coimate, and by the waie visited the young prince of Castile and the ladie Margaret, gouernors of the prince, in the towne of Lille, whilest his armie laie abroad in the fields beyond Pont Audanien.

There was appointed to attend the king vnto Lille the duke of Buckingham, the lord marquesse Dorset, the earle of Essex, and the lord Aile, with diuerse other; the charge of his campe he committed for the time to his counsell. Then mounted the king vpon a conser, his apparrell & hard were cloth of siluer of small quadrant cuts trauersed and edged with cut cloth of gold, and the bozard set full of red roses, his armour fresh & set full of iewels. The maister of his horse sir Henrie Guilford, and the henchmen followed

John Carr knight.

Teruine was  
delivered by  
the king.

The citie  
of Teruine  
was given  
to the king  
of England.

Teruine  
burnt.

King Henrie  
marcheth on  
south his ar-  
mie to deli-  
uer Coimate.

The king  
with his ar-  
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young prince  
of Castile.

John Carr  
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1. Dom. 1517

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Sir Henric  
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ern hoyle.

followed (as you haue heard before) and the coursers  
righte apparelled, and so were manie captains that  
waited on the king: by the waie met the king the  
lord Kasselstern with manie noble men. And a mile  
without the towne there met with him the burge  
ses of Lille, and presented to him the keyes of the  
towne, saleng, that the emperour their soueraine lord  
had so commanded them to do.

The king praised their obedience to their soue  
reigne, and thanked the emperour and them for so  
high a present as the keyes of such a towne. Fewer  
thelike, he had such confidence in them, that he trust  
ed them no lesse than his owne subjects, and so deli  
uered the keyes to the prouost of the towne, which  
was well accompanied. Then met the king a great  
number of nobles of Flanders, Brabant, Holland,  
and Henand, which noble received him. After them  
came the countie Palatine or Palsgrau, one of  
the electors of the empire, with thirtie hoyses, all his  
men gorgeouslie apparelled after the fashion of his  
countrie, and humbly saluted the king. At the gate  
of Lille the capitaine of the towne stood with a gar  
rison in armes: well appointed, all the streets were set  
on both sides with burning torches and diuerse god  
lie pageants pleasant to behold. Thus he passed thro  
ugh the towne with his sword and maces borne be  
fore him, and alighted at the hall doze with his sword  
borne, where met with him the emperour, the prince  
of Castile, and the ladie Spargaret, and humbly salu  
ted him.

Then for reuerence of the emperour, the king  
caused his sword to be put vp, and his maces to be  
laid downe; & so was the king and all other nobles  
lodged and seated according to their degrees. In the  
towne of Lille was a noise that thre gunners with  
handguns should haue slaine the king: for which ru  
mor manie were attached, but nothing proued. But  
when these tidings came to the campe, they were ne  
uer merrie till they saw the king againe. Great was  
the chere, with bankets, plates, comedies, maskes,  
and other pastimes that were shewed to the king in  
the court of Burgognie, and so in solace he sojourned  
there fundate and mondaie the nineteenth daie of  
September. On the twentieth daie he sent word that  
his armie should remoue toward Cozaine, and so  
they remoued to a place conuenient betwene Coz  
aine and Lille, and certeine capitaines were appoin  
ted to keepe the passage at the bridge of Auandien.

After that the king had taried at Lille thre daies,  
and had well repoted himselfe, he toke his leave, and  
thanked the emperour and the young prince, the la  
die Spargaret & all the ladies for all his high chere  
and solace; and about six of the clocke at night, he de  
parted out of Lille, and the noble men brought the  
king forth and so returned, and then the capitaine shut  
the gates. When the king was a mile and moze out  
of the towne, he asked where his campe laie: And  
no man there could tell the waie, and guide had they  
none, the night was so darke & mistie. Thus the king  
taried a long while, and wist not whither to go; at last  
they met with a bitteler comming from the campe,  
which was their guide and brought them thither. The  
maister of the ordinance shot diuerse peeces of ordi  
nance, but they were not heard; but in safetie the  
king with all his companie returned.

On the one and twentieth daie of September the  
king remoued his campe toward Cozaine, and lod  
ged within thre miles of the citie, on a sojne ground  
by the riuer. On which night came to the king the  
emperour and the Palsgrau, which were lodged in  
rich tents, and noble serued of all viands and things  
necessarie. The people about Cozaine were with  
their gods fled to the citie, and yet the citie had no  
men of warre to defend it, but with multitude of in

habitants the same was well replenished. The king  
commanded Sir Rice and his hoysmen to vnto one  
quarter, and the earle of Essex and his companie an  
other quarter; and the lord Mallon and the lord  
Lignie the other quarters. Then the two and twen  
tith daie of September, these foure capitaines at one  
time were sone openlie with banners displaid be  
fore the towne, and there made a long scale, and re  
turned.

Then the king sent Cartier king of armes to sum  
mon them to yeld it ouer into his hands, to whome  
they made answer, that they received no citie of the  
king of England to keepe, nor anie would they ren  
der him, with which answer he departed. Then they  
fortified their walls, and made prouision for vittels,  
corne, wine, and artillerie, and for all fortifications  
that might be gotten. And the citie of it selfe was  
strong, well walled, and furnished with god bul  
works and defences. But when they saw the king  
with such a puissance draw nere the citie, they were  
soze abashed, and called a generall counsell. Then  
the prouost said; Wethzen, you know how that the  
king of England sent an herald to summon vs to  
render vp to him this citie, or else he would put it  
and vs to the sword, fier, and blood. We answered  
we would be at defense. Now he is come in our  
sight to fulfill the message sent by the herald, & now  
is come the time of our defense.

Howbeit in this matter standeth thre mischees,  
one is our bounden duetie and allegiance that we  
owe to our soueraine lord king Lewes of France;  
the second the liues of vs, our wiues, children, and  
neighbozs; the third how to defend the small destruc  
tion of this ancient citie, now likelie to fall, which  
citie was neuer conquered. Now our citie is whole,  
your liues in safetie, your gods your owne; deter  
mine whether you will haue war or peace. Then the  
common people cried all; War, war, war. Then said  
the prouost, Take compassion of wiues and children  
and of the old folke; consider if you haue no quicke  
rescue, you cannot continue against ponder pus  
sance, although your courages were neuer so great,  
this the wisest of the citie and I haue considered.  
Then suddenlie was there in the counsell a vaunt  
parler, a botcher, which hearing this, called a great  
number of his affinitie, and went out of the counsell  
and so out of the gates, and set fire of the suburbs on  
all sides. When the counsell saw the minds of the  
commons, and that their waies might not be follo  
wed, they comforted the people, and maintained them  
for their defense.

After this the king approached the citie with his  
whole armie, and they of the citie issued forth to pro  
fer the skirmish: but the archers beat them backe.  
Also the carriage men that came with the herbin  
gers, saw where certeine wagons were entring the  
citie, unto the which they ran, and toke some of them.  
At this skirmish the hoyle of the lord John Grate  
was slaine vnder him, as he came to defend the car  
riage men; but he himselfe had no hurt. The king  
with his battell planted his siege on the north side the  
citie. The earle of Shrewsburie with the fore  
ward lodged toward the south side of the riuer, and  
there laie that night. The lord Herbert with the rear  
ward incamped himselfe on the west side, and beat  
the walls and towers of the citie with the great ordi  
nance. The next daie after their comming thither,  
being the thre and twentieth of September, the earle  
of Shrewsburie with the foreward passed the riuer,  
& planted his siege on the southside of the citie, stre  
ching to the east end, and bent his ordinance against  
the walles. And thus was the citie of Cozaine besie  
ged on all parts.

On the five and twentieth daie of September, the  
king

Cozaine sum  
moned by  
Cartier king  
of armes,

The prouost  
of Cozaines  
words to the  
distressed  
townsmen

Cozaine be  
sieged by king  
Henric.

See Hall in  
Henrie. 8. fol.  
37. 38. & histo-  
rie of Scot-  
land. pag. 297.  
298.

king receiued letters from the earle of Surrie with the Scottish kings gantlet, whereby he was certified of the slaughter of the said king, and how all things had bene handled at the battell of Floddon, whereof hereafter ye shall find further mention. The king thanked God of the newes, and highlie commended the prowesse of the earle, and other the captiues: howbeit he had a secret letter, that Welshmen and other fled from sir Edmund Howard in the battell, which letter caused great hartburning, and manie words: but the king toke all things in good part, and would that no man should be dispaised. On the six and twentieth daie, fiers were made in the hoast, in token of that victorie against the Scots, and on the seauen and twentieth daie being tuesday, masse was song by them of the kings chappell, with *Te Deum*, and the bishop of Rochester made a sermon, declaring the death of the king of Scots, and lamenting his euill hap and pericure. But now to our purpose of the siege of Tournai.

Abr. Fl. ex  
Edw. Hall in  
Hen. 8. fo. xliij.  
xlv.

The citie of  
Tournai on  
all sides be-  
sieged.

The king of England lieng afront before Tournai, caused his great ordnance to be planted round about the citie, and diuerse trenches were cast, and rampiers made, and the lord Lisle and the lord Willoughbie were appointed to mainteine the ordnance with their bands, and the earle of Kent was lodged before the gate called port Valencien: so that the citizens could not issue out, nor no aid could come in. The ordnance baslie beat the gates, towres, & wals, which made a great batterie: and a few Englishmen assaulted the port coquerell, but they were too few in number: and if they had bene more in number, they had taken the towne, as the Tournaisins confessed after. The citizens of Tournai considering their estate came together to council, and there the prouost said in effect as followeth. Friends and brethren of this noble citie, I cannot too much praise your trust and fidelitie to your soueraigne lord the king of France, considering how manfully you haue defended this citie since the beginning of this siege.

The prouost  
swords to the  
townesmen.

But alas! although it be written on the gates grauen in stone, *Iammes ton ne a perdu ton pucelage*, that is to saie; Thou hast neuer lost thy maidenhead: yet if this citie had not bene well furnished and euery at the daie appointed sure of rescue, it could not haue continued. Now you see that rescue faileth, our gates be rased, our towres beaten downe, our chiefe towre like to fall, so that if this perillous siege continue, or else if our enemies assault vs, we be not able to defend vs: wherefore now, all these things considered, I would know whether you will treat with the king of England or abide the chance. Then they which at the last council cried War, war; now cried Peace, peace: yet all were not agreed. Then one wise man said, Sirs if the towne be assaulted once againe with a great number, suerlie it will be taken: you saw the experience at the last assault, and then consider if it be taken by force, who is there that can saie he is sure of his life: but by intreatie, the king of England is so mercifull that we may fortune to saue both life and goods. When finally all agreed to treat.

The prouost  
with eleuen  
more submit  
themselves &  
paid by the  
citie to the  
king.

Then the prouost sent to the king a trumpet, bearing a safe conduct for him & certaine other to come and to speake with him: which request was to him granted. Then the prouost of the citie, accompanied with eleuen with him of the best of the citie, came to the armie, & spake with the lords of the council, and after were led to the kings presence. The prouost kneeled downe and all his companie, and said: Right high and mightie prince, although the citie of Tournai is strong, well walled, well replenished with people, bittels, artillerie, yea and the people in feare and dread of nothing: yet we know that against your great puissance it can not continue long, although it

were ten times as strong as it is. Wherefore we knoting by report your honor, your wisdom, your iustice, & noble hart, are content to become your subiects & vassals, so that we may haue and enjoy our old lawes, customes, liberties, and franchises, vnder you; as we haue before this done vnder other princes.

Then said the king; We haue well heard your petition, we will common with our council & make you answer. And when he had communed with his council, he answered saieing: Sirs, he that asketh mercie of vs, shall not be denied; and seeing you come to treat, we remit you to our council. Then they went into the tent of council, & there the Tournaisins fell at a point, and in conclusion they yielded the citie and ten thousand pounds sterling for the redemption of their liberties, and so departed to the citie, making relation of the king and his noble courage. On thursdaie the nine and twentieth daie of September, the king was in his rich tent of cloth of gold vnder his cloth of estate, to whome came the citizens of the citie, and were sworne to him, and became his subiects.

Then the king appointed the lord Lisle, the lord Burgaunetie, & the lord Willoughbie to take possession on which with six thousand men entered the citie, and toke the market place and the wals, and searched the houses for feare of treason. Then maister Thomas Wolseie the kings almoner called before him all the citizens yong and old, and swore them to the king of England, the number whereof was foure score thousand. Thus the king of England by conquest came to the possession of the citie of Tournai. On saturday the second daie of October, the king entered the citie of Tournai at port founteine, and foure of the chiefe of the citie ouer him bare a canopie with all the armes of England. Euery person was in his best apparell, the ladies & gentlewomen late in the windowes beholding the king and his nobilitie, euery citizen had in his hand a staffe torch. The king himselfe was richlie apparelled in rich armour on a barbed courser, his henchmen bearing his peeces of war, as ar, speare, and other, their coursers were barbed with the armes of England, France, Ireland, and other the kings dominions all richlie brodered. Thus the king with his nobilitie all richlie apparelled with his sword borne before him, his heralds and sergeants of armes with trumpets and minstrelsie entered the citie, and came to our ladie church, and there *Te Deum* was song.

Then the king called to his presence, Edward Gifford, William Fitz William, John Dantie, William Ellier, John Sharpe, William Husse, John Saunage, Christopher Garnish, and diuerse other balliant esquires, and gaue to them the order of knight hood, and then went to his lodging, and at after none he came to the market place, where was prepared for him a rowne. Then he caused a proclamation to be made in his name king of England & France, that no man should greve the citizens. During which proclamation the Tournaisins scarce looked by, nor shewed once to him any amiable countenance, which was much marked. The crie finished, the king departed to his campe, leaving the citie in safe keeping. This weeke the king rode to see the castell of Apoton, and there his grace toke great pleasure. The king remembering the great chere that the prince of Castile and the ladie Margaret had made him at Lisle, which was but twelue miles English from Tournai, desired the said prince & ladie, with diuerse others to come to him to his citie of Tournai, and made preparation for the same, and appointed a fass, whereof he himselfe would be one, and caused a tilt to be made in the market place.

While these things were preparing, the king and his

Edward of  
Burgundy  
made league  
with the  
king of  
France.

James held  
the prince  
of Wales  
in the  
castle of  
Bordeaux  
the  
people.

The prince  
of Wales  
returned  
to  
Lisle.

The king re-  
turned into  
England.

Montcalieu.



the sea, as others. First the lord Clifford, the lord Conyers, the lord Latimer, the lord Scrope of Up-sall, the lord Dgle, the lord Lomlie, sir Nicholas Appleyard master of the ordnance, sir Stephan Bull, sir Henrie Shirburne, sir William Sidneie, sir Edward Ichingham, sir William Bulmer, with the power of the bishopricke of Durham, sir William Calcoigne, sir Christopher Ward, sir John Curingham, sir Thomas Metham, sir Walter Griffith, and manie others.

Of the wing on the right hand of the fore-ward, was capteine sir Edward Howard knight marshall of the host, & with him Brian Lunsall, Rafe Wear-ton, John Laurence, Richard Bold, esquires: sir John Booth, sir Thomas Butler, knights: Richard Done, John Bigod, Thomas Fitz Williams, John Clarnis, Brian Stapleton, Robert Marcop, Richard Cholmele, with the men of Hull, and the kings tenants of Hatfield, and others. Of the wing on the left hand, was capteine sir Parmaduke Constable, with his sonnes and kinsmen, sir William Persie, and of Lancashire a thousand men. Of the rere-ward was capteine the earle of Surreie himselfe, and with him the lord Scrope of Bolton, sir Philip Elmeie, sir George Darcie, sir Thomas Berkleie, sir John Koclfie, sir Christopher Pike-ring, Richard Tempell, sir John Stanleie, with the bishop of Elies seruants, sir Brian Stapleton, Lionell Persie, with the abbat of Whitbies tenants, Christopher Clapham, sir William Calcoigne the panger, sir Guie Dawneie, maister Hagmus, maister Dalbies seruants, sir John Popmanulle, the citi-zens of Porke, sir Pinian Parkanulle, sir John Willoughbie, with others.

Of the wing on the right hand, was capteine the lord Darcie with his power. Of the left hand wing, was capteine sir Edward Stanleie knight, with the residue of the power of the two counties palantire of Glesster and Lancaster. Thus was the host appoint-ed and divided into wards and wings at the first, though afterward (upon occasion) this order was somewhat altered. And now that euerie man knew what to do, the earle of Surreie with his power com-ming toward the place where he thought to find the Scottish host, was informed how king James be-ing remoued six miles from Foxham, late imbat-telled upon a great mountaine called Floddon, a place of such strength, as it was not possible for the Englishmen to come nere him, but to their great disadvantage: for at the foot of the same hill on the left hand, there was a great marshy ground full of red and water.

On the right hand it was defended with a riuer called Till, the course thereof being so swift, and the chanell in some places so deepe, that it might not con-nientlie be passed. On the backe halfe there were such craggie rocks and thicke woods, that it was not possible to assaile him to anie aduantage that waie forth. And on the forepart of the campe, where na-ture had left anie easie entrie for men to come to the same, all his ordinance was planted aloft upon the sides of such trenches, as he had caused to be cast for defense on that part. The earle of Surreie hereupon, considering with himselfe, that unless he might de-uide some policie to cause the Scottish armie to de-scend the hill, it were not possible for him to accom-plish his desire, he called about him his counsell, and with them tooke aduise in this point.

At length it was concluded and determined a-mong other things, to send Rouge Crosse, purseuant at armes, with a trumpet to the king of Scots, with a message and certeine instructions: which in sub-stance was, to shew and declare vnto the said king of Scots, that where he (contrarie vnto his oath and

league, and vnnaturallie against all reason and con-science) had entered and inuaded this his brothers realme of England, and done great hurt to the same, in casting downe castles, towers, and houses, bur-ning, spoiling, and destroing the same, and cruellie murdering the king of England his brothers sub-jects; he the said earle would be readie to trie the rightfulness of the matter with the king in battell, by firstaie next comming at the furthest, if he of his noble courage would giue him tarieng and abode. And the same did the said earle promise, as he was a true knight vnto God & the king of England his maister.

And before Rouge Crosse should depart with the said instructions, the lord admerall gaue him in cre-dence to shew the said king of his comming, and part of his companie from the sea with him, and that he had sought the Scottish nauie then being on the sea, but he could not meet with them, because they were fled into France by the coast of Ireland. And in as much as the said king had diuerse and manie times caused the said lord to be called at daies of truce, to make redresse for Andrew Barton a pirat of the sea, long before that vanquished by the same lord admer-all, he was now come in his owne proper person, to be in the vant-gard of the field, to iustifie the death of the said Andrew against him, and all his people, and would see what could be laid to his charge the said daie.

Furthermore, that he no none of his companie should take no Scottish noble man prisoner, no anie other; but they should die if they came in his danger, unless it were the kings owne person; for he said he trusted to none other courtesie at the hands of the Scots. And in this manner he should find him in the vant-gard of the field, by the grace of God, and saint George, as he was a true knight. Yet before the de-parting of Rouge Crosse, with the said instructions and credence, it was thought by the earle & his coun-cell, that the said king would faine and imagine some other message, to send an herald of his with the same, onelie to view and ouersce the manner and or-der of the kings rofall armie, ordinance, and artillerie then being with the earle; whereby might haue ensued great danger to the same.

And for the eschuing thereof, he had in comman-dement, that if anie such message were sent, not to bring anie person comming therewith within thre or two miles of the field at the night, where the said earle would come, and heare what he would saie. And thus departed Rouge Crosse, with his trumpet, appar-elled in his coat of armes. On mondaie the first daie of September, the earle took his field at Bol-ton in Glendale, as he had appointed, where all the noble men and gentlemen met him with their retinues, to the number of six and twentie thousand men. And about midnight next ensuing came the trumpet which went to Rouge Crosse, and declared how the king of Scots, after the message done to him by Rouge Crosse, according to his instructions, the said king detained him, & sent one Flaie an herald of his with him vnto the earle, to declare to him the kings pleasure; to whom the earle sent Porke herald at armes, to accompanie the said Flaie, at a billage cal-led Aplo, two miles from the field, untill the com-ming thither of the said earle the next morow.

On the first daie of September, earlie in the mor-ning, the earle accompanied with the most part of the lords and knights, and gentlemen of the field, euerie man hauing with him but one seruant to hold his horse, rode vnto the place: and so the said herald met with the earle, and with blunt reuerence decla-red to him that he was come from his maister the king of Scots, which would know whether the earle sent

The strength of the place where king James lay in-camped, called Floddon.

An herald sent from the earle of Surreie to king James.

The lord admerall gaue him in cre-dence to shew the said king of his comming, and part of his companie from the sea with him, and that he had sought the Scottish nauie then being on the sea, but he could not meet with them, because they were fled into France by the coast of Ireland.

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What it is among the Scots.

A good place.

Flaie and Porke heralds.

The Scots herald is a friend of the English.



n. Dom. 1513.

in con- others same, but, ruelle's sub- the attell, of his abode, re was and his

with the in cre- nd part that he he sca, y were in as times ruce, to the sea, admic- rson, to eath of le, and he said

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mmar, not to in the said aie. And et, appa- the fist at 1501. all the it reti- nd men. rumpet oio the him by the said d of his e kings rald at age cal- e com- he mo: rt of the euerie old his herald e decla- for the e earle sent

An. Reg. 5.

The Scottish king's letter to the earle of Surrie.

sent anie such message by Kouge Crosse. The earle notified the same, saing further; that Kouge Crosse had the same message of him in writing, signed with his owne hand. Whereunto the said Flaie said: As to the abiding for battell betwene that and fridaie then next following, the king his maister bade him shew to the earle, that he was as welcome as anie noble man of England vnto the said king, and that if he had bene at home in his towne of Edinburgh, there receiuing such a message from the said earle, he would gladlie haue come, and fulfilled the said earles desire.

And the herald assured the earle, on the king his maisters behalfe, that the same king would abide him battell at the date prefixed. Whereof the said earle was right iolous, and much praised the honorable agree- ment of the said roiall king, and esteemed the same to proceed of an high and honorable courage, promising the herald, that he, and good suertie with him should be bound in ten thousand pounds sterling, to keepe the said date appointed; so that the king would find an earle of his, and thereto a good suertie with him to be bound in like summe, for the performance of the same. And furthermore the earle bade the herald to saie vnto his maister the king; that if he for his part kept not his appointment, then he was content that the Scots should battell him, which is a great reproch among the Scots, and is vfed, when a man is openlie perjured, and then they make of him an image pain- ted, reuerfed, with his heeles vpward, with his name, wondering, crieng, and blowing out on him with hornes, in the most despitesfull manner they can, in token that he is worthe to be eriled the companie of all good creatures. Then Flaie deliuered to the earle a little schedule written with the kings secreta- ries hand vnsigned, as followeth.

The tenor of the said schedule.

**A**S to the causes alledged of our comming into England against our band and promise (as is alled- ged) thereto we answere; our bro- ther was bound as farre to vs, as we to him. And when we sware last before his ambassador, in presence of our counsell; we expressed especiallie in an othe, that we would keepe to our brother, if our brother kept to vs, and not else. We sweare our brother brake first vnto vs. And since his breach we haue required diuers times him to amend; & latelie we warned our brother, as he did not vs, yet he brake. And this we take for our quarrell, and with Gods grace shall defend the same at your affixed time, which with Gods grace we shall abide.

The Scottish king's letter to the earle of Surrie.

And forsomuch as the king kept Kouge Crosse with him, who was not yet returned, the same earle caused the same Flaie to be in the keeping of Sir Humfrie Little and Porke herald in the same vil- lage; untill the time that a seruant of the same Flaie might ride in all hast to the king of Scots, for the deliuering of the said Kouge Crosse. Then the earle iolous of the kings answer, returned to his campe, and set forward five miles, to a place called Woller Hangh, in such order of battell, as euen then he should haue fought, and there lodged for that night, three little miles from the king of Scots. And be- twene the king & him was a goodlie & large comen field called Spilfield, which was a conuenient & faire

ground for two hostes to fight on: there either host might perceiue other. The earles desire was to pro- cure the Scots to descend the hill into some euen ground, where he might fight with them without dis- aduantage of place.

But the king, though he had a great desire to fight, yet vpon diuerse considerations, by aduise of his counsell he still kept his ground, and meant not to remoue at all out of his strength. Wherevpon the earle of Surrie not able long to continue in such grounds of disadvantage, by reason of mires, and marishes, amongst the which he lodged with his ar- mie that was almost famished for lacke of sufficient vittels, which could not be recovered in such a barren countrie, determined to seke all waies possible, if he might constrain the Scottish king to come downe beside the hill. He therefore raised his campe, and leauing his enimies on the left hand, and passing ou- er the water of Till, he drey into a more com- dious ground, at the end of Barmoze wood; to the end he might refresh his souldiers somewhat hereby after they had bene toiled for the space of thre daies together in cloggie mires, and foule filthie waies, to their disease and wearinesse.

The earle of Surrie being thus lodged, the wa- ter of Till ran betwixt the two campos of Scots and Englishmen, diuiding them in sunder: and still by reason the one was within the shot of a culuering of the other, they ceased not to bestow shot and pou- der either at other, though without doing anie great hurt at all. For the English campe on that part which late toward the Scots, was couered with an hill rising from the hither banke of Till water, with an easie steepenesse to the height of a miles space or thereabouts. Thomas lord Howard sonne and heire to the earle of Surrie, from the top of this hill beholding all the countre on euerie side about him, declared to his father, that if he did effoons remoue his campe, and passe the water of Till againe in some place a little aboue, and by fetching a small com- passe come & shew himselfe on the backe halfe of his enimies, the Scottish king should either be enforced to come downe forth of his strength and giue battell, or else be stoped from receiuing vittels or anie other thing out of Scotland.

The earle of Surrie desirous of nothing so much as to ioine with the Scots in battell; after he vnder- stood that his sonne had informed him nothing but truth, he raised his field: and marching a thre miles vpwrd by the riuer side, passed ouer his armie in two parts at two seuerall brydges, all at one time. King James when he saw this manner of his eni- mies, and perceiuing what their meaning was, by coniecture of their doings, thought it stood not with his hono: to sit still, and suffer himselfe to be forestal- led with of his owne realme: and againe, that it might soe diminish the opinion of his princelie pow- er, if he seemed to remaine as it were besieged with in a fortesse, hauing more confidence in strength of the place, than in the manhod of his people: where- vpon immediatlie he raised his campe, and got an hill, which he doubted least the enimie should haue ta- ken before him.

But by such diligence as he vfed, and by reason of the great smoke which was raised and spread ouer all the countrie, by burning of the litter and cabbins wherein the Scots had lodged, purposelie set on fire to the same intent, he was got to the place whither he intended, before the Englishmen knew for anie cer- teintie that he was dislodged, though they were as then within a mile of him. Thus king James keep- ing the tops of the hills, the earle of Surrie with the English armie came to the foot of the same hills, and staing there a while, for so much as he saw how the hill

The earle of Surrie re- moueth his campe ouer the water of Till.

The lord How- ard taketh view of the Scottish ar- mie.

The earle of Surrie retur- neth againe ouer the wa- ter of Till.

The baliane  
determination  
of the earle to  
incounter the  
Scots.

hill to the which the Scots were gotten, was neither  
stepe nor hard to ascend, he determined to mount  
the same, and to fight with the Scottish host per they  
should haue leasure to fortifie their campe.

Herewith calling his people together, he made  
vnto them a bræfe oration, declaring vnto them  
both what necessitie there was for them to thew their  
manhood, and what iust causes they had also to fight  
against those enemies, that against both the laies of  
God and man had most cruellie inuaded the reime  
of England, in the quarrell of a schismaticke, and one  
that was accursed and excommunicated by the cen-  
sures of the church. The Englishmen kindled with  
desire to fight, the more thorough those words of the  
earle, required incontinentlie to be led forth against  
the Scots, that they might shew what earnest wills  
they had to be reuenged; not onelie of new receiued  
wounds, but also of ancient iniuries; for there should  
neither height of hill, nor ante other obstacle hinder  
them, but they would either returne victorie, or  
else lose their liues in the paine.

The ordering  
of the Eng-  
lish armie.

The earle of Surrie conceiued no small hope  
of victorie in this chearefull readinesse of his soldi-  
ers, and thereupon with all speed (as the occasion then  
moued him at that instant) diuided his armie into  
three battels, or rather sours: vnto the vant-gard  
whereof, the lord Howard was capteine, his brother  
sir Edmund Howard was ioined as a wing; the  
earle himselfe led the mible-ward, and the rere-ward  
was guided by sir Edward Stanleie, afterwards  
created lord Mounteagle. The lord Dacres with a  
number of horsemen was set apart by himselfe to  
succor where need should seme to appeare. The ordi-  
nance was placed in the front of these battels, & in  
places betwene, as was thought expedient. In this  
order, forward they made with manlie courages to-  
wards the Scots a good marching pace.

The Scottish  
kings thought  
at the view of  
the English  
armie.

In the meane time, king James beholding all  
the demeanour of the Englishmen, from the height of  
the hill, thought with himselfe, that there was offered  
him that daie a goodlie occasion of victorie, if he  
might come to fight with the enemies at such aduan-  
tage of place and number. And therfore, being hast-  
ned forward through the strenable force of destinie,  
or rather Gods ordinance, he commanded his stan-  
dards to be raised and sped, and euerie man to resort  
to his appointed place, that they might forthwith in-  
counter the enemies, that presumed thus to seke bat-  
tell. And herewith turning him to the lords and cap-  
teins that stood about him, he spake vnto them ma-  
nie comfortabie words touching the occasion offered  
them at that present, to gaine both a famous victo-  
rie, and to reuenge so manifold iniuries and displea-  
sures, as they had susteined diuerse waies forth at  
the Englishmens hands.

King James  
and all the rest  
alight from  
horsebacke.

He had scarce made an end of his tale, but the sol-  
diers with great noise and clamor cried; forward,  
vpon them; shaking their weapons in signe of an  
earnest desire they had (as then they shewed) to bu-  
kile with the Englishmen. Whereupon, without de-  
laie, king James putting his horse from him, all o-  
ther as well nobles as meane men did the like, that  
the danger being equall, as well to the greatest as  
to the meaneest, and all hope of succour taken awaie,  
which was to be looked for by sight, they might be the  
more willing to shew their manhood, with their safe-  
gard onelie rested in the edges and points of their  
weapons. Then was the whole armie diuided into  
fue wards or regiments, to this intent, that the bat-  
tell therein the king himselfe stood with his standard,  
might be inclosed as it were with two wings, on ei-  
ther side one. In the right wing, the earles of Hunt-  
leic, Crawford, and Montrose, were placed as chiefe  
leaders thereof; and in the left, were the earles of

The order of  
the Scottish  
host.

Lenor, and Argile, with the lord Hume, lord cham-  
berleine of Scotland, being men of great skill in  
warlike affaires, as was reported.

Moreover, in euerie band (almost generallye thro-  
roughout) there was a knight appointed for capteine  
and guider, and amongst them certaine French cap-  
teins, the which king Lewes had sent ouer into Scot-  
land latelie before, to traine the Scots in the practise  
of warres. The ordinance was lodged in places most  
conuenient; though by reason they marched downe  
the hill, their shot did small damage to the English  
men comming bytowards towards them, and yet they  
bestowed it freshlie on either side one vpon another.  
Herewith sir Edmund Howard with his wing was  
got by on the hill side, with whome the lord Hume  
and the two foresaid earles of Lenor and Argile in-  
countered with such violence, that this battell of  
Scots with yeares on foot on that part, beat downe  
and broke that wing of the Englishmen, in such wise  
that sir Edmund Howard was in maner left alone,  
and felled to the earth, that (had not bassard Heron  
come to his succours at that instant) he had bene  
slaine there without all remedie.

On the other part, the lord Dacres watching to  
aid where need appeared, came in on the sides of the  
Scots, & gaue a charge on them with his horsemen,  
whereby sir Edmund Howard being some what relie-  
ued, escaped to the English vant-gard, which was led  
(as before is mentioned) by his brother, lord How-  
ard, who being now also got aloft on the hill, pressed  
still forward to renew the battell, & to succour those  
whome he saw put to the worse, so that thereby they  
toke new courages, & laid about them againe. Here-  
with the earles of Crawford & Montrose came with  
their battell of speares also on foot, and incounting  
with the said lord Howard, after soe fight on both  
sides continued, with more malicious hatred than  
force of the parties, both the said earles were slaine,  
besides a great number of other; the whole battell  
which they led being put to flight and chased out of  
the field, maimed, wounded, and slaine. And though  
they did what they could to the bittermost resistance,  
in hope to haue bathed their blades in English blood;  
yet the contrarie came to passe, as in soyles is left  
recozded, to the honour of the English; namelie:

*Sustinet infictos duris umbonibus ictum,*

*Inbuat ex gladiis manante cruore Britannia.*

On the left hand at the same instant, sir Edward  
Stanleie hauing begun to incounter with the Scots  
on that side, forced them to come downe into a more  
euery ground; and brought to that point with such in-  
cessant shot of arrowes as his archers bestowed a-  
mongst them, that to auoid the danger of that force  
and sharpe storme, the Scots were constrained to  
breake their arrate, & to fight not closed together in  
order of battell, but insunder one separated from an-  
other, so that their standards began to thinke here  
and there. Which thing when sir Edward Stanleie  
perceiued, forthwith byrning about three bands;  
which he had kept in store for such like purpose; he in-  
uaded the open sides of his enemies by a fresh onfet,  
and put them in such disorder, that they were not able  
ante longer to abide the violence of the Englishmen  
mightilie pressing vpon them: so that taking them-  
selues to flight, and running headlong downe the  
stepe descent of the mountaine, they escaped to the  
woods and there saued themselves. But the earles of  
Argile and Lenor, doing what they could to save  
their people from running awaie, were slaine in the  
same place.

In the meane time, the king, who a little before had  
ioined with the earle of Surrie, perceiuing that the  
wings of his battell were distressed, and that his e-  
nemies began to inclose him on eith side, he bathed  
nothing

An. Dom. 1547.

An. Re.  
The Scottish  
kings magna-  
nimitie.

French cap-  
teins in the  
Scottish host.

soe fight.

The battell  
is begun, and  
sir Edmund  
Howard in-  
countered with  
the earles of  
Lenor and  
Argile.

The king  
beeth him-  
selfe right ba-  
ttell.

Thus hath  
Iouins, al-  
though Hall  
saith, that the  
lord Dacres  
did still all  
day vntill  
ten mil.

The stout  
courage of king  
James.

The Scots  
put to the  
worse in the  
right wing.

to slaine.

Two battels  
of Scots  
might not,  
but gaue the  
winning on.

Paul Iouins.  
Edw. Hall.

The left  
wing of the  
Scots is  
confused.

When con-  
fusions call  
men soldiers  
to fly.

An. Dom. 1513.  
d cham-  
d skill in

illie tho-  
apeine  
nch cap-  
to Scot-  
practise  
es most  
downe  
Englith  
yet they  
in other.  
The battell  
was begun,  
and sir Edmund  
Howard in-  
countred with  
the earles of  
Lenox and  
Argile.  
uch wise  
st alone,  
d Heron  
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An. Reg. 5.

French capt-  
ains in the  
Scotch host.

Close fight

The king  
Edward him-  
self right be-  
hind.

The Scots  
put to the  
woorde in  
right wing.

Two battels  
of Scots  
fought not,  
but gave the  
looking on.

Two battels  
of Scots  
fought not,  
but gave the  
looking on.

The king  
Edward him-  
self right be-  
hind.

nothing at the matter, but with assured countenance  
exhorted those that were about him to sticke to him,  
and to remember their worthie ancestors, in commit-  
ting nothing that might anie waies forth sound to  
their reproch. And herewith rushing against his en-  
mies, a new battell moze egre than the first began to  
arise; for that battell being well appointed and armed  
passed little for the Englishmens arrowes, in so much  
that percing the earles battell, they entred well nere  
so farre within the same, that they were at point to  
haue ouerthrowne his standards.

There were on either part a number of fall men  
of bodie, chosen forth of purpose by the captaine, for  
the good opinion conceiued of their hardie valiance,  
the battell betwixt them seemed long time doubt-  
full and variable, now one while fauourable to the  
one part, and an other while to the other. The king  
himselfe on foot euen in the foremost ranke, fought  
right ballantie, encouraging his people, as well by  
example as exhortation, to do their deuoirs. Per-  
ther did the earle of Surrie for his part faile in the  
dutie of a right worthie generall. But while the bat-  
tell was thus foughten in most earnest wauer about  
the standards with doubtfull chance of victorie, the  
lord Howard and sir Edward Stanleie hauing ban-  
quished the enemies in either wing, returned to the  
middle-ward, and finding them there thus occupied,  
they set on, in two parts severallie, with great vio-  
lence.

At the same time, the lord Dacres came with his  
hoyemen upon the backs of the Scots; so that they  
being thus assailed behind and before, and on either  
side, were constrained (as mistrusted about) to fight  
in a round compasse. King James as he beheld sir A-  
dam Forman his standard-bearer beaten downe,  
thought suerlie then, there was no waie for him but  
death, and that euen out of hand. Wherefore to deli-  
uer himselfe from such despitefull reproch, as was  
like to follow, he rushed forth into the thickest prease  
of his enemies; and there fighting in most desperat  
wise, was beaten downe and slaine. And a little be-  
side him, there died with like obstinate wilfulnesse,  
or (if ye list so to terme it) manhood, diuerse honorable  
prelats, as the archbishop of saint Andrews, and two  
other bishops, besides foure abbats; also of lords and  
knights of honoz a six and thirtie.

The lord Hume and the earle of Huntleie got  
hoyles, and escaped awaie together with certaine  
bands, placed in two the hindermost wards, which of  
all that daie neuer came to handstrokes, but stood still  
and gaue the looking on. Thus thorough the pover  
of God, on fridaie being the ninth of September, in  
the yeare 1513 was James the fourth of that name,  
king of Scots, slaine at Bannockton, and his armie  
discomfited by the earle of Surrie, lieutenant to  
Henrie the eight king of England, which a little be-  
fore had woone the towne of Teruine, and was then  
preparing to go to besiege Cornate. There were  
slaine in this battell on the Scottish part, of all sorts,  
the number of eight thousand persons at the least:  
some saie twelue thousand, besides prisoners that  
were taken, as sir William Scot, chancelor to the  
said king, and sir John Forman his sergeant porter,  
with diuerse others. Also in manner, all the Scottish  
enignes were taken, and a two and twentie peeces  
of great ordnance, amongst the which were seauen  
culuerings of a large assise, and verie faire peeces.  
King James named them (for that they were in ma-  
king one verie like to an other) the seauen sisters.  
This conflict with egernesse on both sides was con-  
tinued thre full houres, as *Anglorum praelia* saith:  
*Iam tres integras pugnatum est communis horae.*

Though the victorie thus remained with the Eng-  
lishmen, yet they bought it dere, losing no small

number of their people, as well of those that were  
slaine in the field, as of others that were taken pris-  
oners; for the Scots fought verie stoutlie, and gaue it  
not ouer for a little, inso much that there were taken  
and slaine about fiftene hundred men, as appeared  
by the booke of wages, when the soldiers were paid.  
Manie Englishmen that followed ouer rashlie in  
the chase of the Scots, went so farre, that they wist  
not which waie to returne, and so were taken of the  
Scots that were in the two battels that went awaie  
with cleare hands, and neuer fought. Also, diuerse  
were taken by the lord chamberleine, which fought  
with the wing of sir Edmund Howard, and were ca-  
ried awaie by him and his companie into Scotland,  
as John Fittoun esquier, and others. During the  
time of the fight, and the night after, manie English-  
men lost their hoyles, and such stoffe as they left in  
their tents and pavillions, by the robbers of Tindale  
and Tuidale.

When the field was done, and that the skouts  
brought word that there was no moze appearance of  
the Scots, but that they were all auoided and gone,  
the earle gaue thanks to God, and called to him cer-  
taine lords and gentlemen, and them made knights;  
as sir Edmund Howard his sonne, the lord Scrope,  
sir William Perrie, sir Edward Gorge, and diuerse  
others. The earle and the lord admerall departed to  
Bermar wood, & there lodged that night, leauing sir  
Philip Thorne knight and diuerse other worthie cap-  
teins, with a conuenient power of men, to keepe the  
place where the field had bene fought, for safegard of  
the ordinance. The bodie of the king of Scots was  
not found untill the next daie, and then being found  
and knote by the lord Dacres, there appeared in  
the same diuerse deadlie wounds, and speciallie, one  
with an arrow, and an other with a bill. But some  
saie he died of two, both which were inflicted upon  
him to his deadlie bane (and well worthie for truce-  
breaking) by the sword; as *Anglorum praelia* reporteth:  
*Vulneribus Scotus acceptis cadit ense duobus,*  
*Perfidia meritis fusi dans sanguine penas.*

The same daie, there appeared some Scots on a  
hill, but one William Blackenall that had the cheefe  
rule of the ordinance, caused such a peale to be shot off  
at them, that the Scots fled; or else the lord admerall,  
which was come to view the field, had bene in great  
danger; as was supposed. But now that the Scots  
were fled, and withydwone, all the ordinance was  
brought in safetie to Cistill, and there remained for a  
time. After that the earle of Surrie had taken order  
in all things, and set the forth parts in good quiet, he  
returned to the queene with the dead bodie of the  
Scottish king cered. When the king was returned  
into England from his conquest made in France of  
the cities of Teruine and Cornate, he forgot not  
the good seruice of those that had bene with the earle  
of Surrie at the battell at Bannockton: wherefore he  
wrote to them his louing letters, with such thanks  
and fauourable words, that euerie man thought him-  
selfe well rewarded.

On the daie of the Purification of our ladie, at  
Lambeth, the king created the earle of Surrie duke  
of Roxfolke, with an augmentation of the armes  
of Scotland, and sir Charles Brandon vicount Lis-  
le he created duke of Suffolke, and the lord How-  
ard high admerall he created earle of Worcester:  
and after this, he also made sir Edward Stanleie (for  
his good seruice shewed at Bannockton) lord  
gounteaigle: and in March following was master  
Thomas Wolle the kings almoner, consecrated bi-  
shop of Exeter. This man was bozne at Ipswich, wolle des-  
crib'd, and was a good philosopher, verie eloquent and full of  
wit; but passinglie ambitious, as by his doings it  
well appeared. In the time of king Henrie the sea-  
venth

Edw. Hall.  
The English  
mens ouer rash  
hardnesse  
turnes them  
to hurt.

The bodie of  
king James  
found hauing  
diuerse dead-  
lie wounds.

Scots fle at  
the peale of  
guns.

The kings  
thankfulness  
signified to  
his good ser-  
uices in war.

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nenth it was agreed betwixt the said king and Philip king of Castile that Charles king Philips eldest son should marrie the ladie Marie, daughter to the said king Henrie, with a dowry to be appointed: but for want of sufficient assurance of the dowry, the rest of covenants were made void, and yet had the king byghtie provided for the sending of hir ouer, now after his coming from Tournay.

Incloures of the fields about London, cast downe & ouerthrowne.

This yere the citizens of London, finding themselves greued with the inclosures of the common fields about Hylington, Horton, Shoriditch, and other places nere to the citie, whereby they could not be suffered to exercise their bowes, nor other pastimes in those fields, as before time they had bene accustomed, assembled themselves on a morning, and went with spades and shouels into the same fields, and there (like diligent workemen) so besetted themselves, that within a short space, all the hedges about those townes were cast downe, and the ditches filled. The kings councell comming to the graie friers, to vnderstand what was meant by this doing, were so answered by the mayo: and councell of the citie, that the matter was dissembled: and so when the workemen had done their worke, they came home in quiet maner, and the fields were neuer after hedged.

Anno Reg. 6.  
Abr. Fl. ex I.S.  
pag. 902.

George Donor for this yere Mayo: of London, of his goodlie disposition reedified the decayed steeple of the parish church of Walthamstow, in the countie of Essex, adding thereunto a side Ale, with a chappell, where he lieth buried. And on the northside of the churchyard there, he founded a faire large almshouse for an almshouse priest or schoolmaster, and thirtene poore almes folke, eight men, and five women, appointing to the said almes priest or schoolmaster for his yearelie wages, six pounds thirtene shillings four pence; and to euerie one of the said almes folke seven pence a weeke, and five pounds to be bestowed yearelie amongst them in coles. And ordeined that the said almes priest should on sundaies and festiual daies, be helping and assistant to the vicar or curat there in celebration of diuine seruice, & on the weeke daies frelie to applie and teach yong children of the said parish, to the number of thirtie, in a scholehouse by him there builded for that purpose. Moreover, he gaue to the parish cleark there for the time being, a yearelie stipend of twentie six shillings eight pence, for ever, and a chamber by the said almes house, to the intent he should helpe the said schoolmaster to teach the said children. And hath giuen faire lands and tenements in the citie of London, for the perpetual maintenance of the premises to Gods glorie for ever. He also for the great commoditie of travellers on foot, made a continuall canlie of timber ouer the marshes from Walthamstow to Lockesbridge towards London.

Edw. Hall in Hen. 8. fol. 46.  
The king and the new duke of Suffolke defenders at the tilt against all commers.

In the moneth of Maie, the king and the new duke of Suffolke were defenders at the tilt against all commers. The king was in a scolaparie mantle, an hat of cloth of siluer, and like a white hermit, and the duke apparelled like a blacke hermit, all of blacke velvet, both their berds were of damaske siluer: and when they had ridden about the tilt, & shewed themselves to the quene, then they threw off their apparell, and sent it to the ladies for a largesse. Then was the king in blacke, and the duke in white, with blacke stauens, on the stauens was written with white letters, Who can hold that will away: this posie was indged to be made for the duke of Suffolke, and the duchesse of Sanoie. At these tiltes were the duke of Longuile, & the lord Cleremont, and there the king & duke did so valiantlie, that they obtained the prise. At these tiltes were broken an hundred and fourtene speares in a short space. The king at this season sent againe into Flanders, for the performance of the

marriage of the yong prince of Castile, and the faire ladie Marie his sister, and shewed how he had prepared all things necessarie and conuenient for such an high estate. The councell of Flanders answered, that they would not receiue hir that yere, with manie subtil arguments; by reason whereof, the perfect loue betwene England and the low countries was much flaked.

On the nineteenth daie of Maie was receiued into London a cap of maintenance & a sword, sent from pope Iulie, with a great compantie of nobles and gentlemen, which was presented to the king on the Sunday then next ensuing, with great solemnitie in the cathedrall church of saint Paule. Touching this pope (saith Guicciardine) disappointed of so manie popes, we may laie him in comparison with that which is written by the poets of Anteus, that being famed by the forces of Hercules, as often as he was throlone to the ground, so often did appeare in him a greater strength and courage; such waning had the pope amidst his aduersities, for when he seemed most abused and oppressed, it was then that he did most lift by him selfe with a spirit more constant and resolute, promising better of his fortune than euer.

After he had plaied all his troublesome pageants, and had got by sundrie aspiring praides I wot not what perelless primasie, he fell sicke. And happlie he was then more full of high conceits and travelling thoughts than at anie time before: for notwithstanding he had brought his fortune to be equal with his desires, & obtained the thing he aspired vnto, yet his deuises and plots did nothing diminish, but grew increasing by the same meane which should haue satisfied them. He had determined in the beginning of the spring and first opening of the yere, to send to the enterprize of Ferrara which he so much desired, and his opinion was, that that state was able to make no resistance, both for that it was naked of all succours; and because the Spanishe armie was to ioin with his companies: he had secretlie bought of Cesar for the price of thirtie thousand duckets, the citie of Sienna for the behoofe of the duke of Arbin, to whome (except Desera) he would neuer giue anie thing of the estate ecclesiastike, to the end to referue to himselfe the whole glorie to haue simple and one lie studied for the exaltation of the church. He agreed to lend to Cesar fortie thousand duckets, receiuing Spodona in gage. He threatened them of Lincouie, who in the heat of the affaires of the duke of Ferrara, were become lords of Caragnana; making in France that they would deliver it to him.

He was out of conceit with the cardinal of Medici, for that he thought him to cleaue more to the king catholike, than to him. And because he knew he was not able to dispose of the citie of Florence as he thought, he studied alreadie new plots, and new practises to alter that estate: He was ill contented with the cardinal of Sion, from whome he toke the name of legat; and intoided him to come to Rome, for that in the duchie of Milan he had appropriated to himselfe a yearelie rent of more than thirtie thousand duckets, of the estates and goods of diuers persons. The better to assure the duke of Arbin of Sienna by intelligences of his neighbours, he had of new taken into his pate Charles Bailion, to chafe out of Verona John Paule, who by amitie was verie nere ioined to the sonnes of Pandolfe Petrucchio successors to the greatnesse of their father. He would of new create duke of Genes, Dauian Fregosa, deposing Janus from that dignitie: an action whereunto did consent the others of the house of Fregosa, because for the degre that his ancestors held in that state, it seemed best to appertene vnto him.

A cap of maintenance sent to the king from the pope.

Abr. Fl. ex Guicciardine Pope Iulie compared to Anteus.

Guicciardine The purposes of pope Iulie the second his death.

The pope a real countess

The king of England imbolded Christ by him by the pope.

Against climbing to the pope dome by him.

Whome Frederick the popes daughter by request.

The description of pope Iulie, and his properties.

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## Henrie the eight.

An. Dom. 1513.

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An. Reg. 5.

He studied continually either how he might  
take out of Italie the Spanishe armie, or cut it in  
pieces by the aid of the Swizzers, whom above all  
others he exalted and embraced. In this deuise he  
had this intention, that the kingdome of Naples be-  
ing occupied by him, Italie should remaine free from  
strangers; a speech that often passed out of his  
mouth: and to that end he had hindered that the  
Swizzers did not confederate with the king catho-  
like. And yet, as though it had bene in his power to  
batter all the world at one time, he continued his ac-  
customed rigour against the French king. And not-  
withstanding he had had a message from the queene,  
yet he stirred by to make warre, the king of Eng-  
land, to whom he had transferred by publike decree  
of the councell of Lateran, the name of *Christianissimo*,  
whereof there was already a bull written, and in it  
likewise was contained the pination of the digni-  
tie & name of the king of France, giving his king-  
dome to who could occupie it.

In these conceptions, no lesse strange for their  
varietie, than great for the importance they drew,  
and perhaps in other thoughts more secret and singu-  
lar (for in a mind so fierce and terrible, all sorts of  
imaginings, how great and basine so euer they be,  
are not incredible) after the continuation of his sick-  
nesse for manie daies, he declined towards death:  
and feeling the end of his mortalitie to hasten on,  
and the same to prevent the execution of his high  
thoughts, he caused to call together the consistorie,  
which albeit he could not assist in person by reason of  
his disease; yet by the authoritie of it, he caused to be  
confirmed the bull which he had published before a-  
gainst such as by simonie would clime by vnto the  
pope-dome. He declared, that the election of his suc-  
cessor appertained to the college of cardinals, and not  
to the councell: and that the cardinals schisma-  
tikes could haue no presence or communitie there, to  
whom he protested there to pardon the injuries they  
had done him, and prayed to God to forgive them the  
wrongs they had done to his church. After this he be-  
sought the college of cardinals, that in his fa-  
uor, and for his sake, they would grant to the Duke  
of Arbin his nephew, the citie of Pescara in patro-  
nage or vicarage, alledging the consideration, that  
by meane of the Duke it had bene recovered to the  
church after the death of John of Arce. In no other  
matter he expessed anie private or particular af-  
fection.

Inasmuch as Madame Felice his daughter (to-  
ning with hir the petitions of manie others) beseech-  
ing him with great importunitie, to create card-  
inal Guido de Montfalcon being hir brother by the  
mothers side, he answered roundlie, that he was not  
worthie of that degree. He made not his affections  
conformable to their desires. In that last action of  
life he shewed no parcialitie in worlde causes: his  
present debilitie could diminish nothing of his an-  
cient resolution, but expessed in all things the same  
constancie and seueritie, together with that iudge-  
ment and force of mind which he had before his sick-  
nesse: in which firme estate and disposition of spirit,  
he receiued deuoutlie the offices of the church, and the  
one and twentieth daie of February he ended his  
course of these mortall and present paines. He was  
a prince of incredible constancie and courage; but so  
full of furtie & brutish conceptions, that the reverence  
that was borne to the church, the discord of princes,  
the exhortations of times, did more to rule him from  
his crime, than either his moderation or his discreti-  
on: wothie no doubt of great glorie, if either he had  
bene a prince secular, or if that care and intention  
which he had to raise the church into temporall great-  
nesse by the meane of warre, had bene imployed

to exalt it by the meane of peace in matters spiri-  
tuall.

Heuerthelesse, he was lamented about all his  
predecessors, & no lesse esteemed of things, who having  
either lost the true consideration of things, or at least  
ignorant how to distinguish and pefe them rightlie,  
iudged it an office more due to appertaining to popes  
to increase the insidition of the see apostolike by  
armes and blood of christians, than by god example  
of holie life and due curing and correction of corrupt  
maners, to trauell for the sauing of those soules, for  
whom they glorie so much that Iesus Christ had na-  
med them his vicars in earth: and therefore it is a  
god consequent that he is a brand or rather a brand  
of the diuell, as one concludeth against him, saying:

*Impius est igitur natus eadomone papa,  
Turpibus & genys est homicida satum.*

*Antich. Christi.  
page pag. 26, 28.*

About the same time the warres yet continuing  
betwene England & France, Prior Jehan (of whom  
ye haue heard before in the fourth yeere of this kings  
reigne) great capteine of the French nanie, with his  
gallies and foists charged with great basillikes and o-  
ther artillerie, came on the borders of Souther in the  
night season, at a poze village there called Wight-  
helmston, & burnt it, taking such goods as he found.  
But when the people began to gather, by firing the  
becons, Prior Jehan sounded his trumpet, to call his  
men aboard, and by that time it was daie. When cer-  
teine archers that kept the watch folowed Prior Je-  
han to the sea, and shot so fast, that they beat the gallie  
men from the shore, and wounded manie in the foist,  
to the which Prior Jehan was constrained to waide  
and was shot in the face with an arrow, so that he  
lost one of his eyes, and was like to haue died of the  
hurt: and therefore he offered his image of war be-  
fore our ladie at Bullongne, with the English arrow  
in the face for a miracle.

*Wighthelm-  
ston in Sou-  
ther burnt.*

*Prior Jehan  
capteine of the  
French gallies  
shot into the  
eye with an  
arrow.*

The lord admerall offended with this proud part  
of the Frenchmen, in making such attempt on the  
English coasts, sent sir John Wallop to the sea  
with diuers ships, which sailing to the coasts of Nor-  
mandie, landed there, and burnt one and twentie vil-  
lages and totones, with diuerse ships in the haven of  
Trepont, Staples, and other where. Men marvelled  
greatlie at the manfull doings of sir John Wallop,  
considering he had not past an eight hundred men,  
and toke land there so often. In June sir Thomas  
Louell was sent ouer to Calis with six hundred men  
to strengthen that totone, and other the fortresses  
within the English pale, for doubt of anie sudden at-  
tempt to be made by the Frenchmen; because mon-  
sieur de Pontremis, with a mightie armie and great  
ordnance was come downe nere to Arde: howbeit  
he taried not long, but raised his campe within a  
while after his comming thither, and returned with-  
out anie more doing. The French king perceluting  
what losses he had sustained by the warres against  
England; and doubting least one euill lacke should  
fall follow in the necke of an other, determined to  
make sute for peace; and first agreeing with pope Lea,  
desired him to be a meane also for the procuring of  
some agreement betwixt him and the king of Eng-  
land.

*Sir John  
wallop in  
Normandie.*

*The French  
king procu-  
reth the pope  
to be a meane  
for peace be-  
twene king  
Henrie and  
him.*

This pope Lea, of that name the tenth, before his  
election, cardinal of Medici, bare but seauen and  
thirtie yeeres of age, which albeit was so much the  
more maruellous and wonderfull, by how much the  
election was contrarie to custome; yet the yong car-  
dinals were the principall causers of it by their in-  
bustrie, hauing long time afore secretlie agreed a-  
mongst themselves to create the first pope of their  
number. The most parts and nations of christen-  
dome reioiced much at this election, euerie one in-  
terteining an assured expectation of his vertues, as  
well

*Abr. Fl. ex  
Guic. pag. 63.  
Creation of  
pope Lea the  
tenth.*

*Chasing of  
England into  
the hands of  
the French  
by the  
pope.*

*Abr. Fl. ex  
Guic. pag. 490.  
Dope Julie  
compared to  
Antena.*

*Guic. pag. 61.*

*The purpose  
of pope John  
the second  
his death.*

*Spinnit eli-  
ang to the  
pope by the  
council.*

*The pope's  
mal content*

*Spinnit Fr-  
the pope  
the pope's  
daughter by  
request.*

*The electi-  
of pope  
John and his  
reigning.*



well by the present and gréne memoire of the baloe of his late father, as for an vniuersall reputation that went of his owne inclinations and liberalities. To this estimation was ioined a generall opinion of his continencie and life not atteinted, together with a glad some hope, that by the example of his father, he would be a furtherer of learning, and beare saue to wits disposed to studie and knowledge. So that vnto these hopes was much helping the manner of the election, being made in his person sincerelie, and without simonie or suspicion of other corruption.

Coronation  
of pope Leo  
the tenth.

The first act of this new pope was his coronation, which was represented according to the vage of his predecessors in the church of saint John de Lateran. The pompe was so great both of his familie and his court, and also of the prelates and multitudes that were there, together with the popular and vniuersall assemblies of people, that by the opinion and iudgement of men, the pride and maiestie of that action did farre surpasse all the celebrations done in Rome since the tyrannies of the Goths and sauage nations. In this same solemnitie the Consalon of the church was caried by Alfonso de Este, who hauing obtained a suspension of his censures & paines, was come to Rome, with great hope, that by the clemencie and facilitie of the pope, he should be able to compound for his affaires. The Consalon of the religion of Rhodes was borne by Julius de Medici mounted vpon a statelie courser armed at all points: by his nature he bare an inclination to the profession of armes; but by destinie he was drawen to the life ecclesiastike, in which estate he made serue as a wonderfull example of the variation of fortune.

Pope Leo a  
poore prisoner  
the verie  
same date  
twelve moneth  
of his election  
and in  
thronization.

One matter that made the memoire of that date wonderfull, was this consideration; that the person who then in so high & rare pompe was honozed with the most supreme and soveraigne dignitie of the world, was the père before, and on the verie same date miserable made prisoner. The great magnificence that appeared vpon his person, and his expenses, confirmed in the generalitie and multitude of men, the expectation that was had of him; euerie one promising that Rome should be happye vnder a pope so plentifulle inued with the vertue of liberalitie, whereof that date he had given an honorable experience, his expenses being aboue an hundred thousand duckats. But wise men desired in him a greater grauitie and moderation: they iudged that neither such a maiestie of pompe was conuenient for popes, neither did the condition of the present time require, that he should so vnproffitablely disperse the treasures that had bene gathered by his predecessour to other vles.

A marriage  
concluded.

The vessell of amitie betwene the king of England & the French being first broched by this popes letters, the French king by an herald at armes sent to the king of England, requiring of him a safe conduct for his ambassadors, which should come to intreat for a peace and attonement to be concluded betwixt them and their realmes. Upon grant obtained thereof, the French king sent a commission with the president of Rome and others, to intreat of peace and alliance betwixt both the princes. And moreover, because they understood that the marriage was broken betwene the prince of Castile and the ladie Marie, they desired that the said ladie might be ioined in marriage with the French king, offering a great dowrie and forties for the same. So much was offered, that the king moued by his counsell, and named by Wolseye the bishop of Lincolne, consented vpon condition, that if the French king died, then the should if it stood with his pleasure returne into England againe with all his dowrie and riches.

After that they were accorded vpon a full peace,

and that the French king should marrie this young ladie, the indentures were drawen, ingrossed, & sealed, and peace therevpon proclaimed the seventh daie of August; & the king in presence of the French ambassadors was sworn to keepe the same: and likewise there was an ambassage sent out of England to see the French king sweare the same. The dowrie that was assigned vnto the bride to be receiued after his husbands decesse, if she suruiued him, was named to be 32000 crownes of yearelie reuenues, & to be receiued out of certeing lands assigned for; therefore during all his naturall life. And moreover, it was further agreed & couenanted, that the French king should content and paie yearelie vnto king Henrie, during the space of five yeares, the summe of one hundred thousand crownes. By conclusion of this peace was the duke of Longueil with the other prisoners deliuered, paying their ransoms, and the said duke assied the ladie Marie in the name of his maiester king Lewes.

In September following, the said ladie was conueied to Douer by the king his brother & the queene, and on the second daie of October she was shipped, and such as were appointed to giue their attendance on her, as the duke of Suffolke, the marquisse Dorset, the bishop of Durham, the earle of Surreie, the lord de la Ware, the lord Berners, the lord Spontangle, the four brethren of the said marques, sir Spaurice Berkleie, sir John Pechie, sir William Sands, sir Thomas Wulleine, sir John Car, and manie other knights, esquiers, gentlemen and ladies. They had not sailed past a quarter of the sea, but that the wind arose and seuered the ships, diuining some of them to Calis, some into Flanders, and his ship with great difficultie was brought to Bullen not without great seopardie at the enterling of the hauen, for the maiester ran the ship hard on shoze.

But the boats were readie, and receiued the ladie out of the ship, and sir Christopher Garmith stood in the water and toke her in his armes, and so caried her to land, where the duke of Wandolme, and a cardinall, with manie other great estates receiued her with great honor. From Bullen with easie iourneis she was conueied vnto Abulle, & there entered the eighth of October [where she was receiued by the Dolphin with great honor, she was apparelled in cloth of siluer, her hoshie was trapped in goldsmiths worke be-ric richlie. After her followed 6 ladies all their palfries trapped with crimsin velvet embrodered. After them followed one chariot of cloth of tissue, the second cloth of gold, & the third crimsin velvet embrodered with the kings armes & hers, full of roses. After them followed a great number of archers, and then wagons laden with their stuffe. Great was the riches in plate, iewels, monie, apparell, and hangings that this ladie brought into France.]

On the morrow following being mondaie, and s. Denise day, the marriage was solemnized betwixt the French king and the said ladie, with all honour, joy, & roialtie, both apparelled in goldsmiths worke. When a great banquet and sumptuous feast was made, where the English ladies were honorable entertained, according to the dignitie of the persons, and to the contentment of them that had no deges of malice or misliking settled in their hearts. For vnpossible it is, that in a great multitude meeting together, though all about one matter, be it of pleasure and delight, there should not be one of a repugnant disposition, and (though not apparantie perceived) trauelling with grudge, malignant mind; as we see some apples vniuersally and other some wormeaten, albeit one bough beare them, and one tree giue them sap. On the Tuesday being the tenth daie of October, all the Englishmen, except a few that were offi-

An. Dom. 1514.

An. Reg.

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Marie sister  
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Abt. H. of  
Edw. Hall  
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ers with the said queene, were discharged, which was  
a great sorrow for them, for some had served hir long  
in hope of preferment, & some that had honest comes  
less them to serue hir, and now they were without  
service, which caused them to take thought, in so much  
some died by the waie returning, and some fell mad,  
but there was no remedie. After the English lords  
had done their commission, the French king willed  
them to take no longer paine, and so gaue to the  
god rewards; and they toke their leaue of the queene  
and returned. Then the Dolphin of France called  
lord Francis duke of Alais, and by his wife duke of  
Britaine, for the moze honour of this marriage before  
the Englishmen departed from Abouille, caused a so-  
lemne iusts to be proclaimed, which should be kept at  
Paris in the moneth of Nouember next ensuing.

Amelie, that he with his nine aids should an-  
swer all commers, being gentlemen of name and of  
armes. First to run five courses at the tilt with pe-  
ces of aduantage, & also five courses at random with  
sharpe speares, and twelue strokes with sharpe  
swords; and that done, he and his aids to fight at the  
barriers with all gentlemen of name and of armes.  
First fir foines with hand speares, and after that  
eight strokes to the most aduantage if the speare so  
long held, and after that twelue strokes with the  
sword: and if anie man be vnholsted or felled with  
fighting on foot, then his houlle and armour to be re-  
dered to the officers of armes: and euerie man of  
this chalenge must set vp his armes and name vpon  
an arch triumphant, which shalbe made at the place  
where the iusts shalbe, and further shall write to what  
point he will answer, to one or to all.

When this proclamation was reposed in Eng-  
land by the noble men that returned from the ma-  
riage: the duke of Suffolke, the marquesse Dorset,  
and his foure byetheren, the lord Clinton, fir Ed-  
ward Penell, fir Giles Capell, Thomas Cheney, and  
other sued to the king to be at the chalenge, which re-  
quest he grationlie granted. Then the lords and  
knights prepared all things necessarie for their en-  
terprise, and shipped there houlles and harnesse, and  
did so much by tourneie, that they came to Paris at  
the end of October, which were hartlie welcomed of  
the king and the Dolphin: but most of all of the  
French queene which then late at saint Denise, and  
was not yet crowned nor entered into Paris. The  
Dolphin desired the duke of Suffolke and the lord  
marquesse Dorset, to be two of his immediat aids,  
which thereto assented.

Wherefore was erected an arch of widdnesse at the  
tornels beside the street of saint Anthonie, breacie  
before the bassell, on the which were set foure targets  
of scutcheons, the one siluer, and he that let his name  
vnder that shield, to run at tilt according to the ar-  
ticles. He that put his name vnder the golden target  
should run with the sharpe speares and fight with  
sharpe swords. They that put their names to the  
blacke shield, should fight on foot with speares and  
swords for the one hand. And he that touched the sa-  
nie shield should cast a speare on foot with a target on  
his arme, and after to fight with a two hand sword.  
On this arch aboue stood the armes of the king & the  
queene, and beneath them stood the armes of the Dol-  
phin and his aids, and underneath stood the foure scut-  
cheons that you haue heard of, and vnder them all the  
armes and names of such as set their names to anie  
of the said foure scutcheons.

While all these things were preparing, the ladie  
Marie of England the first daie of Nouember, then  
being sun-dae, was with great solemnitie crowned  
queene of France in the monastrie of S. Denise,  
and the Dolphin all the season held the crowne ouer  
his head, because it was of great weight to his gre-

uance, at which coronation were the lords of Eng-  
land, all according to their degrees well intertel-  
ned. On mon-dae the first daie of Nouember, the said  
queene was receiued into the citie of Paris after the  
order that followeth. First the gard of the citie met  
with hir without saint Denise all in coats of gold-  
smiths worke, with ships gilt, and after them met hir  
all the priestes and religious, esteemed to be three thou-  
sand. The queene was in a chaire couered about (but  
not ouer hir person) in white cloth of gold; the houlles  
that went with, in cloth of gold; on hir head a coronall all  
of great pearles, hir necke and brest full of iewels.

Before hir went a gard of Almans after their  
fashion, and after them all noblemen, as the Dol-  
phin, the duke of Alanson, the duke of Bourbon, the  
duke of Wandosme, the duke of Longeville, and the  
duke of Suffolke, the marquesse Dorset, five card-  
inals, and a great number of estates; about hir person  
rode the kings gard, which were Scots. Thus was  
this queene receiued into Paris, and so conueied to  
the cathedraall church, and there offered, & from thence  
to the palace, where she offered at the holie chappell;  
and from thence she went to hir lodging for that  
night: for whome was provided a great supper, and  
the heralds cried a largesse, and had to them giuen a  
ship of siluer and gilt, and other plate, to the value of  
two hundred marks, and after supper began danc-  
ing and pastime. On the morow began the iusts, and the  
Dolphin with his aids entered the field, the apparell  
and barbs were cloth of gold, cloth of siluer, and crim-  
sin beluet hanteled together all in one sute, they  
shewed themselves before the king and queene, who  
were on a goodlie stage, and the queene stood so that all  
men might see hir, and wondered at hir beautie: but  
the king was feeble & laie on a couch for weakenesse.

When entered the counter part by a raille for com-  
bing the place. These iusts continued three daies, in  
the which were answered three hundred and five men  
of armes, and euerie man ran five courses, and with  
sharpe speares; bluerse were slain & not spoken of.  
At the random and turneie the duke of Suffolke hurt  
a gentleman, so that he was like to die. The Marques  
Dorset stroke monsieur Grue an Albanois with his  
speare, peried his headpiece, and put him in iecopar-  
die. The duke of Suffolke in the turneie ouerthrew a  
man of armes, houlle & man; and so did the lord Mar-  
quesse another, and yet the Frenchmen would in no  
wise praise them. At this turneie the Dolphin was  
hurt in the hand, so that he could not performe his  
chalenge at the barriers, and put one of his aid in his  
roume. The next daie after began the fight at the bar-  
riers. And because the Dolphin was not present, the  
duke of Suffolke and the lord Marques Dorset that  
daie began the field, and toke the barriers with  
speares in his hand abiding all commers.

The Dolphin brought a man secretlie, which in  
all the court of France was the tallest & the strong-  
est man, and he was an Alman, and put him in the  
place of an other person to haue had the duke of Suf-  
folke rebuked. The same great Alman came to the  
bars secretlie with face hid, because he would not be  
knowne, and bare his speare to the duke of Suf-  
folke with all his strength, and the duke him receiued  
and for all his strength put him by strong strokes  
from the barriers, and with the but end of the speare  
strake the Alman that he staggered: but for all that  
the Alman strake stronglie and hardlie at the duke,  
and the iudges suffered manie moze strokes to be  
foughten than were appointed; but when they saw the  
Alman reele and stagger, then they let fall the raille  
betwene them. The lord marquesse Dorset at the  
same time, even at the same barre fought with a  
gentleman of France that he lost his speare, and in  
maner withdrew. When the raille was let fall, these  
two

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The duke of  
Suffolke in-  
countreth a  
tall and strong  
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Polydor,

The ladie  
Marie after  
to S. Denis  
of France.

Edw. Hall in  
H. 8. fol. 140.

The matri-  
solemnized  
betweene the  
French king  
and the leue  
Marie sister  
to S. Henrie.

Abt. H. 8.  
Edw. Hall in  
H. 8. fol. 141.

two noble men put by their visers and toke afe, and with swords, the points and edges abated, they came to the barriers.

The duke  
foiles the  
Dinan.

The Alman fought soze with the duke, which imagined that he was a person set on for the nonce, but the duke by pure strength toke him about the necke, and pomeled him so about the head that the bloud issued out of his nose, and then they were parted, and the Alman was conuicted by the Dolphin least he should be knowne. These two noblemen of England that daie fought valiantlie diuerse feats, and the Frenchmen likewise noblie them defended. But it happened the lord Marquesse on a time to put for his aid his yongest brother called the lord Edward Greie of the age of nineteene yeare, and to him was put a gentleman of France of great stature and strength, to the intent to plucke him ouer the barres, but yet the yong lord was of such strength, power, & policie, that he so stroke his aduersarie that he disarmed him, all the face bare. Thus were these enterprises finished to the land of all parties, & the Englishmen receiued much honoz and no spot of rebuke, yet they were pitulie set at & in manie ieopardies.

The yong  
lord Greies  
prowesse.

For the declaration of this triumph, he that saw it can tell how goodlie the couriers trotted, bounded, and quicklie turned: how valiantlie the men of armes behaued themselves, and how the duke of Burbons band was apparrelled and balled in fawnie beluet, and cloth of siluer clondie, the band of the earle of saint Paule apparrelled and barded in purple beluet all to cut on purple sattin, the infant of Arragon, sonne to Frederike last king of Naples, and his band all in cloth of gold and siluer paled. This lord was but yong, but yet verie toward. The duke of Wandosme and his band in cloth of gold and pluncket beluet. The Dolphin and his aids were euerie daie new apparrelled at his cost, one daie in siluer and gold, another in crimson beluet and yellow beluet, and another daie in white beluet and greeng, some daie mixed with sattin, some daie embzodered, some daie pounced with gold, and so euerie daie in change as the workers fantasie could deuise, but the Englishmen had euer on their apparrell red crosses to be knowne for loue of their countrie.

A description  
of the poynte  
and brancie  
in apparell at  
this solemne  
tilt.

At this triumph the countie Galeas came into the place on a genet trapped in blew sadden, and he himselfe likewise apparrelled, and ran a course with a speare, which was at the head five inches on euerie side square, that is twentie inches about, and at the butt nine inches square, that is six and thirtie inches, this speare was massie timber, and yet for all that he ran cleane with it a long course and slightlie avoided it to his great honour. Also there was another gentleman called Antonie Bounarine, which came into the field all armed, and on his bodie brought in eight ten speares, that is to wit, three speares set in euerie stirrop forward, and vnder euerie thigh two speares upward, and vnder his left arme was one speare backward, and the tenth in his hand; and when he came before the queene, he let his horse run, and neuer stopped till he had taken euerie speare after another and broken it on the ground, and he neuer stopped his horse till all were broken. This gentleman was highlie praised, and so he was worshiped. When all this great triumph was done, the lords of England toke their leaue, and were highlie thanked of the king, queene, Dolphin, and all the lords, and so departed and came into England before Christmas. In Nouember the queene was deliuered of a prince which liued not long after.]

Antonie  
Bounarine  
with his ten  
speares all at  
once about  
him.

Touthing the accord of peace betwene England and France, you shall heare the report of Guiccardine, which to this place maketh passage to knowledge, as oile giueth maintenance of light to the

lampe. [At the first opening of this practice for peace, there fell out manie difficulties, for that the king of England demanded Bullongne in Picardie, with a great summe of monie: but at last all the differences fell vpon the towne of Lozmaie, the king of England struing to retaine it, and the French obiecing some difficultie: in so much as the king of England dispatched in post to the French king the bishop of Tricarco, whome he charged, without imparting in what nature of particularitie consisted the difficultie, to declare to the king from him, that in regard of so great a benefit, he should not stand vpon so manie subtle difficulties, but to consider that in a prince reason should heare more imperie than passion.

The French king, because he would neither do wrong to his crowne, nor ill content his people, the towne of Lozmaie being verie noble and tollall to the crowne of France, caused the matter to be debated in full counsell, wherein was an assistance of the principals of his court, who advised him with one voice to imbrace peace, yea vnder the condition offered. And yet in that time the king catholike did what he could to breake it, offering the king manie plots and deuises, but speciallie to minister to him all his means and fauours to conquer the duchie of Spillan. But the answer being returned into England, that the French king stood content with the resolution of Lozmaie, the peace succeeded & was concluded in the beginning of August betwene the two kings during their liues, & a yeare after their death.

In the capitulation it was expessed, that Lozmaie should remaine to the king of England, to whom the French king should paie six hundred thousand crownes, and that in such sort of distribution, that the French king should make payment of an hundred thousand frankes euerie yeare, untill the full payment was satisfied: that they should be bound to defend their estates mutuallie and reciprocally with ten thousand footmen if the warre went by land, and with six thousand onelie if the warre were made by sea: that the French king should be bound to serue the king of England in all his affaires with twelue hundred lances, and the king of England likewise to minister to his seruices with ten thousand footmen: the expenses to be defraied by either of them that should haue need of the men: both the one and the other of them named the Scotish king, the archduke, & the emperie: but Cesar and the king catholike were not named: the Switzers had a nomination, but it bare a condition, that wholoener would defend against the French king, the estate of Spillan. Venes, or Als, should be excluded out of the nomination.

This peace, which was made with a wonderfull readinesse, was confirmed by the marriage of the kings sister of England with the French king, vnder condition, that he should acknowledge to haue receiued foure hundred thousand crownes for his dowrye: the contract of handfastings were made in England, where the king catholike ambassador was not in presence, for the great hatred the king of England bare to the king his maister. And euen vpon the conclusion and resolution of this peace, came to the court of France the instrument of ratification which Cesar had made, together with his commission, and the king catholike, for conclusion of the marriage that was solicited betwene Ferdinando de Austria and the second daughter of France not yet foure yeares of age: but the practise of that marriage vanished presentlie by reason of the peace that was now established: and the French king to satisfie better the king of England, gaue order that the duke of Suffolke, capteine generall of the lance knights that were in his paie, should depart the dominions of France, in whome the honours and recompenses

The continuance  
of the capitulation  
for peace.

The French  
king married  
the ladies  
sister to the  
king of Eng-  
land.

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compenseth that the king made to him, overcame all occasions of discontentment, the bountie and liberality of the one being no greater than the affabilitie and disposition of the other.]  
In December, one Richard Hun a merchant tailor of London, that was laid in Lollards tower by commandement of the bishop of London, called Richard Fitz James, and his chancelloz doctor Hordle, was found dead, hanging by the necke in a girdle of silke within the said tower. That ye male understand the cause of his imprisonment, the beginning was this. The same Hun had a child that died in his house, being an infant; the curat claimed the bearing thereof for a mortuarie. Hun answered, that the infant had no propertie in the sheet. Whereupon, the parson assented him in the spirituall court. He taking to him counsell, sued the curat in a premunire: and when this was knowne, meanes was found, that Hun being accused of heresie, was attached, and laid in Lollards tower, where he was found dead, as ye have heard. Much adoe was made about his death, for the bishop and the chancelloz said, that he hanged himselfe.  
But manie of the tempozaillie affirmed, that he was murdered, greatlie lamenting the case: for he was well beloved, and namelie of the poore, which cried out against them that were suspected to haue made him awaie. He was a good almes-man, and greatly relieved the needie. The question of his death was so farre put forth, that upon the suspicion he should be murdered, twelve men were charged before the coroner. After they had taken view of the bodie, the same was burned in Smithfield by the bishopps appointment: notwithstanding the coroners quest indicted doctor Hordle, with one John Spalding, otherwile called Belringer, and Charles Fogge the summoner of the murdered; howbeit, upon his arraignment, through great lute and corruption of monie (as manie iudged) the kings attorneie declared doctor Hordle not to be guiltie.  
This Christmasse on Newyears night, the king, the duke of Suffolke, & two other were in mantels of cloath of siluer lined with blew velvet, the siluer was pounst in letters that the velvet might be seene thorough, the mantels had great capes like to the portingall hoods, and all their hosen, dublets, and coats were of the same fashion cut, and of the same stufte. With them were foure ladies in gowns, after the fashion of Sauoie, of blew velvet, lined with cloath of gold, the velvet all cut, and mantels like tipets knit together all of siluer, and on their heads bonets of burned gold, the foure torch-bearers were in sattin white and blew. This strange apparell pleased much euerie person, and in especiall the queene. And thus these foure lords & foure ladies came into the queenes chamber with great light of torches, and danced a great season, and then put off their visors, and were all well knowne, and then the queene hartlie thanked the kings grace for hir goodlie pastime and disposet.  
Likewise on the Twelue night, the king and the queene came into the hall of Greenwich, & suddenlie entered a tent of cloath of gold; and before the tent stood foure men of armes, armed at all points with swordes in their hands; and suddenlie with noyse of trumpets entered foure other persons all armed, and ran to the other foure, and there was a great and a fierce fight. And suddenlie came out of a place like a wood eight wildmen, all appareled in greene molle, made with leued silke, with ouglie weapons & terrible visages, and there fought with the knights eight to eight; and after long fighting, the armed knights drove the wild men out of their places, and followed the chase out of the hall: and when they were depar-

ted, the tent opened, and there came out six lords and six ladies richlie appareled, and danced a great time: when they had danced their pleasure, they entered the tent againe, which was conueried out of the hall; then the king & the queene were serued with a right sumptuous banquet.  
On the third day of Februarie, the king made a solemn iusts, and he and the marquesse Dorset would answer all comers, their apparell and barres were of blew velvet and cloath of siluer, all to cut in subtil knots, richlie embroidered, all the scrutours in white & blew silke. The counterpart, which were foure, seene in number, richlie appareled in velvet, cloath of gold, and embroidery, euerie man after his owne devise. The king was that date highlie to be praised, for he brake thre and twentie speares beside atteints and bare downe to ground a man of armes and his horse: the lord marquesse and all other did valiantlie, and had much praise, for euerie man did passing well, which is selldome seene in such a case. But the king for a suertie exceeded all other.  
On the fourth date of October, the king removed to Lambeth, and on the morow began the high court of parlement, sir Thomas Penill was then speaker. In this parlement were diuerse acts made, but in especiall two, which were much spoken of: the one was the act of apparell, and the other act for labourers: of these two acts was much communing, and much businesse arose. For the labourers would in no wise labour by the date, but all by taske & in great, and therefore much trouble fell in the countrie, and in especiall in harvest time, for then husbandmen could scarce get workemen to helpe in their harvest. This parlement continued untill Easter, in the which diuerse subsidies were granted to the king, toward his great costs and charges that he had bene at in his viage roiall to France.  
After Easter the nineteenth date of the moneth of Aprill, the king deliting to set forth yong gentlemen, called Nicholas Carew, and Francis Winton, and caused diuerse other yong gentlemen to be on the counterpart, and lent to them horse and harness to incourage all youth to seeke deeds of armes. This yeare died at Rome by poison (as was reported) the archbishop of Poike and cardinall, called doctor Benbrike, who was the kings ambassadour there: this was a wiseman and of a tollie courage. The king then gaue the said archbishop like to Thomas Wolle, then bishop of Lincolne, who at that time bare all the rule about the king, and what he said was obeyed in all places. Now when he was once archbishop, he studied daie and night how to be a cardinall, and caused the king, and the French king to write to Rome for him, and at their request he obtained his purpose, as you shall heare afterward.  
At this time was much communing, and verelie (as it appeared) it was intended, that the king in person would passe the sea to Calis, and there on the marches of the same, the French king and queene to come and see the king their brother: and for the same iournie manie coslie woorks were wrought, much rich apparell prouided, and much preparation made against the next spring: but death which is the last end of all things let this iournie. For before the next spring the French king died at the cite of Paris, the first date of Januarie, when he had bene married to the faire ladie Marie of England foure score and two daies (whom he so feruentlie loued, that he gaue himselfe ouer to behold too much hir excellent beautie bearing then but eightene yeares of age, nothing considering the proportion of his owne yeares, nor his decayed complexion; so that he fell into the rage of a feauer, which drawing to it a sudden stup, ouer came in one instant the life, that nature gaue ouer

The king and the marquesse Dorset make a challenge at iusts.

A parlement wherein sir Thomas Penill was speaker. In this parlement were diuerse acts made, but in especiall two, which were much spoken of: the one was the act of apparell, and the other act for labourers: of these two acts was much communing, and much businesse arose.

Doctor Benbrike archbishop of Poike and cardinall poisoned at Rome.

The king in person purposed to passe the sea to see the French king his brother.

Abr. Fl. ex Guic. pag. 684.

to preferue anie longer. He was a king iust & much beloued of his people, but touching his condition, neither before he was king, nor after he had the crowne he neuer found constancie nor stabilitie in either fortune.

For, rising from a small duke of Orleans with great happinesse to the crowne, and that by the death of Charles yonger than he, and two of his sonnes, he conquered with a verie great facilitie the duchie of Millan and the kingdome of Naples, and almost all the residue of the regions of Italie, being gouerned for manie yeares by his direction: he recovered with a verie great prosperitie, the state of Genes that was in rebellion: and vanquished with no lesse glorie the armie of the Venetians, being in person at both those victories. But on the other side, euen when he was in his youth and best disposition of bodie, he was then constrained by king Lewis the eleuenth to marrie his daughter that was both barren and deformed; and yet could neuer get the good will nor countenance of his father in law.

And after his death, such was the greatnesse of the loue of Bourbon, that he could neuer get the institution of the new king, being then in minority, being almost compelled to retire himselfe into Brittain: where being taken in the battell of saint Aubin, he liued two yeares in the calamitie of a prisoner. To these afflictions maie be added the siege and famine of Pauarte, the manie discomfites he had in the realme of Naples, the losse of the estate of Millan, Genes, and all the townes which he had taken from the Venetians: and lastlie the greuous warre he had in France against verie mightie enemies, his eyes beholding into what lamentable perills his realme was brought: neuertheless, before he died it seemed he had conquered all his aduersities, and fortune shewed good tokens of his reconciliation, both for that he had defended his kingdome against mightie enemies, and also established a perpetuall peace and alliance with the king of England, with whom by how much his amitie was great and assured, by so much it gaue him hope to be able to reconquer the duchie of Millan.]

The king of England being aduertised of the French kings death, caused a solemne obsequie to be kept for him in the cathedrall church of S. Paule, with a costlie hearfe: at which manie nobles were present. After this he sent a letter to comfort the queene his sister, requiring to know hir pleasure, whether she would continue still in France, or returne into England. And when he was aduertised of hir mind (which was to returne into England) the duke of Suffolke, sir Richard Wingfield deputie of Calis, and doctor West, with a goodlie band of gentlemen and yeomen, all in blacke, were sent into France, and comming to Paris, were well receiued of the new French king, Francis the first of that name [who was the next heire male of the blood roiall and of the same line of the dukes of Orleans: he was preferred to the succession of the kingdome before the daughters of the dead king by vertue and disposition of the law Salike, a law verie ancient in the realme of France, which excludeth from the roiall dignitie all women; so long as there is anie issue male of the same line,

The world had such a hope in his vertues, and such an opinion of his magnanimitie, and such a conceipt of his iudgement and wit, that euerie one confessed, that of verie long time there was none raised by to the crowne with a greater expectation. He was made the more agreeable to the fancies of men, by the consideration of his age bearing then but two and twentie yeares; his excellent stature and proportion of bodie, his great liberalitie, and generall hu-

manitie, together with the ripe knowledge he had in manie things. But speciallie he pleased greatly the nobilitie, to whom he transferred manie singular and great fauours. Unto this king Francis de Angoulême did the foresaid English nobilitie declare the effect of their commission, which was to receiue the queene Dowager, according to the contents of the marriage.]

The councill of France (by the kings appointment) assigned forth hir dowrie, and the duke of Suffolke put in officers, and then was the queene deliuered to the duke by indenture, who behaued himselfe so towards hir, that he obtained hir good will to be hir husband. It was thought, that when the king created him duke of Suffolke, he perceiued his sisters good will towards the said duke; and that he meant then to haue bestowed hir vpon him; but that a better offer came in the waie. But howsoever it was now, he won hir loue; so as by hir consent, he wrote to the king hir brother, makelie beseeching him of pardon in his request, which was humble to desire him of his good will and contentation.

The king at the first said, but after long sute, and speciallie by meane of the French queene his selfe, and other the dukes friends, it was agreed that the duke should bring hir into England vnmarrried, and at his returne to marrie hir in England: but for doubt of change he married hir secretly in Paris at the house of Clugnie, as was said. After he had receiued hir with hir dower appointed, & all hir apparell, iewels, and household stuffe deliuered, they toke leave of the new French king, and so passing thorough France, came to Calis; where she was honorable interteined, and after openlie married with great honour vnto the said duke of Suffolke. Doctor West (as then nominated bishop of Elie) remained behind at Paris, to go thorough with the full conclusion of a new league betwixt the king of England, and the new French king.

The court lieng at Grénewich, the king and the queene, accompanied with manie lords and ladies, rood to the high ground of Shoters hill to take the open aire; and as they passed by the waie, they espied a companie of tall yeomen, clothed all in greene with greene hoods, and bowes and arrowes, to the number of two hundred. Then one of them, which called himselfe Robin hode, came to the king, desiring him to see his men shot; and the king was content. When he whistled, and all the two hundred archers shot and lofed at once; and then he whistled againe, and they likewise shot againe; their arrowes whistled by craft of the head, so that the noise was strange and great, and much pleased the king, the queene, and all the companie. All these archers were of the kings gard, and had thus apparelled themselves to make solace to the king.

Then Robin hode desired the king and queene to come into the greene wood, and to see how the outlawes liued. The king demanded of the queene a hir ladies, if they durst aduenture to go into the wood with so manie outlawes. When the queene said, that if it pleased him she was content. When the hornes blew, till they came to the wood vnder Shoters hill, & there was an arbor made of boughes with a hall, and a great chamber; and an inner chamber verie well made and covered with flowers & sweet hearbs, which the king much praised. Then said Robin hode; Sir, outlawes breakfasts is venison, and therefore you must be content with such fare as we vse. When the king and queene sat downe, and were serued with venison and wine by Robin hode and his men, to their great contentation.

Then the king departed and his companie, and Robin hode and his men them conducted; and as they were

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fortune.

The duke of  
Suffolke and  
others sent  
into France  
to bring the  
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England.  
Abr. Fl. ex  
Guic. pag. 685.  
Francis the  
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The French  
Suffolke  
Suffolke  
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France.  
Polydor.  
Edw. Hall.

Anno Reg.  
The first  
queene  
married to the  
duke of  
Suffolke.

Edw. Hall in  
Hen. 8. fol. 13.  
Robin hode  
and his men  
hundred men  
present to the  
king & queene  
in a marriage

Cardinal  
Wolfe made  
lord chan-  
cellor.

Edw. Hall in  
Hen. 8. fol. 13.

The card-  
inal was re-  
turned by the  
English gen-

These of two  
dames in a  
rich chariot  
dressed with  
their horses.

The king and  
queene no-  
bles ran their  
horses do-  
lant.

The archbi-  
shop of York  
elected card-  
inal.

Parlement  
at Westminster  
the 10th of  
May.

Cardinal  
Wolfe made  
lord chan-  
cellor.

Edw. Hall in  
Hen. 8. fol. 13.

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four horses.  
The Duke of  
Suffolke  
to Suffolke  
the good will  
of the queene  
The Dowager of  
France.  
Polydot.  
Edw. Hall.

were returning, there met with them two ladies in a rich chariot drawn with four horses, and every horse had his name on his head, and on every horse sat a lady with his name written. On the first courser called Cande, sat Humidite, or Humide. On the second courser called Spermon road lady Mer. On the third called Pheton sat lady Vegetive. On the fourth called Kimphon sat lady Pleasant. On the fifth called Lampace sat Sweet Odour. And in the chaire sat lady Haic, accompanied with lady Floza, richly apparelled, and they saluted the king with diuerse goodlie songs, and so brought him to Crænewich. At this making was a great number of people to behold it to their great solace and comfort.

The same after none, the king, the duke of Suffolke, the marquesse Dorset, and the earle of Essex, their barbes and bases of greene beluet and cleyth of gold, came into the field on great coursers, on whome waited diuerse gentlemen in silke of the same colour. On the other side entered sirtene lords and gentlemen, all apparelled richly after their deuises, and so valiantly they ran their courses appointed: after that, they ran volant one as fast as he might overtake another, which was a goodlie sight to see: and when all was done they departed, and went to a goodlie banquet. This summer the king took his progress westward, and visited his townes and castles there, and heard the complaints of his poore communitie, and ever as he roode he hunted and liberalitie departed with venison.]

This yeare in September, the king being at his manour of Oving, after his returne from his progress which he made that yeare into the west parts, the archbishop of Yorke came thither to him. Whilste he sojourned there, a letter was brought to the said archbishop from Rome, aduertising him that he was elected cardinall, which letter incontinentlie he shewed to the king, disabling himselfe in wordes, though his intent was otherwise; and so the king did incourage him, and willed him to take that dignitie upon him, and called him from thenceforth my lord cardinall. But his hat, bull, nor other ceremonies were not yet come. In Nouember, the king assembled his high court of parlement at Westmynster, wherein, diuerse acts made in the first yeare were reformed and altered, and especiallie the act of apparell, and the act of labourers, as by the booke of statutes more plainelie appereth.

At the end of this parlement, doctor Warham archbishop of Cantuarie, and as then lord chancellor, perceiving how the new lord cardinall medled further in his office of chancelorship than he could well suffer, except he should adventure the kings displeasure; for this and for other considerations gave up his office of chancelor into the kings hands, and deliuered to him the great seale, which incontinentlie was deliuered by the king vnto the lord cardinall, and so was he made lord chancellor. He was no longer in that office, but he directed forth commissions into euerie shire, for the execution of the statutes of apparell and labourers, and in all his doings shewed himselfe more loslie and presumptuous than became him. And he himselfe on a daie called a gentleman named Simon Fitz Richard, and took from him an old sack of crimsin beluet and diuerse haches, which extreme doing caused him greatlie to be hated and by his example manie cruel officers for malice euill intreated diuerse of the kings subiects, in so much that one spinning, mayor of Rochester, set a young man on the pillorie for wearing of a riuen or gathered shirt.]

In the end of Nouember, the cardinals hat was sent into England, which the gentlemen of Kent received, and brought to London with such triumph, as

though the greatest prince in Europe had bene come to visit the king [much like that of the people at Rome in the yeare 1515, when were scene in the said citie two elephants, a nature of creatures which haplie had not bene scene in Italie since the triumphs and publike plaies of the Romans. Emanuel king of Portugal sent to pope Leo the tenth a verie honorable ambassage, and withall presented him with these huge and statelie elephants, which his ships had brought by sea from India; their entring into Rome was celebrated with a verie great concourse of people, some wondering at the strange forme and stature of the beasts, some marrelling to what uses their nature inclined them, and some conjecturing the respects and purposes of such a present, their ignorance making their wonder farre greater than their reason.]

No lesse adu was there at the bringing of the cardinals hat, who on a sundae (in St. Peters church at Westmynster) received the same, with the habit, the pillar, and other such tokens of a cardinall. And now that he was thus a perfect cardinall, he looked about all estates, which purchased him great hatred and disdain on all sides. For his ambition was no lesse discernable to the eyes of the people, than the sunne in the firmament in a clere and cloudlesse summer daie; which procured against him the more hatred among the noble and popular sort; for that his base linage was both noted and knowne, in so much that his insatiable aspiring to supereminent degrees of dignitie kindled manifest contempt and detestation among such as pretended a countenance of god will and honorable dutie vnto him, though in verie deed the same parties (if frellie and without cheeke they might haue spoken their fanthe) would haue intitled him a proud popeling; as led with the like spirit of swelling ambition, wherewith the table of popes haue bene bladder like puffed and blowne vp: a diuelish and luciferian vice, in the iudgements of men abominable, and in the sight of God most damnable; as the poet in this dishon tralie witnesseth:

*Dij superi fastum, fastum mortales abhorrent,  
Hæc homini leuitus displicet atque Deo.*

Gu. Ha.

After the end of the parlement, sir Edward Poynings laboured to be discharged of the keeping of Rozaie, because he could not haue health there: and so he was discharged, and sir William Blunt lord Mountjoy was sent thither to haue that roome, and for marshall was appointed sir Sampson Boston. Immediatlie vpon their coming thither chanced a great riot, raised by the souldiers, so that to appeale them, the lord Mountjoy was put in jeopardy of his life. In conclusion, to quiet them sir Sampson Boston was banished the towne for ever, but what the matter was I haue not found rehearsed by anie writer. After that the citie was appeased, and euerie thing thought to be forgotten, diuerse of the offenders were executed, and diuerse banished the towne, some fled, and were confined both out of England and the towne.

After the parlement was ended, the king kept a solempne Christmasse at his manor of Eltham; and on the Twelue night in the hall was made a goodlie castell, wonderouslie set out; and in it certeine ladies and knights, and when the king and queene were set, in came other knights and assailed the castell, where manie a good stripe was giuen; and at the last the assailants were beaten awaie. And then issued out knights and ladies out of the castell, which ladies were rich and strangelie disguised: for all their apparell was in braids of gold, set with mooring spangles of siluer and gilt, set on crimsin sattin kose and not fastned: the mens apparell of the same sute made like Julis of Hungarie; and the ladies heads and

ticmen with  
great solemn-  
nitie.  
Guic. pag. 682.  
Two elephants  
presented to  
the pope.

The lord  
Mountjoy  
made goners  
mour of Ro-  
zaie.

A mutinie  
amongst the  
souldiers at  
Rozaie.

The king  
kept his  
Christmasse  
at Eltham.

Courtlye pas-  
time on the  
Twelue night.

bodles were after the fashyon of Amsterdam. And when the dāning was done, the banket was served in of two hundred dishes, with great plentie to euerie bodie.]

This yere the new league accorded betwixt king Henrie & the French king was openly proclaimed through the cite of London by a trumpet. Margaret queene of Scots eldest sister to the k. came this yere into England, & at Harbottell castell was deliuered of a daughter, begot by hir second husband the lord Archembald Dowlglaſſe earle of Angus. This daughter was called at the fontſtone after hir mother Margaret. The said queene after the death of hir late husband king James married the said earle of Angus, without consent of hir brother king Henrie, or other of hir friends; chādē (as some haue thought) for hir sonnes sake, doubting if she should not haue taken hir choise at home, she should haue married in some other place, and so haue bene sequestred from hir sonne, whose bringing vp appertained now chādē unto hir. But such contention rose thotlie after in Scotland amongst the lords, that both she and hir husband were glad to seeke succor in England at hir brothers hand, who was contented to releue them, assigning them the said castell of Harbottell to lie in, with apparell and all other necessities, till his further pleasure should be knowne. The eighteenth daie of februarie this yere, the ladie Marie, daughter to king Henrie the eight was bozne at Crēnewich. This was she that afterwards was queene of this realme, & married the king of Spaine. This yere also died the king of Aragon, father to the queene; for whom was kept a solemne obsequie in the cathedrall church of Paules.

As ye haue heard the last yere how the queene of Scots with hir husband was come for succor into England, and late at Harbottell in Northumberland, till the kings pleasure was to send for them; so now know you that he (like a naturall brother) sent for hir and hir husband to come to his court for their solace; for the which kindnesse the earle humble thanked the king, and promised to giue his attendance on the queene his wife to the court. Whereupon the king sent William Blacknall esquier, clerk of his spicerie with silver vessel, plate, and other things necessarie for the conuenance of hir, and sent to hir all manner of officers for hir estate contentment. Now when she was ready to depart, she asked for hir husband, but he was departed into Scotland, and left hir alone; nothing remembryng his promise. Which sudden departing much made hir to muse; howbeit, the lords of England greatly encouraged hir to kepe hir promise with the king hir brother.

Now when she was somewhat appeased, she set forward; and in enerie towne she was well received, & so on the third day of Maie she made hir entrie into London, riding on a white palfrey (which the queene of England had sent unto hir) behind sir Thomas Parre richly beset, and with a great companie of lords and ladies she rode through the cite to Watnards castell, and from thence she was conueied to Crēnewich, and there receiued iouissance of the king, the queene, the French queene hir sister, and highlie was the feasted. And when the king heard that the earle of Angus hir husband was departed, he said it was done like a Scot. This queene sometime was at the court, and sometime at Watnards castell, and so she continued in England all this yere.

The king for the honour of his sister the nineteenth and twentieth daie of Maie prepared two solemne daies of iusts: and the king himselfe, and the duke of Suffolke, the earle of Essex, and Nicholas Carew esquier, toke on them to answer all comers. The apparell of them and their horses was blacke velvet,

couered all ouer with branches of honye-suckles of fine flat gold of damaske of lose worke, euerie leafe of the branch mooring, the embroderie was verie cunning and sumptuous. On the king was attending in one sute on horsebacke, the lord marquisse Dorset, the earle of Surrie, the lord Aburgauennie, the lord Hastings, sir John Pechie, the lord Ferrers, sir William Fitz Williams, and twelue other knights. All these were in frockes of blew velvet, garded with rich cloth of gold, and their horse trappers of blew velvet fringed with gold: and on foot were fortye persons all in blew sattin garded with cloth of gold. And so they entred the field with trumpets, drummes and other minstrelle. When in came the counterpartie richly apparelled, to the number of twelue; and on that daie euerie man did well, but the king did best, and so was adiudged; and so at night they ceased, and came to supper.

The king the next daie and his companie were apparelled (horse and all) in purple velvet, set full of leaues of cloth of gold ingrailed with fine flat gold of damaske embrodered like to rose leaues, and euerie leafe fastned to other with points of damaske gold, and on all their borders were letters of gold bullion. And on the king waited five lords, fourtene knights in frockes of yelloze velvet, garded and bound with rich cloth of gold: and thirtie gentlemen were in like apparell on foot, and fortye officers in yelloze sattin edged with cloth of gold. Thus with great triumph they entred the field. Then the counterpartie entred all clothed and barbed in white sattin trauesed with cloth of gold richly. This daie was manie a great stripe giuen. The king and sir William Kingston ranne together; which sir William Kingston was a strong and a tall knight, & yet the king by strength ouerthrew him to the ground. And after that the king and his alds had performed their courses, they ranne volant at all comers, which was a pleasant sight to see. And when night approached, they all disarmed them, and went to the queenes chamber, where was a great banket for the welcome of the queene of Scots.

In this moneth of Maie were sent out of England twelue hundred masons and carpenters, and three hundred labozers to the cite of Rome; for the king and his counsell considered that the garrison that was kept there was chargeable: and therefore it was determined that there should be builded a castell to chastise the cite if they rebelled, and to minish the garrison. And therefore these workemen were sent thither, which this yere began a strong castell, and wrought still on it. In this yere, by the cardinall were all men called to accompt that had the occupying of the kings monie in the warres or elsewhere, not to euerie mans contentation: for some were found in arrearages, and some saved themselves by policie and byberie, and waxed rich, and some innocents were punished. And for a truth, he so punished perurie with open punishment, and open papers wearing, that in his time it was lesse used. He punished also lords, knights, and men of all sorts, for riots bearing and maintaining in their countries, that the poore men liued quietlie: who perceiving that he punished the rich, complained without number, and brought manie an honest man to trouble and vexation.

Now when the cardinall at the last perceived their vntreue firmnes, and seiued complaints for the most part, he then waxed wearis of hearing their causes, and ordered by the kings commission diuerse vnder courts to heare complaints by bill of poore people. The one was kept in the White hall, the other before the kings almoner doctor Stokelleie, a man that had moze learning than discretion to be a iudge, the

The birth of Margaret daughter to the queene of Scots, and of the earle of Angus afterwards married to the earle of Lenox.

Edw. Hall, The queene of Scots and the earle of Angus hir husband come into England.

1518 The birth of ladie Marie the kings daughter, afterwards queene.

Anno Reg. 8.

The king Lindeth for the queene of Scots and hir husband to his court.

The queene of Scots coming to London, and so to Crēnewich.

Where the queene in the English court at once.

The second daie of the king and others against all comers.

Edw. Hall.

Edw. Hall.

The king and his counsell considered that the garrison that was kept there was chargeable: and therefore it was determined that there should be builded a castell to chastise the cite if they rebelled, and to minish the garrison.

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The duke of Suffolke and the earle of Essex.

Edw. Hall.

The king and his counsell considered that the garrison that was kept there was chargeable: and therefore it was determined that there should be builded a castell to chastise the cite if they rebelled, and to minish the garrison.

And into it also lie in for and a great thoul of manie with tober bisho led th from A lent t the ch to sp be in king.

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third was kept in the lord treasurers chamber be-  
side the starr chamber, and the fourth at the rols at  
the after none. These courts were greatlie haunted  
for a time: but at the last the people perceived that  
much delaie was vsed in these courts, and few mat-  
ters ended, and when they were ended, they bound no  
man by the law, then euery man was werie of them  
and reioyced to the common law.

It was strange to see the cardinall (a man not skill-  
ed in the laws) sit in the seat of iudgement and pro-  
nounce the law, being aided at the first by such as (ac-  
cording to the ancient custome) did sit as associats  
with him: but he would not sticke to determine sum-  
dry causes, neither rightlie decided nor adiudged by  
order of law. And againe, such as were cleare cases,  
he would sometime prohibit the same to passe, call  
them into iudgement, frame an order in controuer-  
sies, and punish such as came with vntrue surmises  
afore the iudges, & sharpelie repproue the negligence  
of the iudges themselves, which had receiued such sur-  
mises, and not well considered of the controuer-  
sies of the parties. And such was the administration  
of the cardinall vnder a colour of iustice at the first: but  
because the same seemed at length to be but a verti-  
shadow of colour in deed, it quicklie banished awaie,  
he taking vpon him the whole rule himselfe, for that  
he saw the king made small account of anie other  
but onlie of him.

Whereby it came to passe, that manie of the pères  
and high estates of the realme withdrew them from  
the court; as first the archbishop of Canturburie, and  
the bishop of Winchester, which got them home into  
their diocesses. But yet before their departure (as  
good fathers of their countrie) they instantlie be-  
sought the king that he would not suffer anie seruant  
to erre and passe his maister: hoping that sen-  
tence out of the gospell of saint John, where our Sa-  
uiour speaking to his disciples, saith to them, Where-  
lie, verelie, I say vnto you, the seruant is not greater  
than his maister. Wherevnto the king, knowing that  
they meant this by the cardinall, made this answer,  
That he would diligentlie see, that euery seruant  
should obeye, and not command. But the cardinall  
notwithstanding (during the time of his flattering  
felicitie) held out, thinking to come to be counterman-  
ned; behauing himselfe more like a prince, than a  
prelat, so blinded was he with baine glozie, and doun-  
ken with the transitorie delights of the world: obli-  
uious to the permanent ioies of heauen, as the poet saith:

*Delicias mundi fragiles qui mente sequitur,  
perdidit aeterni certissima gaudia cali.*

After this, the duke of Suffolke departed home  
into his countrie, and last of all the duke of Suffolke  
also followed the other. For he hauing spent liberal-  
lie in his iournies when he went as ambassadoe into  
France, also in the solemnization of his marriage,  
and in housekeeping since he was married, borrowed  
great summes of monie of the king, which he hoped  
should haue bene forgiven him: but the cardinall  
would not haue it so, to the intent that the duke be-  
ing behind hand in debt, should be the more at com-  
mandement. For as wealth maketh men lottie, so  
debt want make them lowlie. In the moneth of Oc-  
tober, in this eight yeare of king Henrie, at that  
time bishop of Sion or Sittin, a cardinall commonlie cal-  
led the cardinall of the Swizes, came into England  
from the emperor Maximilian.

At the contemplation of this cardinall, the king  
lent to the emperor a great summe of monie. But  
the chiefest matter that moued the king to be so free  
to Maximilian, was because the same monie should  
be imploied on men of warre against the French  
king, towards whome the king (or rather cardinall

Wolseley) of late had conceived a grudge, as thus.  
True it is, that the king bestowed the reuenues of  
the see of Coznaie vpon the cardinall, at what time  
that see came into the kings hands: and therefore the  
cardinall being desirous to assure to himselfe the  
same, made sute to the French king, that he would  
prouide Guillard the former bishop of Coznaie of  
some other bishopricke in France, so that he might  
resigne the bishopricke of Coznaie clearelie into his  
hands. The French king, perceiuing how much this  
should make against his purpose, that vpon occa-  
sion hoped euer to recouer the possession of Coznaie,  
would not gratifie the cardinall herein.

Wherevpon the cardinall turning the kings mind  
at his pleasure, perswaded him, that the next way  
to abate the French kings puissance (which in the be-  
ginning of his reigne had recouered Milan, and grew  
euery daie in power more than other) should be  
to mainteine the emperor with monie against him,  
so as the Frenchmen should be chastised without the  
trauell of him or his people. Wherevpon was Richard  
Dale sent first into Germanie with a great summe  
of monie to wage the Swizes, which vnder the con-  
duct of the emperor Maximilian inuaded the duchie  
of Milan; but without anie great gaine returned  
from thence, leaving Milan in the Frenchmens  
hands at that time. And now for a new reliefe was  
this cardinall of Sion sent from Milan, at whose in-  
stance monie was assigned to be deliuered, and cer-  
taine Genouaies undertooke the exchange, which  
made not payment thereof at the day, although they  
had receiued it of the king.

In this yeare the king kept his Christmase at his  
manor of Greenwich, & on the Twelue night, accor-  
ding to the old custome, he and the queene came into  
the hall: and when they were set, and the queene of  
Scots also, there entered into the hall a garden arti-  
ficiall, called the garden of Esperance. This garden  
was towred at euery corner, and railed with railles  
gilt, all the bankes were set with flowers artificiall  
of silke and gold, the leaues cut of greene sattin, so  
that they seemed verie flowers. In the midst of this  
garden was a pillar of antique worke, all gold set  
with pearles and stones; and on the top of the pillar,  
which was six square, was a lower or an archem-  
bolued, crowned with gold: within which stood a bush  
of roses red and white, all of silke and gold, and a bush  
of pomegranats of like stuffe. In this garden wal-  
ked six knights, and six ladies richlie apparelled; and  
then they descended and danced manie goodlie dan-  
ces, and so ascended the garden againe, and were con-  
ueied out of the hall, and then the king was serued  
of a great banquet. After this Christmase the king ex-  
ercised himselfe much in hauking.

This yeare, and about this time, Richard For-  
bush of Winchester builded and founded Corpus  
Christi college in Oxford, and minded to haue appoin-  
ted the same for a house of monks: but Hugh Aldom  
then bishop of Excester changed his mind from  
that purpose by these meanes. This Hugh Aldom  
albeit he were not the best learned of himselfe, yet  
verie much and well affected towards learning and  
learned men; and was minded to haue enlarged Ex-  
cester college. But being denied the preferment of  
a scholer, which stood then in election for a rone, his  
good will was withdrawne from that college, and he  
would haue joined with William Smith bishop of  
Lincolne, who then was in building of Walsenrofe  
college; but it took no effect. And then being aduer-  
tised that Richard Forbush of Winchester was  
in hand to build Corpus Christi college, he did send  
his letters vnto him, and offered to ioint with him  
therein, who was verie glad thereof and well con-  
tented. Now these two bishops conferring together  
what

The cardinall  
an enemy to  
peace.

Ed. Hall in  
Hen. 8. fol. lix:  
A mouable  
garden called  
the garden of  
Esperance,  
verie colli-  
e artificiallie  
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John Hooker,  
alias Vowell.  
Corpus Chri-  
sti college in  
Oxford found-  
ed by Ri-  
chard For-  
bush of win-  
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what maner of house they should build, and to what end and purpose.

*Bishop Dildom of Exeter is bitterlie against ffor's intnd to found a college for monks.*

Bishop ffor was of the mind and determination to haue made the college for religious men. But bishop Dildom (whether it was because he fauoured not those sects of cloistered monks, or whether he foresaw anie fall towards of those sects) dissuaded bishop ffor what he could from that his purpose and opinion, and said vnto him; What my lord, shall we build houses, and prouide liuelodes for a compa-  
 10 nanie of bustling monks, whose end and fall we our selues maie lue to see? No, no, it is moze meet a great deale, that we should haue care to prouide for the increase of learning, and for such as who by their  
 11 learning shall doe good in the church and commonwealth. To this bishop ffor at length yelded, and so they proceeded in their buildings. Wherein Dildom reseruing to ffor the name of the founder, was contented with the name of a benefactor, and berie libe-  
 12 rallie did contribute great masses of monie to the same: and since (according to his wish and desire) the same college hath bene and is the nurse of manie notable god scholars.]

*Dildom giueth ffor the name of founder, & contenteth himselfe with the name of benefactor.*

About this season there grew a great hartburning and malicious grudge amongst the Englishmen of the citie of London against strangers; and namelie the artificers found themselves sore grieved, for that such numbers of strangers were permitted to resort hither with their wares, and to exercise handie crafts to the great hinderance and impouertising of the kings liege people. Besides that, they set nought by the rulers of the citie, & bare themselves too bold of the kings fauor, whereof they would insolentlie boast; upon presumption thereof, & they offered manie an in-  
 13 surious abuse to his liege people, insomuch that among other accidents which were manifest, it fortu-  
 14 ned that as a carpenter in London called William, son had bought two stockdowes in Cheape, and was about to pay for them, a Frenchman toke them out of his hand, and said they were not meate for a carpenter.

*Hall in H. 8. fol. lix.*

*The insolent saucynesse of the Frenchmen against the English.*

*The diuelish malice of the Frenchmen.*

Well said the Englishman I haue bought them and now paid for them, and therefore I will haue them. Paie said the Frenchman I will haue them for my lord the ambassadour. And so for better or worse, the Frenchman called the Englishman knave, and went awaie with the stockdowes. The strangers came to the French ambassadoz, and sur-  
 15 mised a complaint against the poze carpenter. And the ambassadoz came to the lord maior, and said so much, that the carpenter was sent to prison: and yet not contented with this, so complained to the kings counsell, that the kings commandement was laid on him. And when sir John Baker knight and other two shipfull persons sued to the ambassadoz for him, he answered by the bodie of God that the English knave should lose his life, for he said no Englishman should denie that the Frenchmen required, and other answer had they none.

There was also a Frenchman that had slaine a man, and should abiure the realme, and had a crosse in his hand. Then suddenlie came a great sort of Frenchmen about him, and one of them said to the constable that led him; Sir is this crosse the price to kill an Englishman. The constable was somewhat  
 16 affonted & answered not. Then said another Frenchman, On that price we should be banished all by the masse. This saying was noted to be spoken spiteful-  
 17 lie. Howbeit, the Frenchmen were not alonellie oppressors of the Englishmen. For a Lombard called Francis de Ward, entised a mans wife in Lombard street to come to his chamber with his busshoppes plate, which thing she did. After, when his husband knew it, he demanded his wife, but answer was

made he should not haue her: then he demanded his plate, and in like maner answer was made that he should neither haue plate nor wife. And then he had sued an action against the stranger in the Guildhall, the stranger so faced the Englishman, that he saue man for his wifes word, while he kept her from his husband in his chamber.

This abuse was much noted, so that the same and manie other oppressions done by them, increased such a malice in the Englishmens hearts, that at the last it burst out. For amongst other that sore grudge at these matters, there was a broker in London called John Lincolne, that busied himselfe so farre in the matter, that about Palme sondaie in this eight yeare of the kings reigne, he came to one doctor Henrie Standish with these wordes; Sir I vnderstand that you shall preach at the sandinarie  
 20 spittle on mondaie in Easter weeke, and so it is, that Englishmen, both merchants and other are vndone, for strangers haue moze libertie in this land than Englishmen, which is against all reason, and also against the common-weale of the realme. I beseech you therefore to declare this in your sermon, and in so doing you shall deserue great thanks of my lord maior, and of all his brethren: and herewith he offered vnto the said doctor Standish a bill, containing this matter moze at large.

But doctor Standish (wiselie considering that there might moze inconuenience rise thereof, than he would wish, if he should deale in such sort) both wiselie refused the bill, and told Lincolne plainlie, that he ment not to meddle with anie such matter in his sermon. Whereupon the said Lincolne went vnto one doctor Beale a chanon of the foresaid spittle, that was appointed to preach likewise upon the  
 30 tuesdaie in Easter weeke at the same spittle, whome he perswaded to read his said bill in the pulpit. Which bill in effect containede how miserablie the common  
 40 artificers liued, and scarce could get anie worke to find them, their wifes & children: there were such a number of artificers strangers that toke awaie all their lining in manner. And also how the English merchants could haue no utterance, for the mer-  
 45 chant strangers bying in all likes, cloth of gold, wine, oile, iron, and such other merchandize, that no man almost buieth of an Englishman.

Furthermore, they carie out so much English wool, tinne, and lead, that Englishmen who aduenture  
 50 outward can haue no lining: which things (said Lincolne) hath bene shewed to the counsell, and cannot be heard. And further (said he) the strangers com-  
 55 passe the citie round about, in Southwarke, in Westminster, Temple barre, Holboyne, saint Martins, saint Johns street, Algate, Tower hill, and saint Bartharins, and foreshall the market, so that no god thing for them cometh to the market: which is the cause that Englishmen want and starue, & they lue  
 60 abundantlie in great pleasure. Wherefore (said Lincolne) maister doctor, sith you were borne in London, and see the oppression of the strangers, and the great miserie of your owne native countrie, exhort all the citizens to ioine in one against these strangers, rau-  
 65 ueners, and destroyers of your countrie. Paister doctor hearing this, said he much lamented the case, if it were as Lincolne had declared.

Nes said Lincolne, that it is, and much moze. For the Dutchmen bying ouer iron, timber, leather, and  
 70 tweincot readie wrought; also nalles, locks, baskets, cupboards, tables, chests, girdles, with points, saddles & painted clothes, so that if it were wrought here, Englishmen might haue some worke and li-  
 75 uing by it. And besides this, they grow into such a multitude, that it is to be looked vpon: for I saw on a sondaie

*John Beale came the next day to the sandinarie spittle.*

*The great particular in Lincolnes bill for the citizens help.*

*Lincolne a great orator to strangers.*

*Lincolne a great orator to strangers.*

sondaie the poppinge assemblies are gathering to will hold pl the doctor, 3 as much as bill, and stru solons of b saieing that lie excited y lice to the d Beale should came into t was brought

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of the gre hinderan treame p that inha of the far stranger: lesse child the artifi merchan increased miserie o to begge: whetherfo dzelle mu nited to i mage gr to their v suffer t wealth; region to letter to further.

*An indiscreet preacher.*

When thereof, coitions matt Dmms, teri tert he inti lishmen. A Englishm and to thei mon-ideal brought in for their co ther vndis gainst gra light perfo strangers. uerle euill about the c rancome th Popw Grētwold Ward, who wife and h and manie with sir J

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The great  
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lundaie this Lent, six hundred strangers shooting at  
the poppingale with crossbowes, and they keepe such as-  
semblies and fraternities together, and make such a  
gathering to their common box, that euerie botcher  
will hold pte with the cite of London. Well said  
the doctor, I will do for a reformation of this matter  
as much as a prest maie do, and so recruited Lincolns  
bill, and studied for his purpose. Then Lincolne berie  
solous of his enterpryse, went from man to man,  
saieng that thozlie they should heare news, and dai-  
lie excited yong people and artificers to beare ma-  
lice to the strangers. When Easter came, and doctor  
Bele should preach the tuesday in Easter weeke, he  
came into the pulpit, and there declared, that to him  
was brought a pitifull bill, and read it in this wise.

The tenor of the bill of complaint  
which doctor Bele read in open audi-  
ence at the Spile.

**I** call you the worshipfull lords &  
maisters of this cite, that will  
take compassion ouer the poze  
people your neighbours, and also  
of the great importable hurts, losses, and  
hindrances, whereof proceedeth the ex-  
treame pouertie to all the kings subiects,  
that inhabit within this cite and suburbs  
of the same. For so it is, that the aliens &  
strangers eat the bread from the father-  
lesse childzen, and take the lining from all  
the artificers, and the intercoure from all  
merchants, whereby pouertie is so much  
increased, that euerie man bewaileth the  
miserie of other; for craftsman be brought  
to beggerie, and merchants to nardinesse.  
Wherefore the premisses considered, the re-  
dresse must be of the commons, knit and  
nited to one part. And as the hurt and da-  
mage graeueth all men, so must all men set  
to their willing power for remedie, & not to  
suffer the said aliens so highlie in their  
wealth; & the naturall bozne men of this  
region to come to confusion. Of this  
letter was more, but the doctor read no  
further.

When he had read this letter, of the chiefest part  
thereof, comprehending (as ye haue heard) much sedi-  
tious matter, he began with this sentence, *Celum cali-*  
*Domino, terram autem dedit filijs hominum,* and upon this  
text he intreated, how this land was giuen to Eng-  
lishmen. And as birds defend their nests, so ought  
Englishmen to cherish and mainteine themselves,  
and to hurt and grieue aliens for respect of their com-  
mon-wealth. And upon this text *Pugna pro patria,* he  
brought in, how by Gods law it was lawfull to fight  
for their countrie. And thus he subtilly moued or ra-  
ther vniuersitie prouoked the people to rebell  
against strangers. By this wolkly sermon, manie a  
light person toke courage, and openlie spake against  
strangers. And as vnhap would, there had bene di-  
uerse euill parts played of late by strangers, in and  
about the cite of London, which kindled the peoples  
rancour the more furiously against them.

Now as the diuell would, the sundaie after at  
Grantwich in the kings gallerie was Francis de  
Bard, who (as ye haue heard) kept an Englishmans  
wife and his goods, and yet he could haue no remedie;  
and with him were Domingo, Anthony Caweler,  
and manie more strangers, and there they talking  
with sir Thomas Palmer knight, iested and laughed

how that Francis kept the Englishmans wife, sai-  
eng that if they had the maiors wife of London they  
would keepe hir. Sir Thomas said, Sirs you haue too  
much fauour in England. There were diuerse Eng-  
lish merchants by, who heard them laugh, and were  
not content, in so much as one William Bolt a mer-  
cer said; Well you whoreson Lombards, you reioise  
and laugh, by the masse we will one daie haue a sting  
at you, come when it will. And that saieng the other  
merchants affirmed. This tale was reported about  
London, and the yong and euill disposed people said  
they would be reuenged on the merchants strangers  
as well as on the artificers strangers. On monday  
the morow after, the king removed to his manor of  
Richmond.

On the eight and twentieth daie of Aprill, diuerse  
yong men of the cite piked quarels to certeine  
strangers as they passed by the streets, some they did  
strike, some they buffeted, and some they threw into  
the kennell: wherefore the maior sent some of the Eng-  
lishmen to prison, as Stephan Studleie Kitchner,  
Bets, Stephanison, and diuerse other. Then sudden-  
lie rose a secret rumour, and no man could tell how  
it began, that on Paies daie next the cite would re-  
bell and sea all the aliens, inso much that diuerse  
strangers fled out of the cite. This bruite ran so into  
euerie mans eares, that it came to the knowledge of  
the kings counsell, whereupon the lord cardinall sent  
for the maior, and other of the counsell of the cite, gi-  
uing them to vnderstand what he had heard.

The maior, as one ignorant of the matter, told the  
cardinall that he doubted not but so to gouerne the  
cite, as peace should be obserued. The cardinall wot-  
ted him so to do; and to take good heed, that if arie  
such riotous attempt was intended, he should with  
good policie prevent it. The maior came from the car-  
dinalls house at foure of the clocke in the after none  
on Paie euen, and in all hast sent for his brethren to  
the Guildhall; yet was it almost seuen of the clocke  
yer the assemble was set. Upon conference had of  
the matter touching the rumour that was spzed a-  
broad of the rebellon against the strangers, some  
thought it necessarie that a substantiall watch should  
be set, of the honest citizens householders which might  
withstand the euill doers, if they went about arie  
miskule.

But other were of this opinion, that it was dan-  
gerous to raise men in armour, because it was hard  
to tell whome they might trust; but rather they  
thought it best that commandement should be giuen  
to euerie man through euerie ward, to shut in his  
doyes, & to keepe his seruants within. Before eight  
of the clocke the recorder was sent to the cardinall  
with these opinions; who hearing the same, allowed  
the latter for best and most sure. And then the re-  
corder and sir Thomas More (late vnderthiriffe of  
London, and now of the kings priue counsell) came  
to the Guildhall halfe an houre before nine of the  
clocke, and there shewed the pleasure of the Kings  
counsell; whereupon euerie alderman sent to his  
ward, that no man should stirre after seaden of the  
clocke out of his house, but to keepe his doyes shut,  
and his seruants within, till nine of the clocke in the  
morning.

After this commandement giuen, in the evening,  
as sir John Spundie (an alderman) came from his  
ward, and found two yong men in Cheape playing  
at the bucklers, and a great masse of yong men lo-  
king on them (for the commandement was then  
scarle knowen) he commanded them to leaue of. And  
for that one of them asked, why he would haue had  
him to the Counter. When all the yong prentises  
stept to, and resisted the alderman, taking the yong  
fellow from him, & cried; Prentises and clark. Then  
out

Note the fan-  
cie, haue  
chamelele, and  
dishonest dea-  
sting of the  
strangers in  
their lewones

Anno Reg. 9.  
Strangers  
murderous  
abused of bi-  
uerse pona-  
kers.

The cardin-  
nals advise  
to the maior  
in this hurie  
burie.

Counsell ta-  
ken by the ma-  
ior and his  
brethren  
how to pre-  
uent the hurt  
at hand.

Enill Paie  
daie, as Edw.  
Hall noteth it.



The heat of  
the humie  
burle.

out at euerie doore came clubs and weapons. The alderman fled and was in great danger. Then more people arose out of euerie quarter, and forth came seruimgmen, watermen, courtiers, and others; so that by eleven of the clocke, there were in Cheape, sir or seven hundred; and out of Pauls churchyard came three hundred, which knew not of the other. So out of all places they gathered, & brake by the counters, took out the prisoners that the maior had thither committed for hurting the strangers, and came to Pelwgate, and took out Stundele and Petit committed thither for that cause.

The raging  
madnesse of  
the mutiners.

The maior and shiriffes were present there, and made proclamation in the kings name, but nothing was obeyed. Herewith being gathered in plumpes, they ran thorough saint Nicholas shambles, and at saint Martins gate there met with them sir Thomas Poze, and others, desiring them to go to their lodgings. And as they were thus intreating, and had almost persuaded the people to depart, they within saint Martins threw out stones, bats, and hot water; so that they hurt diuerse honest persons that were there with sir Thomas Poze, persuading the rebellious persons to cease, inasmuch as at length one Nicholas Downes a sergeant of armes being there with the said sir Thomas Poze, & soze hurt amongst others, in a furie, cried; Downe with them. And then all the misruled persons ran to the 2 yies and winndowes of the houses with saint Martins, and spoiled all that they found.

Nicholas  
Downes soze  
hurt.

After that, they ran headlong into Coznehill, & there likewise spoiled diuerse houses of the French men that dwelled within the gate of master Petras house called Créne gate. This master Petras was a French boyne, and reputed to be a great bearer of Frenchmen in their occupiengs and trades, contrarie to the lawes of the citie. If the people had found him, they would surely haue striken off his head; but when they found him not, the watermen and certeine young preests that were there fell to riling, and some ran to Blanchapelson, and brake by the strangers houses, and spoiled them. Thus from ten or eleven of the clocke, these riotous people continued in their outrageous doings till about three of the clocke, at what time they began to withdraw, and went to their places of resort: and by the waie they were taken by the maior and the heads of the citie, and sent some of them to the Tower, some to Pelwgate, and some to the Counters, to the number of three hundred.

The rioters  
malicious  
purpose a-  
gainst one  
Petras.

Ande fled, and speciallie the watermen, preests, & seruimgmen, but the prentises were caught by the backs and had to prison. In the meane time, whilst the hottest of this ruffling lasted, the cardinall was aduertised thereof by sir Thomas Parre: whereupon the cardinall strengthened his house with men and ordinance. Sir Thomas Parre rode in all haste to Richmond, where the king laie, and informed him of the matter; who incontinentlie sent forth basilie to London, to understand the state of the citie, and was truelie aduertised how the riot was ceased, and manie of the misdoers apprehended. The lieutenant of the Tower sir Roger Cholmeleie (no great friend to the citie) in a frautike furie, during the time of this uprore, shot off certeine peeces of ordinance against the citie. And though they did no great harme; yet he wan much enill will for his hastie doing, because men thought he did it of malice, rather than of any discretion.

Certeine  
lords with  
their powers  
come to London  
about  
this riot.

About five of the clocke the earles of Shreshyre and Surrie, Thomas Dokerie lord of saint Johns, George Hewill lord of Aburgauennie, and others, which had heard of this riot, came to London with such strength as they could make upon that sud-

den, and so did the Juries of court. But before they came, whether with feare of the buite of their coming, or otherwise, the riotous assemblie was broken by, and manie of the misdoers taken (as ye haue heard.) Then were the prisoners examined, and the sermon of doctor Beke called to remembrance, and he taken and sent to the Tower. Herewith was a commission of oler and determiner directed to the duke of Norfolk, and to diuerse other lords, to the lord maior of London, and the aldermen, and to all the iustices of England, for punishment of this insurrection. [The citie thought the duke bare them a grudge for a lewd preest of his, which the yeare before was slain in Cheape, inasmuch that he then in his furie said; I praise God I maie once haue the citizens in my danger! And likewise the duke thought that they bare him no good will; therefore he came into the citie with thirtene hundred men in harnelle to keepe the oler and determiner.

Now upon examination it could neuer be proued of any meeting, gathering, talking, or conuenticle, at any date or time before that date; but that the chance so happened without any matter preposed of any creature saving Lincoln, and neuer an honest person in maner was taken but onelie he. Then proclamations were made, that no women should come together to babble and talke, but all men should keepe their homes in their houses. All the streets that were notable and full of harnessed men, which spake manie opprobrious words to the citizens, which grieved them sore; and if they would haue bene reuenged, the other had had the worse: for the citizens were two hundred to one, but like true subjects they suffered patientlie. Now for the due correction (according to law) of this disorder, all the iustices with all the kings counsell learned in the lawes, assembled at the house of sir John Finch lord chiefe iustice of England nere to saint Wides by Fleetstreet, to take advise, and conclude upon the order which they should follow in this matter, and first there was read the statute of the third yeare of Henrie the first, the effect whereof insuch in these words following.

### The statute made in anno tertio of Henrie the first.

**B**ecause that diuers nations comprised within the truces concluded as well by our souereigne lord the king that now is, as by his right noble father, haue bene robbed and spoiled by the kings lieges and subjects, as well on the maine seas as within the ports and coasts of England, Ireland, & Wales, by reason whereof, the truces and safe conducts haue broken and violated, to the damage, dishonour, and slander of the king, and against his dignitie, & the manslaughter, spoilers, robbers, & violaters of the same truces and safe conducts (as before is declared) haue bene recetted, procured, countelled, upholden, and maintained by diuerse of the kings liege people upon the coasts: our said souereigne lord the king by the aduise and assent abovesaid, and at the prayer of the said commons, hath ordeined and established, that all such manslaughterers, robbers, spoilers, breakers of truces, and safe conducts granted by the king, and the willfull recetters, abettors, procurers, countellers, susteiners and maintainers of such persons, hereafter in time to come, being

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anie of the lieges & subiects of this realme of England, Ireland, & Wales, are to be adiudged and determined as guiltie of high treason committed against the crowne & dignitie of the king. And further, in euerie haven and port of the sea, there shall be from hence forth made and assigned by the king, by his letters pattents, one lawfull officer named a conseruator of truces and safe conducts granted by the king, which officer shall dispend at the least ten pounds in land by yeare, &c: as in the statute moze at large is expessed.

The which statute being read and well considered of, because there was diuerse leagues of truces betwixt the king and diuerse other princes, as one betwixt him and the French king, and another betwixt him and the archduke of Burgognie, and another betwixt him & the king of Spaine (all the which truces were violated by the said insurrection) it was determined by the whole councell there assembled, that the kings sergeants and attournies should go to the lord chancellor, to haue a sight of all the said leagues and charters of truces, to the intent they might frame their indictments according to the matter. And note that iudge Fineur said, that all such as were parties to the said insurrection, were guiltie of high treason, as well those that did not commit anie robbery, as those that were principall doers therein themselves, because that the insurrection in it selfe was high treason, as a thing practised against the regall honour of our soueraign lord the king.

And the same law holdeth of an insurrection (said Fineur) made against the statute of laborers. For so (said he) it came to passe, that certeine persons within the countie of Kent began an insurrection, in disobedience of the statute of laborers, and were attainted therfore of high treason, and had iudgement to be drawne, hanged, and quartered. He shewed where and when this chanced. It was further determined by the said Fineur, and all the iustices of the land, that upon the said commission of oier and terminer in London, the iustices named in the said commission, might not arreigne the offenders, and proceed to the trial in one selfe daie, no moze than might the iustices of peace. But iustices in oier might do so, as well as the iustices of gaole deliuerie: and as the sufficiencye of the iurors within the cite to passe betwixt the king and the said traitors, the iustices determined, that he that had lands, and goods, to the value of an hundred marks, should be inabled to passe upon the said indictments. And this by the equitie of the statute of *Anno undecimo Henrici septimi*, the which will, that no man be admitted to passe in anie inquest in London in a ple of lands, or other action, in which the damages shall passe the value of fourtie shillings, except he be worth in lands or goods the value of an hundred markes.

On saturdaye the second of Apraie, in this ninth yeare, all the commissioners, with the lord maior, aldermen, and iustices, went to the Guildhall, where manie of the offenders were indicted, as well of the insurrection, as of the robberies by them committed against the truces. Whereupon they were arreigned, & pleading not guiltie, had day giuen till monday next ensuing. On which daie being the fourth of Apraie, the lord maior, the duke of Norfolk, the earle of Surrie and others came to sit in the Guildhall, to proceed in their oier and terminer as they were appointed. When the lords were set, the prisoners were brought through the streets tied in ropes, some men, and some lads of thirtene yeres of age. Among them were

diuerse not of the cite, some pylets, some husbandmen, and labourers. The whole number amounted unto two hundred thre score and eightene persons.

This daie was John Lincolne indicted as a principall procurer of this mischievous insurrection, and thereupon he was arreigned, and pleading not guiltie, had daie giuen ouer till wednesdaye, or as Hall saith till thursday next ensuing. He was charged with such matter (as before ye haue heard) concerning his late unto doctor Standish, and doctor Beke, for the reading of this bill in their sermons, and opening the matter (as before ye haue heard) all which matter with the circumstances he had confessed on fundaie the third of Apraie, unto sir Richard Cholmeie, sir John Danie, & sir Hugh Skeneington. Winters other were indicted this mondaie, and so for that time the lords departed. The next daie the duke came againe, & the erle of Surrie with 2000 armed men, which kept the streets. When the maior, the duke, the earles of Shrewesburie and Surrie were set, the prisoners were arreigned, and thirtene found guiltie, and adiudged to be hanged, drawne, and quartered. For execution whereof were set by eleuen paire of galloves in diuerse places where the offenses were done, as at Algate, at Blanchapellon, Grations streete, Leaden hall, and before euerie counter one, also at Newgate, at saint Martins, at Aldersgate, and at Bishopsgate.

Then were the prisoners that were iudged brought to those places of execution: and executed in most rigorous maner, in the presence of the lord Edmund Howard son to the duke of Norfolk, & knight marshall, who shewed no mercie, but extreme crueltie to the poore younglings in their execution: and likewise the dukes seruants spake manie opprobrious words, some bad hang, some bad draw, some bad set the cite on fire, but all was suffered. On thursdaie the twentieth of Apraie, was Lincolne, Skirwin, and two brethren called Wets, and diuerse other adiudged to die. Then Lincolne said, My lords, I meant well: for if you knewe the mischief that is insued in this realme by strangers, you would remembre it, & manie times I haue complained, and then I was called a buisse fellow: now our Lord haue mercie on me. They were laid on hardels, & drawne to the standard in Cheape, and first was John Lincolne executed. And as the other had the ropes about their neckes, there came a commandement from the king to respite the execution. When the people cried, God saue the king, and so was the oier and terminer deferred till another daie, and the prisoners sent againe to ward: the armed men departed out of London, and all things set in quiet.

On the eleuenth daie of Apraie, the king came to his manor of Greenwich, where the recorder of London and diuerse aldermen came to speake with his grace, and all wore gownes of blacke colour. And when they perceiued the king comming out of his priuite chamber into his chamber of presence, they knaeled downe, and the recorder said: Our most naturall, benigne, and soueraigne lord, we knowe well that your grace is displeased with vs of your cite of London, for the great riot late done: we ascerteine your grace, that none of vs, nor no honest person were condescending to that enormitie, and yet wee, our wiues, and children, euerie houre lament that your fauour should be taken from vs. And forsomuch as light and sole persons were the doers of the same, we most humbly beseech your grace to haue mercie of vs for our negligence, and compassion of the offenders for their offense and trespass.

Trulie said the king, you haue highlie displeased and offended vs, and you ought to waille and be sorie for the same. And where as you saie that you the sub-

The whole number of the rebellious rout.

What was laid to Lincolnes charge.

Eleuen paire of galloves erected for the executing of the rebels.

Edw. Hall in Hen. 8. fol. xij.

John Lincolne the assaithor of ill Apraie daie executed in Cheape side.

Edw. Hall in H. 8. fol. lxxii.

The recorder in the behalfe of the cite speaketh humbly to the k. touching the riot.

The kinges answer where in their sute is denied.

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stantial persons were not consenting to the same, it appeareth to the contrarie. For you neuer moved to let them, nor stirred once to fight with them, which you say were so small a number of light persons. Wherefore we must thinke, and you can not denie, that you did winke at the matter, but at this time we will grant to you neither our fauour nor good will, nor to the offenders mercie, but resort to the cardinal our lord chancellor, and he shall make you an answer, and declare our pleasure. And with this answer the Londoners departed, and made relation to the maior.

On the eighteenth day of this moneth, the quene of Scots, which had bene at the court, and at Bathnards castell, a whole yeare at the kings charge, and was richlie appointed of all things meet to hire estate, both of ieiwels, plate, tapistrie, arras, coine, hories, & all other things of the kings gift & liberalitie, departed out of London toward Scotland with great riches, albeit she came into England with great povertie, and she entered into Scotland the thirtieth date of June, whome hir husband receiued at Berwick, but the Englishmen smallie regarded him. All hir charges within the realme, comming to the court and returning, were of the kings purse.

The quene of Scots returned toward Scotland.

The king cometh to Westminster hall, and there sitteth in iudgement himselfe.

The kings gracious and generall pardon.

The blacke wagon that followed all this date.

On thursdaie the two & twentieth date of Maye, the king came into Westminster hall, for whome at the upper end was set a cloth of estate, and the place hang'd with arras. With him was the cardinal, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolke, the earles of Shrewsburie, of Essex, of Wiltshire, & Surrie, with manie lords and other of the kings counsell. The maior & aldermen, with all the chiefe of the citie were there in their best luerie (according as the cardinal had appointed them) by nine of the clocke. Then the king commanded that all the prisoners should be brought forth, so that in came the poore ponglings and old false knaues bound in ropes all along, one after another in their shirts, and euerie one a halter about his necke, to the number of foure hundred men, and eleuen women. And when all were come before the kings presence, the cardinal soze laid to the maior and communalitie their negligence, and to the prisoners he declared that they had deserued death for their offense. When all the prisoners together cried; Mercie gracious lord, mercie. Herewith the lords altogether besought his grace of mercie, at whose sute the king pardoned them all. When the cardinal gaue vnto them a good exhortation, to the great gladnesse of the hearers.

Now, when the generall pardon was pronounced, all the prisoners shouted at once, & all together cast vp their halters into the hall rose, so that the king might perceiue they were none of the discreetest sort. Here is to be noted, that diuerse offenders, which were not taken, hearing that the king was inclined to mercie, came well apparelled to Westminster, and suddenlie stripped them into their shirts with halters, and came in among the prisoners willinglie, to be partakers of the kings pardon. By which doing, it was well knowne, that one John Nelson yeoman of the crowne was the first that began to spoile, and exhorted other to do the same: and because he led and was not taken, he came in with a rope among the other prisoners, and so had his pardon. This companie was after called the blacke wagon. Then were all the gallows within the citie taken downe, and manie a good praiser said for the king, and the citizens toke more heed to their seruants. But the kings mercie ministered abundant matter of communication, euerie one (speciallie the pardoned and their allies) founding the benefit of his roial clemencie, whereby of dead men they became liuing, and had sustained the seuer sentence of law, had not mercie

remitted the fault and the punishment, which beareth the force of iudgement, as the poet trulic saith: Indignus nervus frangit miseratio clemens.

In June the king had with him diuerse ambassadors, for solace of whome he prepared a collie lutes, he himselfe & twelue more against the duke of Suffolke and other twelue. His bace and bard was the one halfe cloth of siluer, & the other halfe blacke tinsell. On the siluer was a curious lose worke of beluet imbodered with gold, cut on the siluer, and euerie cut ingrailed with gold, so that that side was gold, siluer, and beluet. On the blacke tinsell side was blacke beluet imbodered with gold, and cut, and euerie cut was ingrailed with flat gold of damaske. The bace and bard were bodered with great letters of massie gold bullion, full of pearles and stones, marvellous rich: all his companie were in like sute, sauing that they had no ieiwels. The king had on his head a ladies heue full of diamonds. On the king attended gentlemen, armourers, and other officers, to the number of an hundred and twentie five persons, all in white beluet and white sattin, hose and harnesse for horsemen, caps and hosen for footmen, all white, at the kings cost. Thus roiallie the king and his companie with his waiters came to the tilts end.

Then entered the duke of Suffolke, with the marques Dorset, the earls of Essex and Surrie, and eight other of his band, in bards and baces of white beluet and crimson sattin lousenged, set full of letters of C. M. of gold, for Charles and Marie, and they toke the other end of the tilt. Then the trumpets blew, and the king and the duke ran fiercely together, and brake manie speares, and so did all the other, that it was hard to saie who did best. But when the courses were run, they ran volent one at another, so that both by the report of sir Edward Clifford maister of the armourie, and also of the iudges and heralds, at these lutes were broken five hundred and six speares: and then the king the same night made the ambassadors a sumptuous banquet, with manie ribbels and much pastime. After this great triumph, the king appointed his ghefts for his pastime this summer; but suddenlie there came a plague of sicknesse, called the sweating sicknesse, that turned all his purpose.

This maladie was so cruell, that it killed some within three houres, some within two houres, some merrie at dinner, and dead at supper. Marie died in the kings court, the lord Clinton, the lord Grafton, the lord Clinton, and manie knights, gentlemen, and officers. For this plague Michaelmasse tearme was adiourned. And because that this maladie continued from Iulie to the midd of December, the king kept himselfe euer with a small companie, and held no solemne Christmasse, willing to haue no resort for feare of infection: but much lamented the number of his people, for in some one towne halfe the people died, and in some other towne the third part, the sweat was so feruent and infectious. By the extremitie whereof, and the multitudes with such suddennesse and present mortalitie dropping auaie: it should seme that they little remembered, or at least, wise neglected the preseruatiue remedie vied in the first great sweating sicknesse in king Henrie the seuenths time, whereby as then manie a mans life was saued, so now the like benefit (by applying of the same wholesome meanes) might haue redounded to the patients.]

In the beginning of this yeare, Trinitie tearme was begun at Orenford, where it continued but one date, and was againe adiourned to Westminster. This yeare came to Callis from pope Leo, a legat De latere, called Laurence Campeius borne in Bologna.

Solomon's dress between the king and others.

A gallant and glorious traine.

The king & the duke run personally.

The sweating sicknesse peremptorie and deadly.

Abt. Flem.

\* See before pag. 743.

1519 Anno Reg. 10.

The traine begun at Orenford and adiourned to Westminster.

logne la Campius, to the requi French his friendship shall card him in co which dare from Nor an other ci was a sut the obtain the cardin tion of his

This displeasur to Henrice peius, at the pope, that with the might ha shed, and a dinall Ca the mon received i used. A the legat his seruau but mean readie, he kept for it

At eue with proc a gentler heath, the great nu richlie ap into a rich selfe into and so tol night bef Porke; Campeit coffer's co led shazor peius, to lets passe bene full

Photo lets bzaki and ouer which fell unlocked and roast vile bagg my lord l ashamed. About th twentieth citie, and London, him with with all t res stood to whom the name Photo ued with tered the their frea dition to with all place, and

Dom. 1519

An. Reg. 10.

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Solomon's  
between  
the king and  
others.

A gallant and  
glorious story

The king's  
the duke's  
personally.

The loving  
sickness per-  
empit and  
deadly.

Ab. Fle.

So before  
pag. 763, 764.

1519  
Anno Reg. 10.  
The frame  
begin at 1519  
ford and ab-  
returned to  
Westminster.

cardinal  
campus  
from  
pope.

cardinal  
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logne la Grasse, commonlie called cardinall Cam-  
peius, to require the king of aid against the Turke.  
At the request of the king of England, and also of the  
french king (which sought now to be receiued into  
friendship with the king of England chieflie by cardinall Wolles meanes) pope Leo constituted the  
said cardinall Wolles his legat in England, joining  
him in commission with the said Campeius, the  
which said at Calis untill the bulles were brought  
from Rome touching that matter. There was also  
an other cause that said Campeius at Calis, & that  
was a sute which cardinall Wolles had moued for  
the obtaining of the bishopricke of Bath, which bene-  
fice cardinall Adrian Castilian inioied by the colla-  
tion of king Henrie the seventh.

This cardinall Adrian being fallen in the popes  
displeasure, withdrew out of the court of Rome  
to Venice: and in the meane time cardinall Cam-  
peius, at the instance of cardinall Wolles, wrote to  
the pope, that cardinall Adrian might be deuiued of  
that bishopricke, to the end that cardinall Wolles  
might haue the same. Which request was accom-  
plished, and the bulles sent vnto Calis; so that then car-  
dinall Campeius, after he had remained at Calis  
three moneths, came ouer into England, and was  
receiued with all pompe & honour that might be de-  
uised. & Inasmuch that cardinall Wolles had sent to  
the legat (whilest he laie at Calis) red cloth to cloath  
his seruants, which at their coming to Calis were  
but meanelie appareled. And when all things were  
readie, he passed the sea and landed at Dover; and so  
kept forth his iourne toward London.

At euerie towne as they passed, he was receiued  
with procession, and accompanied with all the lords  
& gentlemen of Kent. And when he came to Blache-  
heath, there met him the duke of Suffolke, with a  
great number of prelates, knights, & gentlemen, all  
richly appareled. And in the waie he was brought  
into a rich tent of cloth of gold, where he shifted him-  
self into the robe of a cardinall, edged with ermins;  
and so toke his mule riding towards London. The  
night before he came to London, the cardinall of  
Bozke, to furnish the carriages of the cardinall  
Campeius, sent to him twelue mules with emptie  
coffers couered with red: which twelue mules were  
led thorough London amongst the mules of Cam-  
peius, which were but eight; and so these twentie mu-  
lets passed thorough the streets, as though they had  
bene full of treasures, apparell, & other necessities.

Now when they came into Cheape, one of the mu-  
lets brake from his keeper, and ouerthrew the chests,  
and ouerturned two or three other mules carriages,  
which fell with such a violence, that diuerse of them  
vnbloked; & out of some fell old hosen, broken shoes,  
and roasted flesh, peeces of bread, egges, and much  
byle baggage. At which sight the boies cried; See, see  
my lord legats treasure: and so the mulesters were  
ashamed, and toke vp all their trusse and passed forth.  
About three of the clocke in the after none on the  
twentie ninth day of Iulie the said legat entered the  
cittie, and in Southwoker met him all the clergie of  
London, with crosses, censors, and copes, and censured  
him with great reuerence. The maiors and aldermen,  
with all the occupations of the cittie in their best liues  
stod in the streets, and him highlie honoured:  
to whome sir Thomas More made a brieue oration in  
the name of the cittie.

Now when he came to Paules, there he was recei-  
ued with bishops mitred, and vnder a canopie ente-  
red the church: which canopie his seruants toke for  
their fees. And when he had offered, he gaue his bene-  
diction to all the people, & toke againe his mule, & so  
with all his traine aforesaid was conueied to Bath  
place, and there rested: where he was welcommed of

cardinall of Bozke. On sundae next insuing, these  
two cardinals as legats toke their barges, & came  
to Grenewich, each of them had besides their crosses  
two pillars of siluer; two little ares gilt, and two  
cloake-bags embroidered, & the cardinals hats borne  
before them. And when they came to the kings hall,  
the cardinall of Bozke went on the right hand: and  
there the king roiallie appareled and accompanied,  
met them euen as though both had come from Rome  
and so brought them both vp into his chamber of pre-  
sence.

Then a solemne oration was made by an Italian,  
declaring the cause of the legacie to be in two arti-  
cles, one for aid against Gods enemies, and the se-  
cond for reformation of the clergie. And when masse  
was done, they were had to a chamber, and serued  
of lords and knights, with much solemnitie: and  
after dinner they toke their leaue of the king, and  
came to London, and rode through the citie together,  
in great pompe and glorie to their lodgings. This  
cardinall Campeius for his friendship shewed in hel-  
ping the cardinall of England to the bishopricke of  
Bath, was considered (besides other great rewards)  
with the bishopricke of Salisburie, the profits where-  
of he receiued, untill the act was established, that no  
forrenner should inioie any spirituall benefice with-  
in this realme. But for the chiefe errand that this  
cardinall Campeius came, he could haue no towarde  
answer: which was (as you haue heard) to haue lea-  
ued a summe of monie by waie of tenths in this  
realme, to the maintenance of the waite in defense  
of the christian confines against the Turke.

There were at the same time other legats sent in-  
to other parts of Christendome about the same mat-  
ter, as into France, Spaine, and Germanie. For  
pope Leo calling to remembrance, that the feare con-  
ceiued of the Turkes had brought no small gainnes to  
diuerse of his predecessors, he began to feare so. But  
for that such feare was now too well knowne to be  
fed as an ordinarie thist of the popes, when they stood  
in need of monie, this practise was at this time v-  
se in vaine; so that Campeius hearing that it toke  
not place in other parties, left off his earnest sute  
about it, and with great rewards receiued of the king  
and cardinall, returned to Rome, not without hope  
yet (by reason of promises made vnto him by his  
friends) that the popes request might hereafter be  
granted, according to his motion. There attended  
him to Rome one John Clarke a lawier, as an  
ambassador from the king.

This man obtained for the cardinall, authoritie to  
dispense with all men for offenses committed a-  
gainst the spirituall lawes, which part of his poluer  
legantine was verie profitable and gainefull. For  
then he set vp a court, and called it the court of the  
legat: in the which he proued testaments, and heard  
causes, to the great hinderance of all the bishops of  
this realme. He visited bishops, and all the clergie  
exempt and not exempt, and vnder colour of refor-  
mation he got much treasure. For though by lyes &  
rewards, notorious offenders were dispensed with,  
so that nothing was reformed, but came to more mi-  
chefe. The example of his pride, caused prelates and  
all spirituall persons to war so proud, that they rub-  
bed it out in velvet and silks, which they wore both in  
gounes, iackets, doublets, and shoes. They vfed o-  
pen lecherie, and bare themselves so stout by reason  
of his authorities and faculties, that no man durst  
reproue any thing in them. So that we see here verie  
fied in proue how forcible the examples of great men  
be in the inferior sort; as the wise man truelie saith;

Qualis erit princeps, talis prefectus habetur,  
Nobilis qualis, plebs quoque talis erit.

[But before we inferre further procees of other  
accidents,

The glorious  
shewes of  
pompos port  
of the two car-  
dinals going  
to the court.

So after in  
the extra  
out of Quick-  
ardine.  
A craftie  
leare of the  
pope.

The court of  
the legat erect-  
ed by the car-  
dinall.

Examples of  
great ones  
what it doth.

Ch. H. in Eccl.  
cap. 10.

Abr. Fl. ex  
Guic. pag. 756.

The pope so-  
liciteth all the  
princes of chri-  
stendome a-  
gainst the  
Turke.

The ambition  
and tyrannie  
of Selim a-  
gainst his fa-  
ther & allies.

Selim over-  
throweth the  
Sophi of  
Persia.

The state of  
the Soldan  
king of Sozia  
and Aegypt.

accidents, it were good to heare a full discourse, for the exact understanding of the popes affaires, whereabouts he addrested so manie cardinals into so manie parts of christendome, as solicitors to obtaine succour against the Turke. ¶ Now followeth (saith mine author) the yeare 1518, in which the regions of Italia, contrarie to the precedent of manie yeares before, felt not the least impression or motion of war, yea there appeared the selfe same disposition in all other princes of christendome, betwene whome by the operation of the pope, though haply more with faire reason, than with substantiall counsels, was solicited an universall expedition of all christendome against the pride of Selim prince of the Turkes.

This man the yeare before, had so enlarged and extended his greatnesse, that comparing with his power, his ambition to be greater, pushed on with manie helpes of nature, it was worthe to be doubted, that if he were not prevented by the invasions of the christians, he would in his pride lift up his victorious hands against them. For Selim discerning that Basileth his father, reduced to extreme old age, sought to establish the succession of the empire in the person of Acomath his elder brother, drew into rebellion against him, and by force of armes, concurring the corruption of the souldiours of his gard, constrained him to resigne up to him the authoritie of the government: and not suffering his ambition to stae there, it was believed of all men, that for his more absolute assurance he took awaie his life by poison: and afterwards giving an overthrow to his brother in an incounter of a battell, he confirmed fullie the seat of his empire, by depriving him of his life in publick shew, exercising the like rage of crueltie upon Corcu the yongest brother of all. And being not satisfied according to the tyrannie of the house of Atomanni, with the blood and slaughter of all his nephues, or anie others that remained of that line and stocke, he was in thought oftentimes (by the rage and furie of his disposition) to take awaie the life of Soliman his onelie sonne.

Of these beginnings breeding one warre upon another, after he had subdued the Aduliti, a people of the mountains, he passed over into Persia against the Sophi, to whom he gave battell and overthrow him, and in that felicitie of warre he took the citie of Tauris the soueraine seat of that estate, together with the greatest part of Persia which he was constrained to abandon, not through the valour of his enemies, who for their disability to support their army were retired into the mounteins and places desert, but for the universall dearth and barrennesse of that yeare, he fell into an extreme want of vittells: he returned home after this expedition to Constantinople, where after he had done execution upon certaine souldiers seditious, and for certaine moneths had refreshed his armie, he gave out that he would shortly returne to make warre upon Persia. But indeed he turned his forces against the Soldan king of Sozia and Aegypt, a prince not onelie of most ancient reverence and dignitie for that religion; but most mightie for the amplitude of dominion, most rich in tributes, and verie glorious by the discipline of the Hammelukes, of whose armes and forces that state was possessed with great reputation three hundred yeares.

For that empire, being ruled of the Soldans, they not by succession but by election ascended to it, and to the supreme seat of government were not preferred but men of manifest vertue, and confirmed by all the degrees of warre, in the administration of provinces and armies, and also the finewes and strengthes of their forces stood not upon souldiours mercenarie and foraine, but of men elected, who

taken of children in the provinces adjoining, and trained up by succession of yeares in hardnesse of fare, in suffering of labour and toile, and in the exercise of armes and all customes appertaining to the discipline and law of warre, they ascribed and intolled them in the order of the Hammelukes. There succeeded from hand to hand in this order, not the sons of the Hammelukes that were dead, but others, who being taken of children for slaves, had their rising by the same discipline, and by the same industrie and artes, by the which their predecessours had passed from hand to hand.

These not being in number above seventene or eightene thousand, held subiected under a most heauie yoke, all the people of Aegypt and Sozia, whom they spoiled of the vse of all armes, and practised to manage horses: yea such was their fiercenesse and valour, that oftentimes they made warre of themselves, for that of their numbers and by their election were chosen the Soldans, and in their power reserved all authoritie to distribute the honours, offices, and profits of that most rich empire. By the opportunity of which, hauing subdued manie nations adjoining, and reduced to obedience the Arabians, and maintained manie warres with the Turkes, they were manie times victorious, but verie seldom or neuer vanquished of others. Against these people did Selim convert his forces, whom he overthrow in manie battells fought in plaine field, wherein was slaine the Soldan, and afterwards in another battell was taken prisoner the other Soldan his successor, whom he caused to be publickly murdered with an unworthie kind of torment. Thus hauing satisfied his bloudie humour with such great slaughters, and also waisted the name of the Hammelukes, he proceeded to the invasion of Cairo a most populous citie, wherein were resident the Soldans, and in short time subdued under his iurisdiction all Sozia and Aegypt.

These drew unto him so great an increase of impetie, such amplification of tribute and revenue, and removing the impediments of so mightie enemies, and of so great reputation, that with great reason he was to be feared of the christians. A feare which took his degrees of increasing by his consideration, that to so great a power and valour was joined a settled impression of ambition to beate rule, & by manie victories, to make glorious his name to all posterities: wherein reading oftentimes the legends and actions of the great Alexander, and Julius Cesar, he seemed to suffer griefe and perplexitie of mind, that his actions & exploits of warre could in no wise hold comparison with so manie great triumphs and victories. In which humour, returning continuallie his armies, and building of new a great number of ships, and leuieing all provisions necessarie for the warre, it was feared when his preparations were accomplished, that he would invade Rhodes, the bulwark of the christians in the east parts, or else the kingdome of Hungaria, made fearefull by the valour of the inhabitants to the nation of the Turkes, which at that time was in division amongst themselves, and made weak by the minority of their king, who was gouerned by the priests and barons of the realme.

Others were of opinion, that he had addrested all his thoughts to the invasion of Italia, taking his encouragement upon the discord of the potentates and naturall princes, whom he knew to be much shaken with the long warres of those regions. To this was joined the memorie of Mahomet his grandfather, who with a power farre lesse than his, and with a small name sent upon the coasts of the realme of Naples, had wonne by assault the citie of Aronto: and (sauiug he was prevented by death) had both o-

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the pope be-  
cometh him  
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The Turke  
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pened the way, and established the meane to per-  
cute the regions of Italie with continuall herati-  
ons: so that the pope together with the whole court  
of Rome being made astonished with so great suc-  
cesse, and no lesse proud to eschew so great a dan-  
ger, making their first recourse unto the aid and  
succour of God, caused to be celebrated through  
Rome most devout inuocations, which he did assist in  
presence bare-footed.

And afterwards calling upon the helpe of men,  
he wrote letters to all christian princes, both admo-  
nishing them of the perill, and perswading them to  
lay aside all ciuill discords and contentions; and at-  
tend specially to the defense of religion & their com-  
mon safetie, which he affirmed would more and more  
take increase of most grievous danger, if with the  
unitie of minds, and concordances of waer, they  
sought not to transference the warre into the empire  
of the Turkes, & invade the enimie in his owne coun-  
trie. Upon this aduise and admonition, was taken  
the examination and opinion of men of warre, and  
persons skillfull in the discouerie of countries, the dis-  
posing of prouinces, and of the nature and vsage of  
the forces and weapons of that kingdome, and there-  
upon a resolution was set downe to make great le-  
uies of monie by voluntarie contributions of prin-  
ces, and vniuersall imposts of all people of christen-  
dome.

It was thought necessarie that Cesar accompa-  
nied with the horsemen of Hungaria and Polonia,  
nations warlike, and practised in continuall warre a-  
gainst the Turke, and also with the footmen of Ger-  
manie, should saile along Danubi into Bosnia cal-  
led ancientlie Hissa, and from thence to Pracia, and  
so to drate neare Constantinople, the seat of the em-  
pire of Ottomanes: that the French king with all  
the forces of his kingdome, the Venetians, and  
the other potentates of Italie, accompanied with the  
infanterie of Swizzerland, should passe from the port  
of Brindisi in Albania, a passage verie easie & short,  
to invade Grece, a countrie full of christian inhabi-  
tants, and for the intollerable yoke of the Turkes,  
most readie to rebell: that the kings of Spaine, of  
England, and Portugall, assembling their forces to-  
gether in Cartagena, and the ports thereabouts,  
should take their course with two hundred ships  
full of Spanish footmen and other souldiers, to the  
streit of Galipoli, to make rodes by to Constanti-  
nople, hauing first of all subdued the castles and forts  
standing vpon the mouth of the streit: and the pope  
to take the same course, imbarcking at Ancona, with  
an hundred ships armed.

With these preparations, seeming sufficient to  
couer the land, and ouerspread the sea, it was thought  
that of a warre so full of deuotion and pietie, there  
could not be but hoped a happie end, speciallie adding  
the inuocation of God, and so manie feuerall inua-  
sions made at one time against the Turkes, who  
make their principall foundation of defense, to fight  
in the plaine field. These matters were solicited with  
no small industrie, and to stop all matter of impu-  
tation against the office of the pope, the minds of prin-  
ces were thoroughlie founded, and an vniuersall truce  
for foure yeares betwene all the princes of christen-  
dome, published in the consistorie, vpon paine of  
most grieuous censure to such as should impugne it.  
So that the negociation continuing for all things  
appertaining to so great an enterpryse, he assigned  
ambassadors to all princes: to the emperor he sent  
the cardinall S. Sisso, to the French king he dispat-  
ched the cardinall of S. Maria in Portico, the cardinall  
Giles to the king of Spaine, and the cardinall  
Campeius to the king of England.

All cardinals of authoritie, either for their experi-

ence in affaires, or for opinion of their doctrine, or  
for their familiaritie with the pope. All which things  
albeit they were begun with great hope and expec-  
tation, and the vniuersall truce accepted of all men,  
and all men with no little ostentation and bzaurric  
of words, made shew of their readinesse with their  
forces to aduance so good a cause: yet, what with the  
consideration of the perill esteemed vncerteine and  
farre off, and extending more to one prince than to  
another, and what by the difficulties and long tract of  
time that appeared, to introduce a zeale and vnion so  
vniuersall, priuat interests and respects particular  
seemed to preuaile more, than the pietie of the expe-  
dition: insomuch that the negociation stood not one-  
lie naked of all hope and issue, but also it was follo-  
wed verie lightlie, and as it were by ceremonie.

This being one propertie in the nature of men,  
that those things which in their beginnings appeare  
fearefull, do daillie take such begreases of diminution  
and vanishing, that vnles the first feares be reniued  
by new accidents, they lead men in proceesse of time  
to securitie. Which propertie of negligence, both tou-  
ching the affaires publike, and affection of priuate  
and particular men was well confirmed by the death  
that succeeded not long after to Helim, who, bating  
by a long maladie suspended the preparations of the  
warre, was in the end consumed by the passions of  
his disease, and so passed into the other life, leauing so  
great an empire to Soliman his sonne, young in  
yeares, and iudged to beare a wit and mind not so dis-  
posed to the warres, although afterwards the effects  
declared the contrarie.

At this time appeared betwene the pope and the  
French king a most great and strict contention:  
for the king gave to wife to Laurence his nephew, the  
ladie Agadoalen noble descended of the bloud and  
house of Bullognie, with a yearelie reuenue of ten  
thousand crownes, whereof part was of the kings  
gift, and the residue rising of his owne patrimonie.  
Besides, the king hauing borne to him a sonne, the  
pope required that in his baptisme, he would impose  
vpon him his name. By which occasion Laurence  
making preparations to go to marrie his new wife,  
for his more speed, performed his iourne by post in-  
to France, where he was receiued with manie ami-  
ties and much honour of the king, to whom he be-  
came verie gracions and of deare account, the rather  
for that (besides other generall respects) he made a de-  
dication of himselfe wholie to the king, with promise  
to follow in all accidents, his fortune.]

And now to returne to cardinall Wolse, who  
grew so into exceeding pride, that he thought him-  
selfe equall with the king. For when he said masse  
(which he did oftener to shew his pompe, rather than  
for anie deuotion) he made dukes and earles to serue  
him of wine, with a say taken, and to hold to him the  
bason at the lauatorie. Thus was the pride of the car-  
dinall and other priests so past the compasse of rea-  
son, that in maner all good persons abhorred and dis-  
dained it (as altogether degenerating from the ex-  
ample of Christ & his pore traine, of whome in name  
and title they seemed to be professors, but of their  
manners and trade of life open defiers; yea in such  
manifest sort, both in apparell and diet, as also in all  
other respects, that few there were (if they perceiued  
anie thing by discretion) but saw the euident abuses  
of their behauiours, tending greatlie to the disho-  
nour of the place which they possessed, as also to the  
no small offense of the modest sort of the cleargie,  
whereof some did so well like of this ruffling and mak-  
ing presbyterie, that they abhorred it as strong poi-  
son in their bosome.]

It fortuned that the archbishop of Canturburie  
wrote to the cardinall, anon after that he had recei-  
ued

The popes  
negociation  
naked of all  
hope & issue.

The death of  
Helim; and  
succession of  
Soliman.

Aliance be-  
twixt the pope  
& the French  
king.

The excessive  
pride of the  
cardinall.

The cardinal  
taketh it in  
scorne to be  
called brother  
by the archbi-  
shop.

ned his power legantine, the which letter after his  
old familiar manner he subscribed thus: Your brother  
the William of Canturburie. With which subscrip-  
tion, because the archbishop wrote him brother, he  
was so much offended, as though the archbishop had  
done him great iniurie, that he could not temper his  
mood, but in high displeasure said, that he would so  
wroke within a while, that he should well understand  
how he was his superiour, and not his brother. When  
the archbishop (being a sober wise man) heard of the  
messenger that bare the letter, how the cardinal  
took it not well, but so as it might seeme there was  
a great fault in the letter, and reported the tale as  
one that disliked the cardinals presumption herein:  
Peace (said the archbishop) knowest thou not how the  
man is become mad with too much ioy. And thus the  
cardinal forgetting to hold the right path of true  
land and praise, sought to be feared rather than be-  
loved of all good men.

The French  
king writeth  
to cardinal  
wolfe.

In this meane time the French king greatlie  
urgeth to redeeme the citie of Lornate out of the  
hands of the king of England, and knowing that he  
must make waite thereunto thorough the cardinals  
friendship, called not with high gifts to win his  
good will, and moreover in often writing to him, ex-  
alted him with titles of honor, and so magnified him,  
that the cardinal, as one tickled with vaine-glorie  
more than can be imagined, thought that he could  
not do pleasure enough to the French king, that did  
esteem so much of him. Hereupon the French king  
hoping to compass his desire, after he perceived the  
cardinals good will towards him, signified his mean-  
ing unto the said cardinal; who found meanes to  
breake thereof to the king, in such wise as he was  
contented to heare the French kings ambassadoys,  
that should be sent hither to talke of that matter.

Ambassadoys  
from the  
French king.

The French king then understanding the king  
of England his pleasure, sent over the lord Montu-  
et high admerall of France, and the bishop of Paris  
as chiefe ambassadoys, accompanied with a great  
sort of lustie gentlemen of the French kings court,  
to the number of foure score and above, on whome at-  
tended such a companie of other of the meaner sort,  
that the whole number amounted to twelue hundred  
one and other, which were thought to be manie for an  
ambassage. ¶ On mondate the twentieth seuenth daie  
of September, the earle of Surrie high admerall of  
England, in a coat of rich tissue cut on cloath of sil-  
uer, on a great courser richlie trapped, and a great  
whistle of gold, set with stones and pearle, hanging  
at a great and massie chaine baudycke wise, accom-  
panied with an hundred and firtie gentlemen, richlie  
appareled, on goodlie horses came to Blackheath,  
and there amiable received the ambassadoys of  
France. The yong gallants of France had coats  
garded with one colour, cut in ten or twelue parts  
verie richlie to behold: and so all the Englishmen ac-  
coupled themselves with the Frenchmen loniglie  
together, and so road to London. After the two ad-  
meralls followed foure and twentie of the French  
kings garr, accompanied with foure and twentie of  
the English garr. And after them a great num-  
ber of archers, to the number of foure hundred. And  
in this order they passed thorough the citie to sailloys  
hall, and there the chiefe ambassadoys were lodged,  
and the remnant in merchants houses about.

The French  
ambassadoys  
come to the  
court.

When these lords were in their lodgings, then  
the French harder men opened their wares, & made  
the sailloys hall like the pound of a mart. At this do-  
ing manie an Englishman grudged, but it auailed  
not. The last daie of September, the French ambas-  
sadoys toke their barge, and came to Grenewich.  
The admerall was in a gowne of cloath of siluer rail-  
sed, furred with rich fables; and all his companie al-

most were in a new fashioned garment, called a she-  
mew, which was in effect a gowne cut in the middle.  
The gentlemen of France were brought into the  
kings presence, where the bishop of Paris made a  
solemne oration; which being ended, & answer made  
thereto, the king highlie interteined the admerall  
and his companie, and so did all the English lords and  
gentlemen.

The ambassadoys after this were dailie in coun-  
cell, till at length an agreement was concluded, un-  
der pretence of a marriage to be had betwene the  
Dolphin of France, and the ladie Marie, daugh-  
ter to the king of England: in name of whose mari-  
age monies Lornate should be delivered unto  
the French king, he paying to the king of England  
for the castle which he had made in that citie, fix hun-  
dred thousand crownes, to be paid in twelue yeares  
space, that is to saie, fiftie thousand euerie yeare du-  
ring that terme. And if the marriage chanced not to  
take effect, then should Lornate be againe redoyed  
to the king of England. For performance of which  
article, hostages should be delivered: that is to wit,  
monsieur de Montmorancie, monsieur de Montpe-  
sac, monsieur de Poie, monsieur de Porret. More-  
over the French king should paie to the lord cardinal  
of England a thousand marks of yearelie pension, in  
recompense of his reuenues before time received of  
the bishopricke of Lornate: and likewise to other of  
the kings counsell he should also giue certeine  
summes of monie as yearelie pensions, in like ma-  
ner as his ancestors had done to the counsellors of  
the kings of England before time.

The French is agreed to call backe the duke of Al-  
banie out of Scotland, that the suertie of Is. James  
might the better be provided for, and lesse occasion of  
trouble ministred to the king of England. And fur-  
ther the French king was contented that the said  
king James should be receiued as a confederat in  
this peace. When all things were concluded, the king  
and the ambassadoys road to the cathedrall church  
of saint Paule in London from Durham place,  
where the cardinal of England sang the masse in  
most pompous maner: and after that masse was  
ended, doctor Pace the kings secretarie made an  
eloquent oration in praise of peace: and that done,  
the king and his nobles with the ambassadoys went  
to the bishops palace, and there dined, and after din-  
ner, the king rode againe to Durham place. That  
night the cardinal of Poike made to the ambassa-  
doys a solemne banquet, and them accompanied ma-  
nie lords and ladies of England. And when the ban-  
ket was done, in came six minstrels, richlie dis-  
guised, and after them followed thre gentlemen in wide  
and long gones of crimson sattin, euerie one ha-  
uing a cup of gold in their hands.

The first cup was full of angels and roials, the se-  
cond had diuerse bales of dice, and the third had cer-  
teine paires of cards. These gentlemen offered to  
plaie at murchance, and when they had plaied the  
length of the first boyd, then the minstrels blew up,  
and then entered into the chamber certeine ladies  
disguised, on whome attended twelue knights dis-  
guised bearing torches. All these thirtie & six persons  
were in one sute of fine greene sattin, all covered o-  
uer with cloth of gold, under tied together with laces  
of gold, and masking hoods on their heads: the ladies  
had tiers made of bzards of damaske gold with long  
haire of white gold. All these maskers dancd at one  
time, and after they had dancd, they put off their vi-  
sors, and so were they all knowne. The admerall and  
lords of France hartilie thanked the king, that it  
pleased him to visit them with such disposit. Then the  
king & his companie were banketed, and had high  
chere: and so they departed euerie man to his lod-  
ging.

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And the  
groomes  
the bedchamber  
of the king.

Attelle of  
all banquet  
two hun-  
dred and firtie  
persons.

Edw. Hall  
H. 8. fol. 15v.

The king of  
England  
summe  
to the  
French am-  
bassadoys &  
gentlemen.

Ambassadoys  
out from  
the French  
king.

1511. *Reg. 10.*

The eight of October at Greenwich, was long a solemn masse by the bishop of Durham, and after masse, docto Winstall, maister of the colles, made an eloquent proposition in praise of the matric. All that daie were the strangers feasted, and at night they were brought into the hall, where was a rocke full of all manner of stones, verie artificiallie made, and on the top stood five trees, the first an olive tree, on which hangd a shield of the armes of the church of Rome; the second a pineapple tree, with the armes of the emperour; the third a roser, with the armes of England; the fourth a branch of lillies, bearing the armes of France; and the fifth a pomegranat tree, bearing the armes of Spaine: in token that all these five potentates were ioined together in one league against the enemies of Christs faith.

In and upon the middelt of the rocke sat a faire ladie, richlie apparell'd with a dolphin in hir lap. In this rocke were ladies and gentlemen apparell'd in crimson sattin, couered ouer with floures of purple sattin, embrodered upon with wrethes of gold, knit together with golden laces, and on euerie floure a hart of gold mouing. The ladies apparell was after the fashion of Inde, with kerchifes of pleasance, hatd with fine gold, and set with letters of Græke in gold of brillant; and the edges of their kerchifes were garnished with hanging perle. These gentlemen and ladies sat on the nether part of the rocke, and out of a cane in the said rocke came ten knights, armed at all points, and fought together a faire tournee. And when they were seuered and departed, the disguisours descended from the rocke, and danced a great space: and suddenly the rocke moued and receiued the disguisours, and immediatlie closed againe.

Then entered a person called Report, apparell'd in crimson sattin full of towngs, sitting on a sieng hourse with wings and feet of gold called Pegasus. This person in French declared the meaning of the rocke, the trees, and the tournee. After this pastime ended, the king and the ambassadours were serued at a banquet with two hundred and sixtie dishes, and after that a boorde of spices with sixtie spice plates of silver and gilt, as great as men with ease might beare. This night the cupbord in the hall was of twelue stages all of plate of gold, and no gilt plate. When that euerie man had bene plentifully serued, the tables were taken vp, and the king with the quene and all the strangers departed to their lodgings.

After diuerse iusts & feasts made for the said ambassadours by the king and lords: sir Thomas Cromwel masior of London made to them a collie dinner at Goldsmiths hall, which dinner they highlie praised, it was so well ordered. And when the time came, they toke their leaue of the king, the quene, and the kings counsell, and deliuered into the kings possession their foure hostages (as you haue heard before). At which departing the king gaue to the admerall of France a garnish of gilt vessel, a paire of couered basens gilt, twelue great gilt boles, foure pates of great gilt pots, a standing cup of gold, garnished with great pearles: and to some other also, he gaue plate, to some chains of gold, to some rich apparell, and to some great hourses with rich bards, so that euerie gentleman was well rewarded; which liberalitie the strangers much praised: and after that all their trusles were readie they departed towards the sea, and toke ship and landed at Bullogne.]

Shortlie after their departure, the earle of Worcester, lord chamberleine, the bishop of Cle, the lord of saint Johns, sir Nicholas Maur, sir John Pechie, sir Thomas Bullen, as ambassadours from the king of England, accompanied with three score and ten knights, gentlemen and yeomen, to the num-

ber of foure hundred and aboue, passed the sea to Calis, and so from thence went to Paris, where they were noblely receiued, & being brought to the French kings presence, the bishop of Cle made a solempne oration touching the mariage and peace concluded, & to intertaine the English ambassadours and gentlemen; the French king had made a banquetting house in the bastill of Paris betwene foure old walles. This house was couered with cords streined by craft, and euerie cord was wound about with bar, and so laid crosswise one ouer an other in fret, and at the meetings a great knop gilt with gold foile.ouer their cords was streined wollen cloaths of light blew: this rose was foure score fot high, and on euerie side three stages high: all the pillars of the stages were couered with antike works, & the breasts of the stages curiouslie wrought with armes, vincts, and branches: the rose was set full of starres gilt & furnished with glasse betwene the frets. In this house was two hundred and twelue branches gilt hanged, & on euerie branch a great number of lights of white war.

Diuerse sorts of masks were shewed also that night: and at euerie side of the palace a great cupbord of masse plate of much greatnesse was set, the French king welcomning the lords and ambassadours with good countenance. ] Here is to be remembred, that immediatlie after the conclusion of the marriage, a rumoz was raised, that the Dolphin was dead before, and that this mariage was but a colourable pretext, deuised of the Frenchmen for a policie to come by their purpose: and therefore, after that the English ambassadours had bene feasted and intertained with banquetting and princelie pastime, the bishop of Cle, with sir Thomas Bullen, and sir Richard Weston, were appointed to go vnto Contacke to see the Dolphin, where they were honorablely receiued, and brought vnto the presence of the Dolphin, being a goodlie young child, whome they kissed and embraced in most louing wise.

The earle of Worcester, and with him sir Nicholas Maur, sir John Pechie, sir Edward Belknap, and diuerse others at the same time, toke leaue of the French king, and rode to Lornate to see the citie deliuered to the Frenchmen. Whereupon, the eight of February, the lord Chatillon came thither with one and twentie hundred men; and after some controuersie moued about the deliuerie of his commission, and sealing an indenture, which the earle had there readie ingrossed, containing the articles of agreement, in consideration whereof it was deliuered, the capteine sir Richard Feringham was discharged, and the Frenchmen suffered to enter with drummads and minstrells, but not with standards nor banners, which the Englishmen caused them to roll vp greatlie against their wils. Before they came to the gates, they sealed the indenture, confessing how they receiued the citie as a gift, and not as a right, and deliuered their commission, whereby they were authorized to receiue it, which at the first they refused to do, affirming that it was sufficient for them to shew it.

Thus was Lornate deliuered in this tenth yere of the kings reigne, on the eight daie of February, & the Englishmen returned into England, soe displeased in their minds. For thereby manie a tall yeoman lacked liuing, the which would not labour after their returne, but fell to robbing, pilfering, shifting, and other extraordinarie meanes of maintenance, whereas before they were staied vpon a certaintie of hope, so long as they had allowance by the king. So that this resignation of Lornate, though it were answerable to the desire of the French king, and commodious for his people, yet that benefit of theirs byed

Edw. Hall in  
H. 8 fol. lxxv.  
A banquetting  
house of the  
French  
kings descri-  
bed.

1520

The manner  
how Lornate  
was deliuered  
to the French  
king.

to the English soldiers detriment and losse: who wished them in defense of possession, rather than it should reuert into the hands of them, by whom it was surrendered & given by to the English power, whom (because they were not able to encounter) they let in at their gates by a voluntarie motion and common consent for their better safetie, as a late writer witnesseth:

*Anglicenas passus intra sua mania portus  
Sponte intramittens.*

Ed. Hall in H. 8.  
fol. lxvii.  
The light and  
mistaken de-  
meanour of  
duerle yong  
gentlemen of  
England & the  
French king.

During this time remained in the French court duerle yong gentlemen of England, and they with the French king rode daillie disguised through Paris, throwing egges, stones, and other foolish trifles at the people, which light demeanour of a king was much discommended and leasted at. And when these yong gentlemen came againe into England, they were all French, in eating, drinking, and apparell, yea, and in French vices and brags, so that all the estates of England were by them laughed at: the ladies and gentlewomen were dispraised, so that nothing by them was praised, but if it were after the French turne, which after turned them to displeasure, as you shall heare.

After the kings ambassadours were returned, and Tornaie deliuered to the Frenchmen upon the conditions aforesaid, the hostages that were here left for the payment of the great summes and performance of the conditions compiled in the league (of the which one was, that if the marriage took none effect, then the cite of Tornaie should be redeliuered upon repayment of the same summes) the said hostages knew not in what case they stood, but when they knew it, they were verie braue and resolute: howbeit, they dissembled the matter in the best wise they could. The king used familiarly these foure hostages, and on the seventh daie of Maie prepared a disguising, and caused his great chamber at Græntwich to be staged, and great lights to be set on pillores that were gilt, with basons gilt, and the rose was covered with blue satten set full of pusses of fine gold and flowers: and vnder was written *lanimes*, the meaning whereof was, that the flower of youth could not be oppressed.

Into this chamber came the king, and the quene, with the hostages, and there was a goodlie comedie of Plautus played; and that done, there entered into the chamber eight ladies in blacke veluet bordered about with gold, with hoeses from the waist downeward, and sleeves ruffed and plisted at the elbow, and plaine in the middle, full of cuts, plucked out at euerie cut with fine camerike, & tired like the Egyptians verie richlie. And when these ladies had passed about the place, in came eight noble personages in long gownes of taffata set with flowers of gold bullion, and vnder that apparell cotes of blacke veluet embroidered with gold all to cut, and plucked out with cuts of white sarcenet, and euerie man had buskins of blacke veluet full of aggets of gold.

When the eight men danced with the eight ladies all being visarded, and suddenlie the men cast off their large gownes, and then their vnder apparell was seene. And when all was done, euerie lord and ladie put off their visards, and then it was knowne that the king, the duke of Suffolke, and the French quene were there, which were present at the plaie time. On the eight daie of March was a solemn iustices, the king himselfe, and eight yong gentlemen bared and barbed in blacke veluet embroidered with gold; against the duke of Suffolke, and eight of his band, all in white satten with drops of gold. And that daie they all ran exceedingly well, which the strangers highlie commended.

About the end of March, the king sent for all the

yeomen of the gard that were come from Tornaie, and after manie good words given to them, he granted to euerie of them foure pence the daie without attendance, except they were speciallie commanded. And here it seemeth requisite to adde the report of a foreine chronicler touching the league of amitie and conditions of the same, knit by in breuitie and godtearmes as followeth. Now (saith he) the differences betwene the French and English were also reconciled. And for the moze stabilitie of which agreement, it was confirmed with a contract of parentage and alliance, wherein the king of England promised to giue his onelie daughter, to whom heaving no sons, there was hope of the descending & succession of the kingdom to the Dolphin the eldest sonne of the croiaine of France, adding for a portion foure hundred thousand duckets. Both the one and the other boze yet so tender age, that infinit accidents might happen, before perfection of yeeres would make them able to establish matrimonie. There was made betwene them a league defensue, wherein were comprehended Cesar, and the king of Spaine, in case they would ratifie it in a certaine time.

The king of England bound himselfe to restore Tornaie, receiving presentlie for detraiments expended upon that towne, two hundred and threescore thousand duckets, and threescore hundred thousand to be defalked of the portion, and to paie threescore hundred thousand moze in the space of twelue yeares. The French king also was bound, that if the peace and the parentage followed not, to render by againe into the hands of the English, the towne of Tornaie. Manie ambassadours were sent from both the realmes to negotiate this league, and to receiue the ratifications and othes, by whom in the courts of both the kings the acts of the accord were dispatched with great solemnitie and ceremonie, with a resolution of an interuene of both the kings betwene Calis and Bullongne, immediatlie after the restitution of Tornaie.

About the same time, the daughter of the French king, appointed to be married to the king of Spaine, being dead, the former peace and capitulation was effrones reconfirmed betwene them, wherein was promised the marriage of the second daughter of France. Both the kings celebrated this coniunction with most great demonstrations of perfect amitie: for the king of Spaine, hauing paid in at Lyons an hundred thousand duckets, waie publiketle the order of saint Michaell upon the day of the celebration of the same, and in recompense of that honour: the French king, upon the daie dedicated to saint Andrew, was honorable attired in the robes and colour of the golden fleece.

About this time, John Ja. Trinnice, whose newther old age reduced almost to the last time, nor his vertue so oftentimes expressed in the service of the fruce of France could anie waie aid or comfort (being both ambitious and impatient, and therefore enuied) following the French court, fell sicke at Charters, where he gaue up to the king, his innocentie and complaints, and made to God the last reckoning of his aged daies. He was a man in the iudgement of manie, and confirmed by sundrie experiences, of singular valour in the discipline of warre, and ran a race alwaies opposed to the inconstancie of fortune, who (according to his mutabilitie) made him feele the operation of both his humors, sometimes reioicing in his fauour, and erst againe finding his sorrow and of a bitter task. By his commandement were written upon his tombe these words, not disagreeable to the variable condition and course of his natural life:

I find the rest within my graue,  
Which in my life I could not haue.]

An. Dom. 1527.  
The death of  
the emperor  
Charles V.  
An. Reg. 11.  
The death of  
the emperor  
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An. Reg. 11.  
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The death of  
the emperor  
Charles V.  
An. Reg. 11.

An. Reg. 11.

In this yeare the twelue of Februarie, died the emperor *Aparrimilian*, for whome the king caused a solemne obsequie to be kept in *Doules* church. He died at *Luis*, a towne vpon the marches of *Austrich*, where he remained for his delight and pleasure in hunting the wild boze, and other chases of the field. He liued alwaies vnder one condition of fortune, who manie times fauoured him, in offering him manie faire occasions, & as often wrought against him in not suffering him to take the fruit and effect of them. He was by nature inconstant and remouable, and had conceits and impressions verie ill disposed and different from the iudgement of other men, joined to an excessive prodigalitie and dissipation of monie.

Spatters which cut off from him the effects and successe of all occasions, being otherwise a prince most perfect and instructed in the ordering of warre, secret to laie and dispose a plot, diligent to follow it, of bodie able and suffering, of mind affable and easie, and replenished with manie other excellent gifts and ornaments. Vnto some of these properties, the good seruice which he did the king of *England* at *Terwin* giueth proofe, at what time both he and his people marched vnder the *English* ensigne, and receiued paie as stipendarie souldiours; whose wages the king had a care to paie, as maie appeare by his coining of siluer monie, whereof was scarcitie in his campe, in respect of gold, wherewith the souldiours were well stored, as one doth verie well make report, saieing:

*Pro mercede nihil nisi fuluum soluitur aurum,  
Auri militibus radiantis copia toris  
Tanta fuit castris, ut rex eudisse coactus  
Nummum ex argento fuerit.*

Altho as the emperor was dead, the French king and the king of *Spaine* began manifestlie to aspire to the empire, the purchase whereof albeit was a matter of right great importance, and no lesse the emulation running betwene two so mightie princes, yet they ordered their ambition with great modestie, neither vsing words of iniurie, nor threats of armes; but either one labouring by his authoritie, & by his meanes, to draw on his side the electors. The French king sundrie times reasoned touching the election with great comelinesse with the *Spanish* ambassadours, to whom he said it was a matter both agreeable and conuenient, that either of them seueralie should seeke by honest meanes to increase the honour of his house by so great a dignitie: which for that in times before had bene transferred into the families of their predecessours, there was now the lesse occasion to breed betwene them two matter of iniurie, nor diminution of their amitie and good will.

But rather he wished, that in the action of the empire, they might follow the example and order of two young louers, who albeit they follow the quest of one labie, and either one labourer by his industrie to carie his; yet they forbere to come to contention. The king of *Spaine* alluded with good right, that the empire appertained to him, as hauing continued by a long succession of time in the house of *Austrich*, and that it had not bene the custome of the electors to deplete the issue of the emperor, without manifest cause of their disability, neither was there anie in *Germanie* of that puissance and authoritie to make him equall to stand competitor with him in that election. And least of all did he hold it iust or like, that the electors would transport to a forreine or strange prince, so great a dignitie continued by so manie ages in the nation of *Germanie*.

And albeit some particular amongst them, either through the insinuation of monie, or other propertie of corruption, might be allured to another intention, yet he hoped to stop him with force prepa-

red in time conuenient, not doubting also but the other electors also would oppose against him, and the princes and free townes of *Germanie* would not indure so vsuerfall an infamie, spectallie to suffer it to be laid vpon the person of the French king, which would be no other thing than to make great the puissance of a king enemie vnto their nation, and from whome there was no suertie that the imperiall dignitie would euer returne into *Germanie*; he thought it would be an action easie to obtaine and reduce to perfection, that which had bin solicited by his grandfather, who had already compounded for recompenses and donations, and other diuidents for euerie of the electors.

On the other side, the desire of the French king was as great, and no lesse were his hopes, which toke their principall foundation vpon an opinion he had to corrupt the voices of the electors with his huge summes of monie: especiallie for that there were amongst them both pensionaries to him, and otherwise assured by manie good offices, who encouraging him with the facilitie of the enterprise, pushed him on to embrace it. And for his part, as mostall men are apt to beleue the thing they desire, so he nourished that hope with reasons rather apparant than true: he knew that commonlie it was a matter grievous to the princes of *Germanie* to haue the emperors mightie; being gealous that in so great a puissance, they would not either in part or in all, quarrell the iurisdiction and authorities imperiall occupied by manie of them. In which reason he perswaded himselfe, that they would in no sort consent to the election of the *Spaniard*, & so of themselves to subiect themselves to an emperor more mightie than had bene since a long descent and race of emperors. A matter which in his person seemed to be qualified, for that hauing neither estates nor ancient alliances in *Germanie*, they had no occasion of suspicion of his greatness.

The same reason also made him beleue well of the conformitie of the free townes, in whome much lesse that the regard of the glorie of the nation would carie it from him, seeing it would helpe to petye the ballance on his side, for that with most men the motions of proper and private interest maie do more, than the respect of publike and generall profit. He knewe it was not a little grievous to manie noble houses of *Germanie*, pretending to be capable of such a dignitie, to see the empire continue so long time in one house; but much more did it discontent them to suffer that so great an estate, which of right ought sometimes to be giuen to one of them, and sometime to passe to another, should become a perpetuall descent and succession in one line: inso much as they might call inheritance and succession that election, which durst not leaue the line of the emperors. That in that sort the empire was translated from *Albert* de *Austrich* to *Frederike* his brother, and from *Frederike* to *Aparrimilian* his sonne; and now there was deuise to passe it from *Aparrimilian* to the person of *Charles* his grandchild.

By these humors and indignations of the princes of *Germanie*, he toke hope that the discords and gealousies among themselves might helpe on his cause, the rather for that it often happeneth in the contentions of men, that he that is excluded, or the partie to whome he fauoreth, runneth with a naturall rashnesse rather to call in, and to aduance a third, than to giue place to him that hath opposed against his intention. Moreover, the French king was not without his hopes in the fauour of the pope, both in regard of the amitie and alliance betwixt them; and also for that he was not ignorant how in conuenient it would be to the see apostolike to haue

The French king in hope to be emperor as well as the Spanish.

The French king builded his hope vpon the humors of the princes of *Germanie*.

The French king relieth vpon the fauour of the pope.

om. 152  
The faith  
of Copan  
rewarded.

Abt. Fl. ex  
Guic. 152

A description  
of the emper-  
or's qualities.

The portion  
giue which the  
king of Eng-  
land.

The French  
king and the  
king of Spaine  
begin to aspire  
to the empire.

Deceit and  
ance betwixt  
the French  
king and the  
Spanish so-  
uerie ceas-  
ed.

The death of  
ohn An. C. 1519,  
a noble  
routour in  
the French  
saues.

The king of  
Spaine claim-  
ing the empire.



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The fact  
of Conna  
warded.

be. Fl. ex  
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e, a noble  
mour in  
French  
reo.

An. Reg. 11.  
The death of  
the emperor  
Maximilian  
in 1550.

A collection  
of the  
most  
valuable

The French  
king and the  
king of Spain  
beginning  
the conquest.

Existing of  
the claim  
to the empire.

In this yeare the twelue of Februarie, died the  
emperor Maximilian, for whom the king caused a  
solemn obsequie to be kept in Boules church. ¶ He  
died at 11. uiz, a towne upon the marches of Austria,  
where he remained for his delight and pleasure in  
hunting the wild boze, and other chases of the field.  
He lived alwaies vnder one condition of fortune,  
who many times fauoured him, in offering him ma-  
nie faire occasions, & as often wrought against him  
in not suffering him to take the fruit and effect of  
them. He was by nature inconstant and remone-  
able, and had conceits and impressions verie ill dis-  
posed and different from the iudgement of other  
men, joined to an excessive prodigality and dissipati-  
on of monie.

¶ Matters which cut off from him the effects and  
successe of all occasions, being otherwise a prince  
most perfect and instructed in the ordering of warre,  
secret to laie and dispose a plot, diligent to follow it,  
of bodie able and suffering, of mind affable and easie,  
and replenished with manie other excellent gifts and  
ornaments. Vnto some of these properties, the good  
seruice which he did the king of England at Terwin  
giueth pzoofe, at what time both he and his people  
marched vnder the English ensigne, and receiued  
pate as spendarie souldiours; whose wages the king  
had a care to paze, as maie appeare by his coining  
of silver monie, whereof was scarcitie in his campe,  
in respect of gold, wherewith the souldiours were well  
sized, as one doth verie well make report, saying:

*Pro mercede nihil nisi fulsum soluitur aurum,  
Auri militibus radiantis copia totis  
Tanta fuit castris, ut rex cudi se coactus  
Nummum ex argento fuerit.*

Altho as the emperor was dead, the French  
king and the king of Spaine began manifestlie to  
aspire to the empire, the purchase wherof albeit was  
a matter of right great importance, and no lesse the  
emulation running betwene two so mightie prin-  
ces, yet they ordered their ambition with great mo-  
destie, neither vsing words of iniurie, nor threats of  
armes; but either one labouring by his authoritie,  
& by his meanes, to draw on his side the electors. The  
French king sundrie times reasoned touching the  
election with great comelinesse with the Spanish  
ambassadors, to whom he said it was a matter both  
agreeable and conuenient, that either of them seu-  
rally should seeke by honest meanes to increase the  
honour of his house by so great a dignitie: which for  
that in times befoze had bene transferred into the fa-  
milies of their predecessours, there was now the lesse  
occasion to breed betwene them two matter of iniu-  
rie, nor diminution of their amitie and good will.

But rather he tokted, that in the action of the  
empire, they might follow the example and order of  
two yong louers, who albeit they follow the quest of  
one labie, and either one labourer by his industrie to  
carie hir; yet they forbere to come to contention. The  
king of Spaine alluded with good right, that the em-  
pire appertained to him, as hauing continued by a  
long succession of time in the house of Austria, and  
that it had not bene the custome of the electors to  
deprive the issue of the emperor, without mani-  
fest cause of their disability, neither was there anie  
in Germanie of that puissance and authoritie to  
make him equall to stand competitor with him in  
that election. And least of all did he hold it iust or like-  
lie, that the electors would transport to a forreine or  
strange prince, so great a dignitie continued by so  
manie ages in the nation of Germanie.

And albeit some particular amongst them, ei-  
ther through the insinuation of monie, or other pro-  
prie of corruption, might be allured to another  
intention, yet he hoped to stop him with force prepa-

red in time conuenient, not doubting also but the o-  
ther electors also would opose against him, and the  
princes and free townes of Germanie would not in-  
dure so brisuer fall an infamie, speciallie to suffer it  
to be laid upon the person of the French king, which  
would be no other thing than to make great the puis-  
sance of a king entirie vnto their nation, and from  
whome there was no surtie that the imperiall dig-  
nitie would euer returne into Germanie: he thought  
it would be an action easie to obtaine and reduce to  
perfection, that which had bin solicited by his grand-  
father, who had already compounded for recompen-  
ses and donations, and other diuidents for euerie of  
the electors.

On the other side, the desire of the French king  
was as great, and no lesse were his hopes, which toke  
their principall foundation vpon an opinion he had  
to corrupt the voices of the electors with his huge  
summes of monie: especiallie for that there were a-  
mongest them both pensionaries to him, and other-  
wise assured by manie good offices, who encouraging  
him with the facilitie of the enterprise, pushed him on  
to embrace it. And for his part, as mostall men are  
apt to beleue the thing they desire, so he nourished  
that hope with reasons rather apparant than true:  
he knew that commonlie it was a matter grieuous  
to the princes of Germanie to haue the emperors  
mightie; being gealous that in so great a puissance,  
they would not either in part or in all, quarrell the iu-  
risdictions and authorities imperiall occupied by  
manie of them. In which reason he perswaded him-  
selfe, that they would in no sort consent to the election  
of the Spaniard, & so of themselves to subiect them-  
selves to an emperor more mightie than had bene  
since a long descent and race of emperors. A matter  
which in his person seemed to be qualified, for that ha-  
uing neither estates nor ancient alliances in Ger-  
manie, they had no occasion of suspicion of his great-  
nesse.

The same reason also made him beleue well of  
the conformitie of the free townes, in whome much  
lesse that the regard of the glorie of the nation would  
carie it from him, seeing it would helpe to peise the  
ballance on his side, for that with most men the mo-  
tions of proper and priuate interest maie do more,  
than the respect of publike and generall profit. He  
knewe it was not a little grieuous to manie noble  
houses of Germanie, pretending to be capable of  
such a dignitie, to see the empire continue so long time  
in one house; but much more did it discontent them to  
suffer that so great an estate, which of right ought  
sometimes to be giuen to one of them, and sometime  
to passe to another, should become a perpetuall des-  
cent and succession in one line: inasmuch as they  
might call inheritance and succession that election,  
which durst not leaue the line of the emperors. That  
in that sort the empire was translated from Albert  
de Austria to Frederike his brother, and from Fre-  
derike to Maximilian his sonne; and now there was  
deuile to passe it from Maximilian to the person of  
Charles his grandchild.

By these humors and indignations of the prin-  
ces of Germanie, he toke hope that the discords and  
gealousies among themselves might helpe on his  
cause, the rather for that it often hapeneth in the con-  
tentions of men, that he that is excluded, or the par-  
tie whome he fauoureth, runneth with a naturall  
rathnesse rather to call in, and to aduance a third,  
than to giue place to him that hath opposed against  
his intention. Moreover, the French king was not  
without his hopes in the fauour of the pope, both in  
regard of the amitie and alliance betwixt them; and  
also for that he was not ignorant how in-  
conuenient it would be to the see apostolike to haue  
the

The French  
king in hope  
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as well as the  
Spaniard.

The French  
king builded  
his hope vpon  
the humors of  
the princes of  
Germanie.

The French  
king relieth  
vpon the fa-  
uour of the  
pope.

the imperiall crowne inuested in Charles, no; so much for his owne greatnesse, as for that by the opportunitie and neighbourhood of the realme of Naples to the estate of the church, and the adherencie of the barons of the Cebelins, he had a plaine and open passage to run vp to the gates of Rome.

But in that discourse he considered not that the same reason, which he iudged true against Charles, was also against himselfe: for that the empire being ioined to his person, he was no lesse to be feared of the pope & all others, than Charles. For that though the one of them possessed happilie more realmes and states; yet the other was not to be lesse esteemed, hauing his power not dispersed nor separate in manie places, but was prince of a realme entierlie assembled and vnitied, where the obedience and fidelitie of his subiects was no lesse wonderfull, than his treasure and riches infinite. Neuerthelesse, not knowing in himselfe that which he considered in another, he had recourse to the pope, and imploied his fauor vnder the offer and protestation of his person and kingdoms, with all other deuotions of a loving son. Notwithstanding all this, the French king was abused by his baine hope, which sed him with fantasies of the empire, whereto he was not allotted nor elected.

For on the twentieth eight of June was elected to be emperor Charles king of Castile, and nephew to the queene, by the whole assent of the electors of the empire: namely, the archbishop of Spaine, the archbishop of Cullen, the count Palatine, and the duke of Saron. Although the French king sent his great maister to cause him to be elected to the high maiestie of the empire; yet his ambassadoz and great maister of his household (called Confiere lord of Boffie, and brother to William Confiere lord Boncuet, admirall of France, which was ambassadoz in England the last yere, as you haue heard) did not so his message that it toke anie effect. The king which had sent doctor Pace his secretarie for the aduancement of his nephew the king of Castile, to the dignitie imperiall, because he had the duchie of Austria, and manie other seignories in Almaine, was verie iolous of this election, and caused a solemne masse to be sung at Paules the seuenth daie of Iulie: at which masse was present the cardinall Campeius, the cardinall of Poike, the duke of Buckingham, of Norfolk, Suffolke, with the ambassadoz of Spaine, France, Venice, and Scotland.

After masse was done, the quier sang *Te Deum*, and then all the lords departed to Wainards castell to dinner, and that night were solemne fires made thorough London, and great plentie of wine giuen by Italians, Dutchmen, and Spaniards for these newes. In this yere the king with all the knights of his order being in England, rode on double horses, with the gentlemen following the king from Colbroke to Windsoze in gorgeous apparell, and there he kept with great solemnitie the feast of saint George, and dined in the hall. The bishop of Winchester prelat of the order sat at the heards end alone. The king was solemnelie serued and the surnap cast like the feast of a coronation. All things were plentiful to strangers that resorted thither. At the masse of Requiem were offered the banner & other habillements of honour belonging to Maximilian the emperor late deceased.

After this feast ended, the king came to Richmond, and so to Grenewich, and there laie all Spaine. In which moneth the kings counsell secretlie communed together of the kings gentlenesse and liberallie to all persons: by the which they perceived that certeine yong men in his priue chamber, not regarding his estate or degree, were so familiar and homelie with him, that they forgot themselves, which

things although the king of his gentle nature suffered, and not rebuked nor reprimanded it: yet the kings counsell thought it not meet to be suffered for the kings honour, and therefore they all together came to the king, beseeching him to haue moze regard to his realtie.

To whome the king answered, that he had chosen them of his counsell, both for the maintenance of his honour, and for the defense of all things that might blemish the same: wherefore if they saw anie about him misuse themselves, he committed it vnto their reformation. When the kings counsell caused the lord chamberleine to call before them diuerse of the priue chamber, which had bene in the French court, and banished them the court for diuerse considerations, laing nothing particularlie to their charges, & they that had offices were commanded to go to their offices. Which discharge out of court grew for the hearts of these yong men, which were called the kings minions. Then was there foure sad & ancient knights put into the priue chamber, whose names were; sir Richard Wilingfield, sir Richard Feringham, sir Richard Welfon, and sir William Kingston; and diuerse officers were changed.

In this summer the queene desired the king to bring to his manoz of Hauering in the Woburn in Essex the gentlemen of France being hostages, for whose welcomming she purueied all things in the most liberall manner: and especiallie she made to the king such a sumptuous banquet, that the king thanked hir hartlie, & the strangers gaue hir great praise. The king lieng there did shot, hunt, and run daile with the hostages to their great ioy. This yere in September the king late at his manoz of Newhall in Essex, otherwise called Beaulieu, where the king had newlie builded a coslie mansion, there to welcome the queene, the lords, and the French gentlemen, he made to them a sumptuous banquet, and all along the chamber sat a ladie & a lord, or a knight, which were plentifully serued.

After the banquet ended, with noise of minstrels entered into the chamber eight maskers with white beards, and long and large garments of blew sattin pained with spers, powdered with spangles of bullion gold, and they danced with ladies sadlie, and communed not with the ladies after the fashion of maskers, but behaued themselves grauelie. Wherefore the queene plucked off their visors, and then appeared the duke of Suffolke, the earle of Essex, the marquesse Dorset, the lord Aburgauennie, sir Richard Wilingfield, sir Robert Wilingfield, sir Richard Welfon, sir William Kingston: all these were somewhat aged, the yongest man was fiftie at the least. The ladies had good sport to see these ancient persons maskers.

When they departed, the king and the foure hostages of France, and the earle of Devonshire with sir other yong gentlemen entered the chamber, of the which sir were all in yellow sattin, hose, shoes, and caps, and sir other were in like maner in greene: the pelotio sattin was fretted with filuer of damaske, and so was the greene verie richlie to behold: then euerie masker toke a ladie and danced. When they had danced and communed a great while, their visors were taken off, and they knotwne, and the king gaue manie broches and proper gifts where he liked. In the moneth of Nouember the king came from Lambeth to Westminster hall, and so to the Star chamber, and there were brought before him the lord Ayle, the lord Holward, sir Gathew Browne, sir William Bulmer, and John Scot of Camerwell, for diuerse riots, misdemeanors, & offenses by them committed: but the king speciallie rebuked sir William Bulmer knight, because he being his seruant swozne, refused the kings seruice, and became seruant

Abr. Fl. ex  
Edw. Hall. in  
H. 8. fol. lxxvij,  
&c.  
Charles the  
sixt, king of  
Spaine chosen  
emperor.

Certaine of  
the priue  
chamber  
remained, and  
others in the  
same appea-  
red.

After the an-  
nouncement  
of the cardinal  
pope.

The king  
and  
queene at  
Hauering in  
Essex.

Armed in  
Essex called  
Beaulieu.

A masker of  
greene and  
ancient cos-  
tume.

A masker of  
poultrell  
courtiers.

The king  
and  
queene in the  
Star  
chamber  
being in iudge-  
ment.

Beate of a  
pigeon upon  
a ladder.

The kings  
affablenesse &  
familiaritie  
with the infe-  
rior sort of  
people grun-  
ged at of the  
counsell.

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11. Reg. 11.

want to the duke of Buckingham: yet at length by  
on his humble craving of mercie, still kneeling on  
his knees before his grace, the king pardoned him  
his offense: and likewise he pardoned the lord Ho-  
ward, and sir Pat the w Browne, their offenses: but  
because the lord Egles matter concerned murder,  
he remitted him to the common law. And then he  
rose and went to his barge, and by the waie made  
James Parford mayor of the citie of London  
knight, and so returned to Lambeth.

The French king desirous to continue the friend-  
ship lately begun betwixt him and the king of Eng-  
land, made meanes unto the cardinall, that they  
might in some convenient place come to an inter-  
view together, that he might have further knowlege  
of king Henrie, and likewise king Henrie of him.  
But the same went that the cardinall desired great-  
lie, of himselfe, that the two kings might meet, who  
mesuring by his will what was convenient, thought  
it should make much with his glorie, if in France al-  
so at some high assemblee of noble men, he should be  
scene in his baine pompe and shew of dignitie: he  
therefore breaketh with the king of that matter, de-  
claring how honourable, necessarie, and convenient  
it should be for him to gratifie his friend therein, and  
thus with his persuasions the k. began to conceive  
an earnest desire to see the French king, and there-  
upon appointed to go ouer to Calis, and so in the  
marshes of Guisnes to meet with him.

Then were there sent unto Guisnes, under the  
rule of sir Edward Welknep three thousand artifi-  
cers, which builded out of the earth on the plaine be-  
fore the castell of Guisnes, a most pleasant palace of  
timber, right curiouslie garnished without and with-  
in. Herewith were letters written to all such lords,  
ladies, gentlemen, and gentlewomen, which should  
give their attendance on the king and queene, which  
incontinentlie put themselves in a readinesse after  
the most sumptuous sort. Also it was appointed that  
the king of England, & the French king, in a campe  
betwixt Ard and Guisnes, with eightene aides,  
should in June next ensuing abide all commers be-  
ing gentlemen, at the tilt, at tourneie, and at barr-  
ers, whereof proclamattion was made by Orleans  
king of armes of France here in the court of Eng-  
land, and by Clarenceur king of armes of Eng-  
land in the court of France, and in the court of Bur-  
gognie, and in diuerse other courts and places in Al-  
manie and Italie.

During the time of these preparations, newes  
were brought to the king, that Charles his nephue e-  
lected emperor of Almanie, would shortly depart  
out of Spaine by sea, and come by England to go  
to Acon or Aip (a citie of fame and renowne in Ger-  
manie, for the ancient residence and sepulchre of  
Charlemaine) where he receiued the first crowne.  
Wherefore the king hearing of this determination  
of the emperor, caused great provisions to be made  
at euerie haue, for the receiuing of his welbeloued  
nephue and friend: & daillie provisions were made on  
all sides for these noble meetings of so high princes:  
and especiallie the queene of England, and the ladie  
Dowager of France, made great cost on the appa-  
rell of their ladies and gentlewomen.

On the first daie of Februarie being Candle-  
masse euen, as the king and queene were come from  
euenlong at there manour of Greenwich, before the  
queenes chamber there blew a trumpet suddenlie,  
and then entered into the queens chamber foure gen-  
tlemen apparelled in long and large garments of  
blew damaske bordered with gold, and brought with  
them a tricke waggon, in the which sat a ladie rich-  
lie apparelled, with a canopie ouer hir head: and  
on the foure corners of the waggon were foure hed-

pieces called armites, euerie pece being of a sundrie  
deuise. The said ladie put by a bill to the king, the ef-  
fect thereof was, that the foure gentlemen present  
would (for the loue of their ladies) answer all com-  
mers at the tilt at a daie by the king to be appointed:  
which daie was appointed at Shouetide next ensu-  
ing. At which daie the foresaid gentlemen ballantlie  
accomplished their enterprise, with great lauds of  
the king, the queene, and the ladies.

Whereouer, now that it was concluded, that the  
kings of England and France should meet (as yet  
haue heard) then both the kings committed the order  
and manner of these meetings, and how manie daies  
the same should continue, & what preheminence each  
should giue to other: unto the cardinall of Porke,  
which to set all things in a certentie, made an instru-  
ment, containing an order and direction concerning  
the premisses by him deuised and appointed.

The whole  
manner of the  
interview com-  
mitted to the  
cardinall.

### The tenours of the said instrument

made by the cardinall.



Thomas archbishop of Porke and  
cardinall, &c. Atteit that by the  
treatie and meeting of the right  
high, and right puissant princes,  
Henrie by the grace of God, king of Eng-  
land, and of France, lord of Ireland, my so-  
ueraigne lord: and Francis by the same  
grace, k. of France right chiltene, made  
and concluded at London the eight daie of  
October, the yere of our Lord one thou-  
sand five hundred and eightene, be among  
other things concluded and accorded, that  
the same meeting shall be in place indis-  
ferent, and not subiect to any of the said prin-  
ces. Neuerthelesse we, considering the ho-  
nour, profit, and utilitie, that shall rebound  
by the interuiew of the said two princes,  
and not onlie to the said two princes, their  
realmes and subiects, but also to all chris-  
tendome, after declaration herebypon had  
with the said princes.

Ab. Fl. ex Ed.  
Hall in H. 8.  
fol. lxx.

Also considering that the said illustre  
king of England my soueraigne lord, in pas-  
sing the sea with his retinue, shall susteine  
great costs and expences, and dispose him-  
selfe to great labors and dangers, leauing  
his realme and puissance for certeine time,  
we haue thought & esteemed, that he should  
not be wholie satisfied to the honour and  
dignitie of the same, right illustre king of  
England my soueraigne lord, and should  
not haue in regard condigne of his labours  
and dangers, if the said interuiew or mee-  
ting after the first treatie shuld be in place  
indifferent. Wherefore it is that we desi-  
ring to weie equallie the honor and digni-  
tie of the said two kings, by vertue and  
power of the commissions to vs giuen, of  
whom the tenours shall be hereafter de-  
clared: we haue made, declared, and orde-  
ned certeine articles accepted & approued  
by the same princes respectiuelie, which  
they will obserue, and by these presents we  
make, declare, and ordeine as followeth.

And first we declare and ordeine, that  
before the end of the moneth of Maie next  
comming, the said illustre king of England  
shall come personallie to the castle of Guis-  
nes, with his bedfellow the queene, and his  
sister

The first ar-  
ticle of the in-  
teruiew of the  
two kings &  
their traine.

Certaine of  
the priuie  
chamber re-  
moued, and  
others in this  
roome appoin-  
ted.

The king and  
queene at this  
meeting in the  
Tower.

Archbell in  
the clo called  
Seauilleu.

A masse of  
the great and  
ancient court-  
iers.

A masse of  
youthfull  
courtiers.

The king and  
queene in the  
Seuere cham-  
ber in iudge-  
ment.

After the an-  
nouncement  
of the cardinall  
of Porke.

He shall in  
the hall  
be receiued  
by the inter-  
uiew of the  
emperor  
comes into  
England.

Daillie of a  
begon upon  
Candlemasse.

sister the Dowarelle of France : & sembla-  
ble the right christened k. of France, shall  
come in person to his castle of Ard with the  
quene & his mother : and some day, houre,  
and time, within foure daies at the most,  
after the end of Maie, that shall be assign-  
ed by the commissioners of the one and  
the other partie, the said king of England  
shall issue out of his castell of Guisnes half  
a mile long, without that that he shall issue  
out of the limits of his demain of Guisnes,  
and shall come towards the said castell of  
Ard : and there within the territorie of the  
said castell of Guisnes, he shall rest in some  
place not fortified nor walled, and nere the  
limits of France, that the said commissio-  
ners shall assigne (as aboue said.)

The manner of  
their meeting  
and mutuall  
greeting.

And the said right christened king, par-  
ting from his castell of Ard, shall come to-  
ward the said king of England the same  
day, place, time, and houre, that shall tarie  
him within the demaine of Guisnes, as is  
said. In the which shall not be set or des-  
cribed any pavilions or tents, and there the  
said two kings being on horsebacke, with  
their retinue shall see the one the other, and  
salute each other, and speake together fa-  
miliarlie, and common in that sort and ma-  
ner, and so long as shall seme to them good.  
And after the said salutation and commu-  
nication finished for that time, the said il-  
lustre king of England shall returne to his  
castell of Guisnes, and the said right chris-  
tened king to his castell of Ard.

What both the  
kings were to  
do the mor-  
row after the  
first inter-  
view.

Item, for so much that we thinke to be  
satisfied touching the labours, dangers, &  
honour of the said king of England, my so-  
ueraigne lord of so much, that the said  
right christened king at the first speaking,  
he shall come forward vnto, and within his  
territorie of Guisnes, we will keepe the ho-  
nour of the said kings : & therefore declare  
and ordeine, that on the morrow after the  
first interuiew, the same kings shall meet  
together in some fit place, indifferent be-  
twene Ard and Guisnes, that shall be as-  
signed by the said commissioners.

And after the salutation made on the  
one and the other partie, the said right il-  
lustre king of England shall go to the castell  
of Ard, to see, salute, and visit the quene of  
France, and also the sister of the said chris-  
tened king, with whome he shall dine pri-  
uilie. And likewise the said right christened  
king shall go to the castell of Guisnes, to  
visit and salute the quene of England, and  
the Dowarelle of France, with whome he  
shall dine. In the which places the said  
princes shall be receiued familiarlie and a-  
miablie, vnto mutuall loue, and also to the  
honour of the said princes.

Order for  
seats of che-  
valrie and ac-  
tuitie and the  
place thereto  
appointed.

Item, as the said serene princes of En-  
gland & France, be like in force corporall,  
beautie, & gift of nature, right expert & ha-  
uing knowledge in the art militant, right  
cheualrous in armes, & in the flower and  
vigour of youth, wherby seemed to vs a right  
assemble, that for to adorne and hono-  
r the same assemble, and to shew their for-  
ces in armes,

they shall take counsell and  
dispose themselves to do some faire feat of  
armes, as well on foot as on horsebacke,  
against all commers : we declare and or-  
deine, that the place where shall be the said  
fight and feat of armes, shall be chosen be-  
twene Guisnes and Ard, and assigned by  
the commissioners of the one and the other  
partie.

And for a suertie of the persons of the  
said kings & their companie, the said place  
shall be apparelled, ditched, fortified, and  
kept of the one and the other partie, by e-  
quall number of men of armes, respectue-  
lie committed and deputed that to do. And  
during the time of the said iusts and feats  
of warre, the same kings and quenes with  
their retinue, shall see each other familiarlie,  
and conuerse and speake together. And e-  
uerie daie towards the evening, after the  
iusts, triumphs, bankets, & familiar com-  
munications done, the said kings with  
their retinue shall returne into their ca-  
stels, that is to say, the king of England  
into his castell of Guisnes, & the said right  
christened king into his castell of Ard, and  
thus they shall do daillie, during the said  
fight and feat of armes.

Item, we declare and ordeine, that when  
the same king of England and the quene  
his bedfellow, & the Dowarelle of France  
his sister, with their retinue, shall go to the  
territorie and entrie of the foresaid right  
christened king, the superiortie and prehe-  
minence shall be given to the said king of  
England, to the quene his bedfellow, and  
to their retinue respectiuelie, during the  
time that they shall tarie and be there : and  
semblable when the said right christened  
king, and the quene his bedfellow and his  
right illustre ladie and mother, with their  
retinue shall come to the territorie and en-  
trie of the said illustre king of England, the  
superiortie and preheminece shall be gi-  
uen to the said right christened king, to the  
quene his bedfellow, and to his mother,  
and to their retinue during the time that  
they shall continue and abide there.

Item, forsomuch as the castels and pla-  
ces where the said interuiew shall be, be so  
little and narrow, that if entrie and licence  
to come thither be given to all them that  
would go thither, diuers annoiances, trou-  
bles & impechments should follow : wher-  
fore it is so, that we the cardinall aboue  
said, by these presents declare and ordeine,  
that none of the retinue of the said kings,  
quenes, or other lords and nobles, of what  
estate, qualitie, or condition that he or they  
be of, shall not come to the said assemble  
with more great number of persons or  
horse, than shall be written by letters sub-  
scribed by the said kings : the which shall  
containe the estates and conditions of the  
persons, as well men as women, and num-  
ber of seruants and horse, except the com-  
mon consent and licence of the said kings.

Item, forsomuch as peradventure it  
shall come that the said princes, lords, gen-  
tlemen,

Order for  
the princes  
for all se-  
rants going  
comming.

Order for  
the king of  
England to  
be given to  
the king of  
France  
within the  
French  
territory.

Order for the  
king of  
France to  
be given to  
the king of  
England  
within the  
English  
territory.

The last  
of this  
treatie  
of the  
articles  
is therein  
inclosed.

Order for  
the king of  
France to  
be given to  
the king of  
England  
within the  
English  
territory.

Dom. 1520

Reg. II.

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Order for  
the prince  
to be given  
to the king  
of England  
and the  
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within the  
French  
1520.

Order for  
the prince  
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to the king  
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Order for  
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Order for  
the prince  
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lemen, and household seruants, shall see and conuerse together familiarly, to the end that it maie ingender betwene them an amitie more firme and stable, for that cause, and that more suerlie and agreable they may be together, as well by day as by night without any danger or feare, which we desire to prouide: we declare and ordeine that two gentlemen, with sufficient companie of equall like number, be committed and deputed, respectiuelie by the said kings for the keeping and suertie of the waies and watches, that shall be made continuallie during the assemble of the said kings. The which gentlemen, with their companies, shall ordeine and depute explozatozs and spies in the ballies, forrests, woods, towngs, burrowes, villages, castels, passages, and waies, and other places dangerous and suspect: from time to time, and houre to houre, as well towards Flanders, as Picardie, Artois, & England, to exploit and watch there.

And if anie be found suspect, them to repulle and take awaie, to the end that not onelie the said princes, their gentlemen, and household seruants, maie suerlie and without feare visit the one the other, as said is: but also those that shall bring vitels necessarie to the said assemble, maie without danger, trouble, impechement, or noisance go and come: the which explozatozs shall be bounden euerie daie in the morning and euening, to make report to the said princes or to their said counsellors respectiuelie, of that which they found, and in what estate the waies be. We declare further and ordeine, that all men of armes and of warre, of the one and the other partie, shall not approch nearer than two iournies, to the place where the said interuiew shall be, except the retinue and men of war that be committed and deputed to keepe Bullongne and Calis: and that the same men of warre nor none other, during the assemble of the said princes, shall not presume to come nearer, vntil by the consent, accord, and licence of the said princes.

Item, we cardinall aboue said, by expresse authoritie and power to vs giuen, by these presents, bind the said princes to do, fulfill, and accomplish, all and euerie things aboue said herein contened. Finally, we declare and ordeine, that ech of the said kings on his partie, shall ratifie, confirme, and approue all and euerie the chapters and articles aboue said, by their letters pattents sealed with their hands. And by the same letters of ratification they shall be bounden, to accomplish with good faith and word of a king, all and euerie the things aboue said: the which letters made, subscribed, and sealed, as is said, they shall giue the one the other, and shall change in the cite of London, within one moneth next after the date of these presents. Made the twelue of March, the yeare of our Lord a thousand five hundred and nineteene.

The peres of the realme receiuing letters to prepare themselves to attend the king in this iournie, and no apparant necessarie cause expessed, why not therefore; seemed to grudge, that such a costlie iournie should be taken in hand to their importunate charges and expenses, without consent of the whole boord of the counsell. But namelie the duke of Buckingham, being a man of a lostie courage, but not most liberall, fore repined that he should be at so great charges for his furniture forth at this time, saing; that he knew not for what cause so much monie should be spent about the sight of a vaine talke to be had, and communication to be ministered of things of no importance. Wherefore he sticke not to saie, that it was an intolerable matter to beie such a vile and importunate person.

The duke indeed could not abide the cardinal, and speciallie he had of late conceiued an inward malice against him for sir William Bulmers cause, whose trouble was onelie procured by the cardinal; who first caused him to be cast in prison. How such greuous words as the duke thus uttered against him, came to the cardinals eare; whereupon he cast before hand all waies possible to haue him in a trip, that he might cause him to leape headlesse. But because he doubted his friends, kinsmen, and allies, and cheslie the earle of Surrie lord admerall, which had married the dukes daughter, he thought good first to send him some whither out of the waie, least he might cast a trumpe in his waie. There was great enmitie betwixt the cardinal and the earle, for that on a time, when the cardinal took upon him to cheeke the earle, he had like to haue thrust his dagger into the cardinal.

At length there was occasion offered him to compass his purpose, by occasion of the earle of Kildare his coming out of Ireland. For the cardinal knowing he was well prouided of monie, sought occasion to steere him of part thereof. The earle of Kildare being unmarried, was desirous to haue an English woman to wife; and for that he was a suter to a widow contrarie to the cardinals mind, he accused him to the king, of that he had not bozne himselfe by rightlie in his office in Ireland, where he was the kings lieutenant. Such accusations were framed against him when no bribes would come, that he was committed to prison, and then by the cardinals good preferment the earle of Surrie was sent into Ireland as the kings depute, in lieu of the said earle of Kildare, there to remaine rather as an erile, than as lieutenant to the king, even at the cardinals pleasure, as he himselfe well perceived.

In the beginning of Aprill, the said earle passed ouer into Ireland, and had with him diuerse gentlemen that had bene in the garrison of Cornate, and one hundred peomen of the kings gard, and others, to the number of a thousand men, where he by his manhood and policie brought the earle of Desmond and diuerse other rebels to good conformitie and order. He continued there two yeares, in which space he had manie bickerings and skintishes with the wild Irish. There rested yet the earle of Northumberland, whose the cardinal doubted also, least he might hinder his purpose, when he should go about to weake his malice against the duke of Buckingham: and therefore he picked a quarell to him, for that he had seized upon certeine wards which the cardinal said appertained of right to the king. And because the earle would not giue over his title, he was also committed to prison, & after toke it for a great benefit at the cardinals hands, that he might be deliuered out of his danger.

How in this meane while, the cardinal ceased not to bring the duke out of the kings fauour, by such

Great hatred  
betwene the  
cardinal, and  
the duke of  
Buckingham.

The earle of  
Kildare comes  
mitted to  
ward.

Edw. Hall,

Good seruice  
done by the  
earle of Surrie.

Polydor,

The earle of  
Northumberland  
land committed  
to prison.



such forged tales, and contrived surmises, as he da-  
lie put into the kings head: insomuch that (through  
the infelicitie of his fate) diuerse accidents fell out to  
the abuantage of the cardinall; which he not omit-  
ting, achieved the thing whereat he so studiouse (for  
the satisfiing of his cankered & malicious stomach)  
laid full aime. Now it chanced that the duke com-  
ming to London with his traine of men, to attend  
the king into France, went before into Kent unto a  
manor place which he had there. And whilest he staid  
in that countrie till the king set forward, greuous  
complaints were exhibited to him by his farmers  
and tenants against Charles Inceut his surerour,  
for such bising as he had vsed there amongst them.  
Whereupon the duke toke such displeasure against  
him, that he depriued him of his office, not knowing  
how that in so doing he procured his owne destruc-  
tion, as after appeared.

Anno Reg. 12.

The king set-  
terh forward  
towards  
France.

The kings maiestie perscuering in purpose to  
meet with Francis the French king, remoned with  
the quene, and all his court, the one & twentieth day  
of Maie being mondaie, from his manor of Green-  
wich towards the sea side: and so on the fridaie the  
siue and twentieth of Maie, he arriued at the citie  
of Canturburie, intending there to keepe his Whit-  
suntide. On the morrow after, the emperor being  
on the sea returning out of Spaine, arriued with all  
his nanie of ships roiall on the coast of Kent, direct  
to the port of Which the said daie by none, where hee  
was saluted by the viceadmerall of England, sir  
William Fitz William, with sir of the kings great  
ships well furnished, which laie for the safegard of  
passage betwixt Calis and Douer. Towards eue-  
ning the emperor departed from his ships, and en-  
tered into his bote, and comming towards land, was  
met and receiued of the lord cardinall of Bozke with  
such reuerence as to so noble a prince appertained.

The emperor  
Charles the  
sixt landeth in  
England.

The meeting  
of the emperor  
and H. Henrie  
at Douer  
castell.

The emperor  
and H. Henrie  
keepe Whit-  
suntide at  
Canturburie.

Thus landed the emperor Charles the sixt at  
Douer, vnder his cloth of estate of the blacke eagle,  
all spread on rich cloth of gold. He had with him ma-  
nie noble men, and manie faire ladies of his bloud.  
When he was come on land, the lord cardinall con-  
ducted him to the castell of Douer, which was prepa-  
red for him in most roiall manner. In the morning, the  
king rode with all hast to the castell of Douer to wel-  
come the emperor, and entering into the castell, a-  
lighted. Of whose comming the emperor hauing  
knowledge, came out of his chamber, and met him  
on the staires, where either of them embraced other  
in most louing maner, and then the king brought the  
emperor to his chamber. On Whitsuntide earlie in  
the morning, they toke their horses, and rode to the  
citie of Canturburie, the more to keepe solemne the  
feast of Pentecost: but speciallie to see the quene of  
England his aunt was the emperor his intent, of  
whome ye may be sure he was most iollie recei-  
ued and welcomed.

Thus the emperor and his retinue, both of lords  
and ladies, kept their Whitsuntide with the king and  
quene of England, in the citie of Canturburie with  
all ioy and solace. The emperor yet him selfe seemed  
not so much to delight in pastime and pleasure, but  
that in respect of his youthfull yeares, there appea-  
red in him a great shew of grauitie: for they could  
by no means bring him to dance amongst the res-  
due of the princes, but onelie was contented to be a  
looker on. Peraduenture the sight of the ladie Marie  
troubled him, whome he had sometime loued, and yet  
through fortunes euill hap might not haue hir to  
wife. The chiefe cause that moued the emperor to  
come thus on land at this time, was to perswade that  
by word of mouth, which he had before done most ear-  
nestlie by letters, which was, that the king should not  
meet with the French king at anie interuiew: for

Polydor.

he doubted least if the king of England & the French  
king should grow into some great friendship and  
faithfull bond of amitie, it might turne him to dis-  
pleasure.

But now that he perceined how the king was  
forward on his iourne, he did what he could to pro-  
cure, that no trust should be committed to the faire  
words of the Frenchmen: and that if it were possi-  
ble, the great friendship that was now in breeding  
betwixt the two kings, might be dissolued. And so so-  
much as he knew the lord cardinall to be loue with  
rewards, as a fish with a bait: he bestowed on him  
great gifts, and promised him much more, so that he  
would be his friend, and helpe to bring his purpose to  
passe. The cardinall not able to susteine the least as-  
sault by force of such rewards as he presentlie recei-  
ued, and of such large promises as on the emperours  
behalf were made to him, promised to the empe-  
rour, that he would so vse the matter, as his purpose  
should be sped: onelie he required him not to discalowe  
the kings intent for interuiew to be had, which he de-  
sired in anie wise to go forward, that he might shew  
his high magnificence in France, according to his  
first intention.

The emperor remained in Canturburie till the  
thursdaie, being the last of Maie, and then taking  
leauie of the king, and of his aunt the quene, depa-  
red to Sandwich, where he toke his ships and sailed  
into Flanders. The same daie, the king made saile  
from the port of Douer, and landed at Calis about  
eleuen of the clocke, and with him the quene and la-  
dies, & manie nobles of the realme. His grace was  
receiued into the checker, and there rested. The fourth  
of June, the king and quene with all their traine re-  
moued from Calis, to his princelie lodging netwile  
erected beside the towne of Guines, the most noble  
& roiall lodging that euer before was seen. For it  
was a palace, the which was quadrant, and euerie  
quadrant of the same palace was three hundred and  
twentie eight foot long of allise, which was in com-  
passe thirtene hundred and twelue foot about. This  
palace was set on stages by great cunning & sum-  
ptuous worke.

At the entering into the palace before the gate, on  
the plaine greene, was builded a fountaine of im-  
bowed worke, gilt with fine gold, and bice, ingrailed  
with antike worke: the old god of wine called Bac-  
chus burling the wine, which by the conduits in the  
earth ran to all people plentifullie with red, white,  
and claret wine, ouer whose head was written in  
letters of Romane in gold, Faicte bonne chere qui  
vouldra. On the other hand of side of the gate was  
set a pillar, which was of ancient Romane worke,  
bozne with foure lions of gold, the pillars topped in  
a wreath of gold curiously wrought and intrailed,  
and on the summit of the said pillar stood an image  
of the blind god Cupid, with his bow and arrowes of  
loue, readie by his seeming to strike the yong people  
to loue.

The foregate of the same palace of place with great  
and mightie masonrie by sight was arched, with a  
tower on euerie side of the same port, rered by great  
craft, and imbattelled was the gate and tower, and  
in the fenestres and windowes were images resem-  
bling men of warre, readie to cast great stones.  
Also the same gate or tower was set with compa-  
sed images of ancient princes, as Hercules, Alex-  
ander, and other by intrailed worke, richlie limned  
with gold and albine colours: and well and warlike  
was made ouer the gate loupes, and inforced with bat-  
telments, and in the same gate a lodge for the porter,  
which there appeared, and other sumptuouslie ap-  
pelled like unto kings officers. By the same gate  
all people passed into a large court faire and breu-  
tiful,

The emperor  
laboured to  
winne the  
purpose of  
his grace.

Ed. Hall.

The king

Ed. Hall.

Ed. Hall.

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Dom. 1520

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utall, for in this court appeared much of the outward  
beautie of this place, for from the first water table,  
to the raising of reissin pices, were baie windowes,  
on euerie side mixed with cleare stozies curioudic  
glasse, the posts or moimels of euerie window was  
gilt.

Thus the outward part of the place lumed the  
eyes of the beholders, by real in of the sumptuous  
work. Also the tower of the gate (as seemed) was  
bulmed by great masonrie, and by great engine of  
mans wit, for the sundrie countenances of euerie  
image that there appeared, some shooting, some ca  
sting, some readie to strike, and firing of gunnes,  
which showed verie honozable. Also all the said qua  
drants, baies, and collicies, were roiallie intrailed, as  
faire as vnto the same court appertained. And direct  
against the gate was deuised a halpas, and at the  
entrie of the faire, were images of foze and terri  
ble countenances, all armed in curious worke of  
argentine. The baie of the same halpas pendant by  
craft of timber, & under it antike images of gold in  
armored with verdoz of olifs cast in compasse, moun  
ting their countenances toward the entring of the  
palace. The faire of the said halpas was cast of pas  
sage by the wents of hyode steps, so that from the  
first foot or towel step, anie person might without  
paine go vnto the highest place of the same halpas.

On euerie hand was their chamber dozes and  
enterings into the chambers of the same palace,  
which were long and large, and well proportioned, to  
receiue light and aire at pleasure: the roses of them  
from place to place, and chamber to chamber were  
sleed, and couered with cloth of silke, of the most  
faire and quicke inuention that before time was  
seene. For the ground was white ingrailed, embowed,  
and batoned with rich clothes of silkes, knit and fret  
with cuts and braids, and sundrie new castis, that the  
same clothes of silke shewed like bussions of fine  
burned gold: and the roses in losenges, that in the  
same roses were in kindlie course, furnished so to  
mans sight, that no living creature might but loy in  
the beholding thereof. For from the iaw pice of the  
said sleeling (which pice was gilt with fine gold) were  
workes in pane paled, all the walles to the crest in  
countering the cleare stozies, the same crest which  
was of large depintesse, the worke was antike knots  
with bosses cast and wrought with more cunning  
than I can write, all which workes and ouerages were  
gilt, and to set it the more to the glorie, the flour  
ishing wile was comparable to the rich amell.

Also at the foot of the same palace was another crest  
all of fine set gold, whereon hanged rich & maruelous  
clothes of arras wrought of gold and silke, compas  
sed of manie ancient stozies, with which clothes of ar  
ras euerie wall and chamber were hanged, & all the  
windowes so richlie couered, that it passed all other  
sights before seene. In euerie chamber and euerie  
place convenient were clothes of estate, great and  
large of cloth of gold, of tissue, and rich embroderie,  
with chaires couered with like cloth, with pommels  
of fine gold, and great cushions of rich worke of the  
Turkie making, nothing lacked of honoutable fur  
nishment. Also to the same palace was reared a  
chappell with two closetts, the quire of the said chap  
pell sleed with cloth of gold, and thereon fret ingra  
iled bent clothes of silke, all was then silke and gold.  
The altars of this chappell were hanged with rich re  
vesture of cloth of gold and tissue, & embowdered with  
perles.ouer the hie altar was hanged a rich canopie  
of maruelous greatnesse, the altar was appareled  
with fine paire of candlesticks of gold, and on the al  
tar an halpas, and thereon stood a crucifix all of fine  
gold, and in the same halpas stood twelue images of  
the bignes of foure peares of age, all gold.

All the copes and vestments were so rich as might  
be prepared or bought in the cite of Florens, for they  
were all but of one pice, so woven for the purpose,  
cloth of tissue and powdered with red roses purpled  
with fine gold. The vestris set with pearles and pre  
cious stones. And all the walles and desces of this  
chappell were hanged with right cloth of gold, & three  
rich great crosses were there readie to be borne at  
festiual times, and basens and censers, gospellers,  
pares, crewets, holie water vessels, and other orna  
ments all of gold. Also in the first closet was a tra  
uerse for the kings person of cloth of gold, & in it his  
place & chaire, with cushions of cloth of gold: before the  
traverse was an altar of presence, which altar was  
adorned with cloth of broderie, and rich pearles and  
precious stones, set in goldsmiths worke of fine gold.  
On the altar was a beske or halpas, whereon stood a  
patible of the crucifix of fine gold, with an image of  
the Trinitie, an image of the virgine Marie, and  
twelue other images, all fine gold & precious stones,  
two paire of candlesticks of fine gold, with the ba  
sens, crewets, pares, and other ornaments.

The said closet was hanged with tapets embro  
dered with rich worke fret with pearles and stones,  
the rose of the same closet was sleed with worke of  
inmoued, gilt with fine gold, and senoper, and bise.  
The second closet was for the queens person, in which  
was a traverse of rich cloth of gold, the altar so richlie  
appareled, that there lacked neither pearles nor  
stones of riches. On the altar were twelue great  
images of gold, the closet hanged with cloth of gold,  
all other iewels mistall. I suppose neuer such like  
were seene, and the rose of the same closet was sleed  
with like worke that the kings closet was, as is be  
fore rehearsed. And from this palace or place into the  
mightie & strong fortresse & castell roiall of Gulesnes,  
was a gallerie for the secret passage of the kings  
person into a secret lodging within the same castell,  
the more for the king ease. Also to this palace was all  
houses of offices, that to such an honourable court  
should appertene, that is to wit, the lord chamberlein,  
lord steward, lord treasurer of the household, for the  
comptrolloz, the office of greene cloth, wardrobes,  
setwell house, and office of household seruice, as chibrie,  
pantrie, cellar, butterie, spicerie, pither house, larder  
and poultrie, and all other offices so large and faire,  
that the officers might & did maruell, as in the craft  
of viands, by ouens, harthes, veredoxes, chimnies,  
ranges, & such instruments as there were ordeined.

In this palace (as ye haue heard) was the kings  
grace lodged, and all the nobles after their degrees.  
And for that the towne of Gulesnes was little, and  
that all the noble men might not there be lodged,  
they set up tents in the field, to the number of twen  
tie and eight hundred sundrie lodgings, which was a  
goodlie sight. Thus was the king in his palace to all  
at Gulesnes. Francis the French king was with  
all his nobles of the realme of France come to the  
towne of Ard, which was prepared for his coming,  
manie tents, halles, and paulions were set and pit  
ched in the field. On the French partie also there  
was at the same towne of Ard builded the French  
kings lodging full well, but not finished. Such was  
the prouision in Picardie on euerie part thorough  
all. The French king commanded his lodging to be  
made a little out of the towne of Ard, in the territo  
rie of an old castell, which by the warre of old time  
had bene beaten. On the same place was edified a  
house of solace and sport, of large and mightie com  
passe, which was chieflie susteined by a great mightie  
mast, whereby the great ropes and tackle streined,  
the same mast was staied. All the rose of the same  
house hving on the same mast, and with tackle was  
streined & borne by the supporters of the same mast

Great cost by  
popish train  
perie & super  
sticious trash.

The kings  
closet.

The queens  
closet.

A prime  
gallerie.

Houses of of  
fices both ho  
nourable and  
otherwise  
necessarie.

Tents  
erected.

A banketting  
house for so  
lace and dis  
port.

oz tree, the colours of the same was all blew, set with  
starres of gold foile, and the ozbs of the heavens by  
the craft of colours in the rose, were curiously  
wrought in maner like the skie or firmament, and a  
cressant strained some deale towards the towne of  
Ard, this cressant was covered with frets and knots  
made of iute bushes, and boy branches, and other  
things that longest would be grane for pleasure.

Now like as diuerse of the French nobilitie had  
visited the king of England whilest he late in Calis,  
so likewise the lord cardinall, as ambassadour to  
the king, rode with a noble repaire of lords, gentle-  
men, and prelates, to the towne of Ard, where he was  
of the French king highlie intertained, with great  
thanks, for that by his meanes hee had ioined in  
friendship with the king of England, to his high con-  
tentation and pleasure, as hauing obtained the thing  
which he had long desired. The noble port, sumptuous  
shew, and great traine of gentlemen, knights, lords,  
and number of seruants, in rich apparell & suites of li-  
ueries attendant on the cardinall, made the French  
men greatlie to wonder at his triumphant doings.

The king of England had giuen vnto the said  
cardinall full authoritie, power, and libertie, to as-  
sirme and confirme, bind and vnbind, whatsoever  
should be in question betwene him and the French  
king: and the like authoritie, power, and libertie, did  
the French king by his sufficient letters patents,  
grant to the same cardinall, which was accepted to  
be a signe of great loue, that he should commit to  
great a trust vnto the king of Englands subiect. The  
daie of the meeting was appointed to be on the thurs-  
daie the seauenth of June, vpon which daie the two  
kings met in the vale of Andren, accompanied with  
such a number of the nobilitie of both realmes,  
so richlie appointed in apparell, and costlie iewels, as  
chaines, collars of S.S., & other the like ornaments  
to set forth their degrees and estates, that a wonder  
it was to behold and view them in their order and  
romes, which euerie man kept according to his ap-  
pointment.

The two kings meeting in the field, either saluted  
other in most louing wise, first on horsebacke, and  
after alighting on foot embraced with courte-  
ous words, to the great reioicing of the beholders:  
and after they had thus saluted ech other, they went  
both together into a rich tent of cloath of gold, there  
set vp for the purpose, in the which they passed the time  
in pleasant talke, banquetting, and louing deuises, till  
it grew toward the evening, and then departed for  
that night, the one to Guisnes, the other to Ard. At  
this meeting of the two kings in open sight, I then  
well perceived (saith Hall) the habillements of all  
of the French king. His garment was a chemise, of  
cloath of silver, culponed with cloath of gold, of da-  
maske, cantell wise, and garded on the borders with  
the Burgon bands.

ouer that he had a cloake of broched sattin, with  
gold of purple colour, wrapped about his bodie tra-  
uerse, beded from the shoulder to the waist, fastned in  
the loope of the first sould: this said cloake was richlie  
set with pearles and pretious stones. This French  
king had on his head a coiffe of damaske gold set with  
diamonds, and his courser that he rode on was co-  
uered with a trapper of tissue, bordered with deusse,  
cut in fashion mantell wise, the skirts were embow-  
ed and fret with frized woike, and knit with cor-  
belles & buttons tasseled of Turkie making, rainces  
and headstall answering of like woike: and verelie  
of his person the same Francis the French king, a  
goodlie pzince, statelie of countenance, merie of  
cheere, browne coloured, great eyes, high nose, big  
lipped, faire bearded, broad shoulders, small legges, &  
long feet.

On saturday the ninth of June, in a place with-  
in the English pale were set vp in a field called the  
Aubessine, that is to saie, the hawthorne in English,  
for Henrie: and the other the *Framboiser*, which in  
English signifieth the raspis berie, after the signi-  
fication in French. These trees were curiously  
wrought, the leanes of grane damaske, the bran-  
ches, boughs, and withered leanes of cloath of gold;  
and all the bodie and armes of the same cloath of  
gold laid on timber: they were in height from the  
foot to the top thirtie foure foot of assize, in compasse  
about an hundred twentie and nine foot, & from bough  
to bough fortie three foot: on these trees were flowers  
and fruits in kindlie wise, with silver and Venice  
gold: their beautie shewed farre.

On the same daie the two kings came to those  
trees of honour, noble accompanied, in such roll  
sozt as was requisite. The campe was in length nine  
hundred foot, and in bredth three hundred and twentie  
foot, ditched round about (sauiing at the entrees) with  
broad and deepe ditches. Diuerse scaffolds were reared  
about this campe for the ease of the nobles. On  
the right side of the field stood the queene of England,  
and the queene of France, with manie ladies. The  
campe was stronglie railed and barred on euerie  
end: in the entrie there were two lodgings prepared  
for the two kings, wherein they might arme them-  
selues, and take their ease. Also in the same compasse  
there were two great cellars couched full of wine,  
which was liberallie bestowed on all men. The two  
kings, as brethren in armes, undertooke to deliuer  
all persons at iusts, tournie, and barriers.

With these two kings were associate by the order  
of armes, the duke of Glondine, the duke of Suf-  
folke, the countie saint Paule, the marquise Dor-  
set, monsieur de Roche, sir William Kingston, mon-  
sieur Brian, sir Richard Feringham, monsieur Ca-  
uaen, sir Giles Capell, monsieur Buccall, master  
Nicholas Carew, monsieur Pontafillion, and mas-  
ter Anthonye Kneuet. On mondaie the eleuenth of  
June, the two queenes of England and of France  
came to the campe, where either saluted other right  
honourable, and went into a stage for them prepa-  
red. At the houre assigned, the two kings armed at  
all paces mounted on horsebacke, and with their  
companies entered the field; the French king on a  
courser barbed, couered with purple sattin, broched  
with gold, & embroidered with corbins fethers round  
and buckled, the fether was blacke and hatched with  
gold: on his head piece he bare a plume. All the par-  
teners of the French kings challenge were in like ap-  
parell, euerie thing correspondent in cloath of silke  
embroidered, on his person were attendant on horse-  
backe noble persons, and on foot foure persons all ap-  
parelled in purple sattin.

The king of England was vpon a fresh courser,  
the trappers of cloth of gold, of tissue, the arlon man-  
tell wise, and on the hount of the trapper bard fashion,  
cut in waues of water woike, and euerie waue raw  
wrought and frized with damaske gold: this woike  
was laid lose on russet veluet, and knit together with  
points of gold, which waues signified the lordship  
of the narrow seas. All the parteners of the kings  
challenge were in the same sute, their horses as well  
as their persons. Attendant on the king on horse-  
backe were sir Henrie Guilford master of the kings  
horse, sir John Dechie depute of Calis, sir Edward  
Guilford master of the kings armie, and monsieur  
Sporet of the French court. All these foure were appa-  
relled in the kings liuerie, which was white on the  
right side, and the left side gold and russet both hose  
and garment: on him were attendant on foot sir ho-  
nourable knights, twentie squiers, and officers to the

The great  
pompe of car-  
dinal woulde.

Great credit  
committed to  
the cardinall  
by both the  
kings.  
The inter-  
view of the  
two kings in  
the vale of  
Andren.

Edw. Hall, in  
H.8. fol. lxxvij.  
The French  
kings roial  
ornaments.

The descrip-  
tion of the  
French kings  
person.

An. Dom. 1534.

An. Reg.

The two  
kings enter  
into the field.

The king  
of the campe

The king of  
England runs  
against  
France.

The two  
kings make  
challenge to  
all commons  
at iusts, &c.

The two  
queenes met  
at the campe

Ed Hall in  
H.8. fol. lxxvij.  
The French  
kings robe  
rate at this  
iusts.

Monsieur de  
Sues and  
his band,

The entire of  
the French  
king and his  
parteners of  
challenge.

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English, two signi-  
which in ficant  
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trouble  
the bran-  
of gold;  
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man- of England  
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The king of England and his partners of his challenge.

The king of England and his partners of his challenge.

The king of England and his partners of his challenge.

The king of England and his partners of his challenge.

the number of an hundred and twelue persons, of the which number all the knights and gentlemen had coats, the one halfe siluer, and the other cloath of gold and russet beluet, and the other officers coats were of right sattin of the same colour, and all their hosen were of the same sute verie costlie.

Thus with honour and noble courage these two noble kings with their companies entered into the field, and then presented vnto the quenes. After reuerence done, they rode round about the tilt, and so toke their places appointed, abiding the answers: which was for the first the duke of Alanfon and ten men of armes on his band, on coursers barbed, the barbs couered with white and blacke beluet, fastenep the one within the other, garded with Burgon bands of tinell sattin, as well their garments as their barbs. Then entered on coursers barbed twelue gentlemen of the band of the lord admerall of France, their garments and barbs were russet sattin, broched with gold and white and purple sattin, after the deuise of their pleasure with great plumes. When these bands were entred the field, they shewed themselves about the tilt, and did reuerence vnto the quenes. The band of the duke of Alanfon toke first place, they made them prest on both sides, the french king was the first that ran, he did valiantlie and bhaie speares mightlie.

Then ran the king of England to monsieur Cranbeulle with great vigor; so that the speares bhaie in the kings hand to the vantplate all to shivers. And at the second course he gaue the said monsieur Cranbeulle such a stroke, that the charnell of his headpiece, although the same was verie strong, was broken in such wise that he might run no more, wherby the king wanted thre courses. Then ran the duke de Gandosine, & met his counter part right noble, and bhaie speares right valiantlie. The noble duke of Suffolke charged his course, and met right valiantlie his counter part, and furnished the five courses right noble together like good men of armes. And when all parties of the challenge had right valiantlie furnished their courses, then ran againe the two noble kings, who did so valiantlie, that the beholders had great ioy, after which courses the heralds cried Desamee, and the trumpets sounded to lodging.

On tuedaie the twelue of June at houre conuenient the two quenes toke their stages, and the band of chalenge in the field prest to answer and deliuer all comers, to whome came ten gentlemen armed on barbed horsse of the band of monsieur de Salons, their barbs and apparell cloath of beluet full of friers knots siluer. After they had presented them vnto the quenes, then they toke the end of the tilt, and so course after course they ran to the chalengers right eagerlie, and the chalengers of the partie of the two kings deliuered to the end of their articles of iusts. Then entered eleuen men of armes of the band of monsieur de Tremoiell, on horsse barbed with yel low beluet, losenged with friers knots of blacke beluet: and after they had saluted the quenes, they likewise toke the end of the tilt, and course after course ran vntill they were deliuered of their chalenges of iusts. Valiantlie this daie was finished.

On wednesday the thirteenth of June, the two hardie kings armed at all peeces, entered into the field right noble apperelled. The french king and all his partners of chalenge were arrayed in purple sattin, broched with gold and purple beluet, embrodered with little rolles of white sattin, wherein was written, Quando: their barbs & garments were set full of the same, and the residue where was no rolles were powdered & set with the letter elle, as thus. L. which in french is she, which was interpreted to be, Quando

elle, when she: and insuing the deuise of the first daie, it signifieth together, Hart fastened in paine endles, when she. The king of England with all the band of partners of his chalenge were likewise on horsse: backe, apperelled in trappers of losenges russet beluet and cloath of siluer of damaske, embrodered and set in euerie losenge a branch of eglantine of gold, the apparell of the persons were of the same correspondent to the trapper. This eglantine tre is sweet, pleasant and Greene, if it be kindlie and frendlie handled; but if it be rudelie dealt with, it will pricke and he that will pull vp the whole tre by the top, his hands will be hurt.

The two kings with their companies thus apperelled, presented themselves to the quenes, and so toke the end of the tilt. Then entered into the field monsieur Leskelw called lord Leskin, with him came eleuen men of armes, himsele the twelue on horsse barbed and richlie apperelled, and so rode about the tilt and saluted the quenes, and toke the end of the tilt. Monsieur de Leskelw and his eleuen companions had their bases and barbs all of blacke cloath of gold of damaske all cut on blacke sattin, their garments had mantell sleeves on the left arme, to the wast behind iust to the shoulder, which was prassed for the strangenelle. The french king ran to monsieur de Ambois, one of the band of monsieur Leskelw, and the king of England charged his course and ran to monsieur Leskelw, and so furnished their courses (as they saie) right noble and valiantlie in breaking speares that were strong. Thus course after course ech with other, his counter partie did right valiantlie: but the two kings surmounted all the rest in prouesse and valiantnesse.

This band thus furnished, entered the marquesse de Salons and his band, twelue persons all riding on coursers barbed and apperelled in white sattin and blacke, broched with gold and siluer, with cuts and culpins much after taluic and blacke sattin billots: & after reuerence done to the quenes, they toke the end of the tilt. To the marquesse de Salons ran the king of England, and the king of France to an other of the same band, still course after course ran all the noble men, till the marques de Salons and his band were deliuered, who bare them right valiantlie: then blew the trumpets the retreat, & the two kings them vnarmed and after departed, the french king vnto Ard, and the king of England to his castell of Gwisnes.

On thursdaie the thirteenth daie of June by the nonetide the two quenes met in the campe & toke their places, the people were come to behold the honour, and to see the two kings, who all readie armed entered the field, to receive and deliuer all men by answer of iusts. Then entered the earle of Denonshire, on his band the lord Pontacut, lord Herbert, lord Leonard Greie, maister Arthur Poole, maister Francis Brian, maister Henrie Jooris, and foure other all richlie apperelled, the one side blew beluet embrodered with a mans heart burning in a ladies hand holding a garden pot skilling with water on the heart: the other side was white sattin embrodered with letters of gold. This companie rode about the tilt, and did reuerence to the quenes, and so abode at the end of the same.

The earle of Denonshire charged his speare, and the french king likewise charged his course to meet the same earle, and ran so hard together, that both their speares bhaie, and so mainteined their courses noble. Then ran the king of England to monsieur Pemozancie, and him encountered, & both bare together and gaue great strokes; the kings most noble grace neuer disaiozed nor breathed vntill he ran the five courses & deliuered his counterpartie. Dukes, marquesses,

The king of England and his partners of his challenge.

Monsieur de Leskelw.

The marquesse de Salons & his band.

The two kings armed enter the field.

A deuise of conceipt.

The lord Howard and his eleven companions in armes.

marquesses, knights, esquires, and others ran as fast as euer they might, there was none that abode when the courtes came, untill the earle of Duonshire and his band were deliuered of demands. Then entered the lord Howard sonne to the duke of Suffolke and eleven companions apparelled and barded in crimsin sattin full of flames of gold, the borders ribbed with crimsin beluet, and with much hono<sup>r</sup> (after due reuerence done to the quenes) were brought with heralds of armes about the tilts; and so toke the place to them appointed: right rich was their apparell.

Then ran the French king and encountered the same lord Edmund, they brake both their staves vntill the course after course, the encounter ceased not till they had furnished their five courses; so was the lord Edmund deliuered by the French k. Then ran the king of England to a strong gentleman named Hafe Brooke and brake his speare, and ran course after course, untill he had finished his courses right noble and like a prince of most valiancie. The residue ceased not untill they had ech deliuered other of their challenge.

The king of England and his band with their deuisse on their apparell.

On fridaie the fifteenth daie of June the king of England mounted on a courser rosall, his person armed at all peeces, his apparell and trappers was the one side rich cloath of gold of tisse, the other side cloath of tisse of siluer, and cloath of gold of tisse entered round the one with the other.

The ound is a worke wauing vp & downe, and all the borders as well trappers as other was garded with letters of fine gold, and all the other side that was ound was set with signes called cifers of fine gold, the which were set with great and orientall pearles. The cifers signified letters knit together in a knot, which was to wit; God my friend, my realme and I maie. This was the deuise and reason thereof. All the kings band were apparelled in like apparell. The French k. likewise armed at all points mounted on a courser rosall, all his apparell as well bards as garments were purple beluet entered the one with the other, embroidered full of little booke of white sattin, & in the booke were written *Ame*. About the borders of the bards and the borders of the garments a chaine of blew like iron, resembling the chaine of a well of prison chaine, which was interpreted to be *Liberty*, a booke. Within this booke was written (as is said) *Ame*. But these two together and it maketh *Liberty*. The chaine betokeneth prison or bonds, and so maketh together in English, *Deliver me of bonds*. Then they toke the end of the tilt.

The French king, his furniture and deuisse upon his ornaments.

Monsieur Florengis and his company.

Readie was monsieur Florengis and with him twelue men of armes with courfers barded: the bards and apparell was crimsin beluet, & towne beluet, and plunket beluet embroidered bordertwise with shepheards hookes of cloath of siluer. When they with honour had passed about the tilt (due reuerence to the quenes and ladies done) the two kings had their speares readie, and then began the rushing of speares. The king of England this daie ran so freshly and so manie courses, that one of his best courfers was dead that night, this band was deliuered man after man of their pretense of iuffs. Then entered bands of monsieur de Hambeurs and monsieur de Puits, ech hauing eleven persons in number, the one band all white sattin embroidered with blacke, and the other all blacke dopped with siluer drops; who after reuerence done to the quenes, at the end of the tilt toke their places. Then began a new encounter hard and sore, manie of them bare great strokes of the kings, to their honour: and with such violence they ran, as they fet their hollies in a sweating heat, and themselves meeting with full force made the fragments or broken peeces of their staves mount aloft in the air like an arrow out of a bow; as the poet saith;

*Hasta fridentis fracta petit aspera cuspis.*

On saturdaye the seuenteenth daie of June, the French king with a small number came to the castle of Gules about the houre of eight in the morning. The king being in his priue chamber had therof knowledge, who with glad hart went to receiue the same French king, and him met and welcomed in friendly and honorable maner; and after communication betwene them had, the king of England departed, leauing the French king there in the sumptuous place before named. Then was buie the lord chamberleine, the lord steward, and all other officers, to make readie feast and cheare. It were too long to rehearse all, for such a feast and banquet was then made, that of long time before the like had not bene scene. The king of England thus departing, he toke his horse, and with a companie of noblemen rode to Ard, where the French quene and other noble men receiued him with much honour.

After which receiuing, he was by the said quene and lords brought into a chamber hanged with blew beluet embroidered with flowers belice of cloth of gold, wherein was a great bed of like worke, from whence he was conueied to another chamber, in the which was a kings state. This chamber was hanged and sieled with cloth of gold, embroidered with great cordels or friers knots of cloth of siluer. In the same chamber were two suppers, on either side one, furnished with great and goodlie plate gilt. Noble feasting and cheare was there made. After dinner the ladies dressed them to danse, and certeine yong honourable lords of England, apparelled after the manner of Russland or farre Castland, whose hosen were of rich gold sattin called aureat sattin, ouerrolled to the knee with scarlet, and on their fet shoes with little plikes of white nailes after the Castland guise, their dublets of rich crimsin beluet and cloth of gold, with wide sleeves lined with cloth of gold: ouer this they had cokes of crimsin beluet short, lined with cloth of gold, on euerie side of the cokes rings of siluer, with laces of Venice gold, and on their heads they had hats made in the towne of Danke, and purses of seales skinnies, and girdels of the same: all these yong lords had bisards on their faces, and their hats were barked with like hatbands full of damaske gold.

Other ten lords were apparelled in long golones of blew sattin of the ancient fashion, embroidered with reasons of gold that said *Adieu jeunesse, fete well youth*: they had tippets of blacke beluet, & hats hanging thereby, & on their heads he violet standing caps, and girdels of silke, and purses of cloth of gold after the ancient maner, with bisards on their faces of like anciencie. After all these triumphs and baueries, great store of spices, fruits, iellies, & banking viands were brought, which being done and ended, the king toke leaue of the French quene and ladies, to whome were brought thirtie horses trapped in damaske, white and yellow, and so passed he and his traine the towne of Ard into the field and campe. Right rosallie also was the French k. entertained, and all other after their degree and state. Now when all this solemnitie was ended, the French king toke leaue of the quene and ladies of the court. The lord cardinall in statelie attire, accompanied with the duke of Buckingham, and other great lords, conducted forward the French king, and in their way they encountered and met the king of England and his companie right in the ballie of Anderne, apparelled in their masking apparell, which gladded the French king. After reuerence done, the said two kings departed for that night, the English to Gules, and the French to Ard.

On mondaie, the eighteenth of June, was such

An. Reg.

great and sumptuous feasting table.

Barriers.

The cardinall being made between the two kings.

The French king, his furniture and deuisse upon his ornaments.

Gules.

Ball in H. 8. Ball in H. 8.

Eighty and nine same ball in H. 8. and draw.

The king's large man.



The French king commeth to Guisnes, the king of Englande the city to Ard.

The king of Englande the French quene.

The French king commeth to Guisnes, the king of Englande the city to Ard.

The French king commeth to Guisnes, the king of Englande the city to Ard.

The French king commeth to Guisnes, the king of Englande the city to Ard.

The French king commeth to Guisnes, the king of Englande the city to Ard.

The French king commeth to Guisnes, the king of Englande the city to Ard.

The French king commeth to Guisnes, the king of Englande the city to Ard.

The French king commeth to Guisnes, the king of Englande the city to Ard.

an hideous storme of wind and weather, that manie contempered it did prognosticate trouble and hatred hostile after to follow betwene princes. On tuesdaye the nineteenth of June, the two kings came to the campe againe armed at all peeces, and there abode them that would come, so that then began the iustes afresh. On wednesdaye the twentieth of June, the two kings began to hold tourneys with all the parteners of their challenge armed at all peeces. The quene of France and the quene of England were in the places for them prepared, and there was manie a goodlie battell performed: the kings doing as well as the best, so that the beholders spake of them honoz. On thursdaie the one and twentieth of June, the two kings likewise kept the tourneys, so that all those noble men that would proue their valiances, were deliuered according to the articles of the tourneys, which this daie toke end. On fridaie the 22 of June, the two kings with their retinue did battell on foot at the barriers, and there deliuered all such as put forth themselves to trie their forces. On saturdaye the thre and twentieth of June, the lord cardinal sang an high solemne masse by rote, aloft vpon a pompous stage before the two kings & quenes, the which being finished, indulgence was giuen to all the hearers. The two kings dined in one chamber that daie, and the two quenes in another. After dinner, the two kings with their band entered the field on foot before the barriers, & so began the fight, which continued battell after battell, till all the commers were answered. There were deliuered this day thus at the barriers by battell, an hundred and six persons: the two last battells did the kings trie. And so that Saturdaye the whole challenge was performed, and all men deliuered of the articles of iusts, tourneys, and battells on foot at the barriers, by the said two kings and their aids.

After this, there followed roiall maskes, and on the sundae the four and twentieth of June, the king of England with four companies, in euery companie ten, trimlie appointed in masking apparell, rode to Ard: and likewise the French king accompanied with eight and thirtie persons as maskers repaired to Guisnes. They met on the waie, & each companie passed by other without any countenance making or dissembling. They were honozable received, as well at the one place as the other. And when they had ended their pastime, banketting, and dances, they returned and met againe on the way homeward, and then putting off their visards, they louinglie embraced: and after amiable communication together, they toke leave each of other, & for a remembrance gaue gifts either to other verie rich and princelie.

During this triumph, much people of Flanders and west Flanders drew to Guisnes, to see the king of England & his honoz, to whom bittels of the court were giuen in plentie, the conduit of the gate did run wine alwaies. There were vagabonds, plowmen, labourers, and of the bragerie, wagoners and beggers, that for drunkennesse laie in routs and heapes. So great resort came thither, that knights and ladies, who were come to see the noblenesse, were faine to lie in haie and straw, and held them thereof highlie pleased. From the court of the emperor, noz of the ladie Margarets court, noz of Flanders,abant, noz Burgognie came neuer a person to answer to the challenge. By that it seemed that there was small loue betwene the emperor & the French king. Moreover, monsieur Fajot capteine of Bullogne with monsieur Chattelon, did their deuoir to haue taken the towne of saint Omer, of which doing was thought no goodnesse to the emperor.

On mondaie the five and twentieth of June, the king with the quene removed from Guisnes to Calis,

where he remained till the tenth of Julie, on which daie he rode to Graueling, and was received on the waie by the emperor, and so by him conueied to Graueling, where not onlie the king, but also all his traine was cheered and scalded, with so louing manner, that the Englishmen highlie praised the emperours court. [When the French king and his lordes had knowledge of the meeting of the emperor and the king of England in the towne of Graueling, they were therewith greatlie grieved, as by manie things appeared. For as the Englishmen were in France disdained, and in their sutes there greatlie deferred, and had little right, and much lesse fauour: so from day to day still more and more began hartburning, and in conclusion open warre did arise betwene the two realmes.]

On Wednesdaye the eleventh of Julie, the emperor and his aunt the ladie Margaret duchesse of Sauoy came with the king of England to the towne of Calis, and there continued in great ioy and solace, with feasting, banketting, dancing and masking untill the fourteenth of Julie. For the intertaining of these estates (the English lords and gentlemen displaced of their lodgings to serue the other and their traine) there was builded a banketting house eight hundred fot compasse, like a theatre, after a goodlie deuise, builded in such maner as (I thinke) was neuer scene, with sixtene principals made of great masss, betwixt euery mass foure and twentie fot, and all the outsidcs closed with board and canuas.

Ouer it, and within round about by the sides, were made thre scaffolds or lofts one above another for men and women to stand vpon. And in the midst of the same banketting house, was set by a great pillar of timber made of eight great masss, bound together with iron bands, for to hold them together: for it was an hundred and foure and thirtie fot of length, and cost six pounds thirtene shillings and fourepence to set it vp right. The banketting house was couered ouer with canuas, fastened with ropes and iron as fast as might be deuised. And within the said house was painted the heauens, with starres, sunne, moone, and clouds, with diuerse other things made aboue ouer mens heads: and there were great images of wickers couered, and made like great men of diuerse strange nations: and diuerse reasons were written by them of the countries that they likened to be of, with the armes of those countries hanging by them.

Also there was made as it were manie ships border saile, and windmills going, and about the high pillar of timber that stood vp right in the midst, was made stages of timber for organs and other instruments to stand vpon, and men to plaie on them, & for other musicians & pageants to be plaied, when the king of England & the emperor should be at their banket. But in the morning of the same day, the wind began to rise, & at night blew off the canuas, and all the elements, with the starres, sunne, moone, and clouds, and the wind blew out aboue a thousand torches, and other lights of war, that were prepared to giue light to the banket, & all the kings seats that were made with great riches, besides all other things, were all dafed and lost.

The same daie at night that the states were intertained, the king and sixtene persons were appareled all in blacke velvet couered with cloth of gold, cut on the velvet, fastened with knots of gold, on the which knots hong spangles of gold like tufts, and bonnets of the same, & cloches of crimson sattin and cloth of gold wrapped trauerses, and their bullkins of the same cloth of gold. All these iustie maskers went to the emperours lodging, and were received,

The king Henrie departed from Guisnes to Calis, & from thence to Graueling to visit the emperor. Ed Hall in H. 8. folio 1.

The emperor commeth to Calis to king Henrie.

Abt. Fl. ex l. 8. pag. 927. Banketting house without the towne of Calis. Ra. Turpin.

Goodlie housemanlyp within the banketting house.

Banketting house defaced by tempest.

A statue made to solace the emperor & his companie.

and in the chamber of presence danced and revelled, the which at the emperours request, the king and other disordered themselves, whereby the king was knit one: then the king took his leaue, and departed for that night. On tuesdaye the twelue of Julie, because the banquetting house could not be finished, the emperour and the ladie Margaret supped with the king & the queene at the checker, where the same night after supper revelled ninetie and six makers: after the reuels was a banquet, after which banquet the king brought the emperour and the ladie Margaret to the staple, and after withdrew him.

This night were eight companies of maskers, and in euery companie twelue persons all in gold, silver and velvet, richlie apparellled, but because the roome was small, the shew was the lesse. In these reuels were put in maskers apparell diuerse gentlemen of the French court vnknowing to the k. or anie other that bare rule. For diuerse yong gentlemen of the French court favored more the French partie, than the emperours partie; through which meanes they saw and much more heard than they should haue done. On fridaie the thirtieth date of Julie, the emperour did intend to haue departed from Calis, but the counsell was such that he departed not that night.

On saturdaye the fourteenth of Julie, the emperour took his leaue of the queene of England his aunt, and departed toward Grauling, being conducted on his waie by the king of England, to a village towards Flanders called Wlaell, and there they embraced and took their leaue either of other in most louing maner. They did not altogether spend the time thus while they were together, in vaine pleasures, and sporting reuels; for the charters before time concluded were read ouer, and all the articles of the league tripartite, agreed betwixt the emperour, the king of England, and the French king, were at full declared, to the which the French king had fullie consented. And for the more proofe thereof, and confirmation of the same, he sent monsieur de Roch with letters of credence to signifie to the emperour, that in the word of a prince he would obserue, fulfill, performe and keepe all the same articles, for him, his realme and subjects. Shortly after that the emperour and the king had taken leaue each of other, and were departed, the king shipped, and with the queene and all other the nobilitie returned safelie into England.

The king kept his Christmas at Greenwich this yeare, with much noblenesse and open court. And the tenth daie of Februarie, in his owne person, iusted with all commers. On Twelue daie his grace and the earle of Denonshire, with foure aids, answered at the touraine all commers, which were sixtene persons: noble and rich was their apparell, but in feats of armes the king excelled the rest. About this time the king hauing regard to the common welth of his realme, considered how for the space of fiftie yeares past and more, the nobles and gentlemen of England, being given to grasur of cattell, and keeping of sheepe, had inuented a meane how to increase their yearelie reuenues, to the great decaye and vndowing of husbandmen of the land. For the said nobles and gentlemen, after the maner of the Spaniards, more studying how to increase their pastures, than to maintaine tillage, began to decaye husband tacks & tenements, and to convert arable ground into pasture, furnishing the same with beastes and sheepe, and also dere, so inclosing the field with hedges, ditches, and pales, which they held in their owne hands, ingrossing woulles, and selling the same, and also sheepe and beastes at their owne prices, and as might stand most with their owne private commoditye.

Whereof a threefold euill chanced to the common wealth, as Polydor noteth. One, for that thereby the number of husbandmen was sore diminished, the which the prince vseth chiefly in his seruice for the warres: another, for that manie townes and villages were left desolate, and became ruinous: the third, for that both wool and cloth made thereof, and the flesh of all maner beastes used to be eaten, was sold at far higher prices than was accustomed. These enormities at the first beginning being not redressed, grew in short space to such force and vigour by euill custome, that afterwards they gathered to such an vnited force, that hardly they could be remedied. Such like a disease, which in the beginning with little paine to the patient, and lesse labour to the surgeon might be cured; whereas the same by delaye and negligence being suffered to putrifie, becommeth a desperate force, and then are medicines nothing available, and not to be applied, according to his opinion that said:

*Helleborum frustra (cum iam cutis agra tumescit)  
Pescantes videas: venienti occurrere morbo.*

The king therefore causing such good statutes as had bene deuised and established for reformation in this behalfe, to be reuiued and called vpon, took order by directing forth his commissions vnto the iustices of peace, and other such magistrats, that presentment should be had and made of all such inclosures, and decaye of husbandrie, as had chanced within the space of fiftie yeares before that present time. The iustices and other magistrats, according to their commission executed the same. And so commandement was giuen, that the decayed houses should be built up againe, that the husbandmen should be placed eilsons in the same, and that inclosed grounds should be laid open, and sore punishment appointed against them that disobeyed.

These so good and wholesome ordinances shortly after were defeated by meanes of bishoppes giuen vnto the cardinal: for when the nobles and gentlemen, which had for their pleasures imparied the common fields, were loth to haue the same againe disparted, they redeemed their vexation with good summes of monie; and so had licence to keepe their parks and grounds inclosed as before. Thus the great expectation which men had conceiued of a general redresse, proued void: but albeit, some profit the husbandmen in some parts of the realme got by the mowing of this matter, where inclosures were already laid open, yet mistresse monie could preuent them; and so they inioied their commons, which before had bene taken from them.

After that this matter for inclosures was thus dispatched, the cardinal boiling in hatred against the duke of Buckingham, & thirsting for his blood, deuised to make Charles Kneuet, that had bene the dukes surueior, and put from him (as ye haue heard) an instrument to bring the duke to destruction. This Kneuet being had in examination before the cardinal, disclosed all the dukes life. And first he offered, that the duke was accustomed by waie of talke, to saie, how he meant so to vse the matter, that he would attaine to the crowne, if king Henrie chanced to die without issue: & that he had talke and conference of that matter on a time with George Peuil, lord of Aburgauernie, vnto whom he had giuen his daughter in marriage; and also that he threatened to punish the cardinal for his manifold misdoings, being without cause his mortall enimie.

The cardinal hauing gotten that which he sought for, incouraged, comforted, and procured Kneuet, with manie comfortable words and great promises, that he should with a bold spirit and countenance obiect and laie these things to the dukes charge, with more if he knew it when time required. Then Kneuet

French gentlemen in maskers apparell vnknowing to them that bare rule in the reuels.

The king returning into England.

1521

Polydor.

An inconuenience of turning arable ground into pasture.

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Anno Reg. 13.

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Dom. 1521

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partie prouoked with desire to be reuenged, and partly moued with hope of reward, openly confessed, that the duke had once fullie determined to deuise meanes how to make the king away, being brought into a full hope that he should be king, by a vaine prophesie which one Nicholas Hopkins, a monke of an house of the Chartreux order beside Wyke, called Henton, sometime his confessor, had opened vnto him.

The cardinall hauing thus taken the examinatio-  
on of Lancaster, went vnto the king, and declared vnto him, that his person was in danger by such traitorous purpose, as the duke of Buckingham had conceived in his heart, and shewed how that now there is manifest tokens of his wicked pretense: wherefore, he exhorted the king to prouide for his owne suertie with speed. The king hearing the accusation, informed to the bittermost by the cardinall, made this answer; If the duke haue deserued to be punished, let him haue according to his deserts. The duke her-  
upon was sent for by to London, & at his coming thither, was straightwaies attached, and brought to the Tower by sir Henrie Sparneie, capteine of the gard, the sixteenth of Aprill. There was also attached the foresaid Chartreux monke, master John de la Car alias de la Court, the dukes confessor, and sir Gilbert Perke priest, the dukes chancellor.

After the apprehension of the duke, inquisitions were taken in diuerse shires of England of him; so that by the knights and gentlemen, he was indicted of high treason, for certeine words spoken (as before ye haue heard) by the same duke at Blechingleie, to the lord of Aburgauennie: and therewith was the same lord attached for concelement, and so likewise was the lord Montacute, and both led to the Tower. Sir Edward Penill, brother to the said lord of Aburgauennie, was forbidden the kings presence. Moreover, in the Guildhall, within the citie of London, before John Bugge knight, then lord maior of the same citie, by an inquest whereof one Miles Gerrard was foreman, the said duke was indicted of diuerse points of high treason, as by the same indictment it appeareth.

Item, that the said duke intending to eralt himselfe, and to surpe the crowne, the roial power, and dignitie of the realme of England, and to depriue the kings maiestie thereof, that he the said duke might take vpon him the same; against his allegi-  
ance, had the tenth daie of March, in the second yere of the kings maiesties reigne, and at diuerse other times before and after, imagined and compassed the kings death and destruction at London, & at Thorneburie, in the countie of Gloucester. And for the accomplishment of his wicked intent and purpose (as in the indictment is alledged) the twentieth and fourth daie of Aprill, in the fourth yere of the kings reigne he sent one of his chapleins called John de la Court, to the priorie of Henton in Summersetshire, which was an house of the Chartreux monks. The effect or substance of whose message was, to vnderstand of one Nicholas Hopkins, a monke of the same house (who was vaineie reputed by waie of reuelation to haue forknowledge of things to come) what should happen concerning the matters which he had imagined. Which monke, causing the said de la Court first to sweare vnto him, not to disclose his words to any maner of person, but onlie to the duke his master: therewith declared, that his master the said duke should haue all, willing him for the accomplishment of his purpose, to seeke to win the fauour of the people. De la Court came backe with this answer, and told it to the duke at Thorneburie the morrow after, being the twentieth fift of Aprill.

Also the two and twentieth of Iulie in the same

fourth yere, the duke sent the same de la Court with letters vnto the said monke, to vnderstand of him further of such matters: and the monke told him againe for answer, that the duke should haue all. And being asked as well now, as before at the first time, how he knew this to be true: he said, By the grace of God. And with this answer de la Court now also returning, declared the same vnto the duke, the twentieth fourth of Iulie at Thorneburie aforesaid. Moreover, the said duke sent the same de la Court againe to the said monke with his letters, the first and twentieth of Aprill, in the fift yere of the kings reigne, when the king was to take his tourne into France; requiring to vnderstand what should become of these warres: and whether the Scottish king should in the kings absence invade the realme or not. The monke (among other things) for answer of these letters, sent the duke word, that the king should haue no issue male.

Again, the said duke the twentieth daie of February, in the first yere of the kings reigne, being at Thorneburie, spake these words vnto Kase earle of Westmerland; Well, there are two new dukes created here in England, but if ought but good come to the king, the duke of Buckingham should be next in blood to succed to the crowne. After this, the said duke on the sixteenth daie of Aprill, in the said first yere of the kings reigne, went in person vnto the priorie of Henton, and there had conference with the foresaid monke, Nicholas Hopkins, who told him, that he should be king. Wherevnto the duke said, that if it so chanced, he would shew himselfe a iust and a righteous prince. The monke also told the duke, that he knew this by reuelation, and willed him in any wise to procure the ioue of the commons, the better to attaine his purposed intention.

The duke at the same time gaue, and promised to giue yearelie vnto the said priorie, six pounds, therewith to buye a tun of wine. And further he promised to giue vnto the same priorie, in readie monie twentie pounds, whereof ten pounds he gaue in hand, towards the conueieng of water vnto the house by a conduit. And to the said monke Nicholas Hopkins he gaue at that present in reward thre pounds, and at another time fortie shillings, at another time a marke, and at another time six shillings eight pence. After this, the twentieth daie of March, in the tenth yere of the kings reigne, he came to the same priorie, & estones had conference with the said monke, to be more fullie informed by him in the matters aboue specified. At what time the monke also told him, that he should be king. The duke in talke told the monke, that he had done verie well, to bind his chapleine John de la Court, vnder the seale of confession, to keepe secret such matter: for if the king should come to the knowledge thereof, it would be his destruction.

Likewise, the twentieth daie of October, in the seventh yere of the kings reigne, and at diuerse other times, as well before as after, the said duke had sent his chancellor Robert Gilbert chapleine, vnto London, there to buye certeine clothes of gold, silver, and beuets; euerie time so much as amounted to the worth of thre hundred pounds; to the intent the said duke might bestow the same, as well vpon knights, esquires, gentlemen of the kings house, and residents of his gard, as vpon other the kings subiects, to win their fauours and friendships to assist him in his euill purpose. Which clothes the said Gilbert did buye, and brought the same vnto the said duke, who the twentieth daie of Ianuarie, in the said seventh yere, & diuerse other daies and yeres before and after, did distribute and giue the same vnto certeine of the kings subiects for the purpose aforesaid.

The monke reuelation was peremptorie to the duke.

That herein the monke lied.

The duke & the monke haue confessione saith the indictment.

Robert Gilbert the dukes chapleine and chancellor has errand to London.

Meanes that  
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recited, as by the indictment it was inferred.

Furthermore, the said duke, the tenth of Zulie, in the tenth yeare of the kings reigne, and diuerſe other daies and times, as well before as after, did conſtitute more ſeueral and particular officers in his caſtles, honours, lordſhips, and lands than he was accuſtomed to haue, to the end they might be aſſiſtant to him, vnder colour of ſuch offices, to bying his euill purpoſe to paſſe. Whereouer, the ſame duke ſent vnto the king the tenth of Maie, in the ninth yeare of his reigne, for licence to retaine aſide of the kings ſubjects, whom he ſhould pleaſe him, dwelling within the ſhires of Hereford, Glouceſter, and Summerſetſhire; and alſo, that he might at his pleaſure conuene diuerſe armours, and habilliments for warre into Wales, to the intent to uſe the ſame againſt the king as the indictment imported, for the accompliſhing of his naughty purpoſe, which was to deſtroie the king and to ſurper the roſall gouernement and power to himſelfe.

Which sute for licence to haue reteiners, and to conuie such armours and habillements of warre, the said Gilbert, the twentieth daie of Maie, in the said ninth yeare, and diuerse other daies befoze and after, at London, and east Greenwich did follow, labouring earnestlie, both to the king and counsell, for obtaining the same. On the twentieth daie of Iulie in the said ninth yeare, the said duke sent the said Gilbert vnto Henton aforesaid, to vnderstand of the said monke Nicholas Hopkins, what he heard of him: and the monke sent him word, that befoze Christmas next there should be a change, & that the duke should haue the rule and gouernement of all England. And mozeouer, the twentieth of Febzuarie, in the eleuenth yeare of the kings reigne, at Wledinglie in the countie of Surrie, the said duke said vnto the said Robert Gilbert his chancelor, that he did expect and tarte for a time moze conuenient to atchue his purpose, and that it might easlie be done, if the nobles of this realme would declare their minds together: but some of them mistrusted, and feared to shew their minds together: and that marred all.

He said further at the same time to the said Gilbert, that what so ever was done by the kings father, was done by wrong. And still he murmured against all that the king then presentlie reigning did. And further he said, that he knew himselfe to be so wicked a sinner, that he wanted Gods fauour: and therefore he knew, that what so ever he took in hand against the king had the worse successe. And furthermore, the said duke (to alienate the minds of the kings subiects from their dutifull obseissance towards the said king and his heires) on the twentieth date of September, in the first yeare of his reigne, being then at London, reported vnto the said Robert Gilbert, that he had a certeine writing sealed with the kings great seale, comprehending a certeine act of parlement, in the which it was enacted, that the duke of Summerset one of the kings progenitors was made legitimate: and further, that the said duke meant to haue deliuered the same writing vnto king Henrie the seventh, but (said he) I would not that I had so done for ten thousand pounds.

And furthermore, the same duke on the fourth of November, in the eleventh yere of the kings reigne, at east Greenwich in the countie of Kent, said unto one Charles Baneuet esquier, after that the king had reproued the duke for reiteining William Bulmer knight into his seruice, that if he had perceiued that he should haue bene committed to the Towre (as he doubted he should haue bene) he would haue so wrought, that the principall doers therein should not haue had cause of great reuising: for he would haue played the part which his father intended to haue put

in pacifice againſt king Richard the third at Solihurie, who made earnest ſuite to haue come vnto the preſence of the ſame king Richard: which ſuite if he might haue obtained, he hauing a knife ſecretlie about him, would haue thruſt it into the bodie of king Richard, as he had made ſemblance to kneele downe before him. And in ſpeaking theſe wordes, he maliciouslie laid his hand vpon his dagger, and ſaid, that if he were ſo euill bleſed, he would doo his beſt to accompliſh his pretended purpoſe, ſweariug to confirme his word by the blood of our Lord.

Beside all this, the same duke the tenth of Maie, in the twelfth yere of the kings reigne, at London in a place called the Rose, within the parish of saint Laurence Poultneie in Cantolike street ward, demanded of the said Charles Kanevet eiquer, what was the talke amongst the Londoners concerning the kings iourneie beyond the seas? And the said Charles told him, that manie stood in doubt of that iourneie, least the Frenchmen meant some deceit towards the king. Whereto the duke answered, that it was to be feared, least it would come to passe, according to the words of a certaine holie monke. For there is (saith he) a Chartreux monke, that diuers times hath sent to me, willing me to send vnto him my chancelloz: and I did send vnto him John de la Court my chapleine, vnto whome he would not declare anie thing, till de la Court had sworn vnto him to keepe all things secret, and to tell no creature liuing what he should heare of him, except it were to me.

And then the said monke told be la Court, that neither the king nor his heires should prosper, and that I should inuenuer my selfe to purchase the good wils of the communaltie of England; for I the same duke and my bloud should prosper, and haue the rule of the realme of England. Then said Charles Kneuet; The monke maie be deceived though the diuels illusion; and that it was euill to meddle with such matters. Well (said the duke) it cannot hurt me, and so (saith the indiment) the duke seemed to reioice in the monks words. And further, at the same time, the duke told the said Charles, that if the king had miscaried now in his last sicknesse, he would haue chopped off the heads of the cardinall, of sir Thomas Louell knight, and of others; and also said, that he had rather die for it, than to be bled as he had bene.

Moreover, on the tenth daie of September, in the said eleuenth yere of this kings reigne, at Westmynster, in the countie of Surrie, walking in the gallerie there with George Penill knight, lord Aburgauiennie, the duke murmuring against the kings counsellors, and there gouernement, said vnto the said George; that if the king died, he would haue the rule of the realme in spite of who so euer said the contrarie; and withall said, that if the said lord Aburgauiennie would say, that the duke had spoken such words, he would fight with him, and lay his sword vpon his pate: & this he bound vpon with manie great othes. These were the speciall articles & points comprised in the indictment, and laide to his charge: but how trulie, or in what sort proued, I haue not further to say, either in accusing or excusing him, other than as I find in Hall and Polydor, whose words in effect, I haue thought to impart to the reader, and without anie parciall wexling of the same either to or fro.

Sauling that (I truſt) I made without offence ſaie,  
that (as the rumour then went) the cardinall had ſie  
procured the death of this noble man, no leſſe fauou  
red and beloued of the people of this realme in that  
ſeaſon, than the cardinall himſelfe was hated and en  
uied. Which thing cauſed the dukes fall the more  
to be pittied and lamented, ſith he was the ment of all

A false prop-  
phesieng  
monke.

He was in a  
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if this were  
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A certain  
writing legi-  
timating the  
duke of  
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The Duke of  
Buckingham  
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Lydon,  
Hall.

Edw. Hall.  
18 fol. lxx:

The duke  
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The Duke  
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1. Dem. 1521

An. Reg. 13.

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other, that chiefele went about to crosse the cardinall  
in his looble demeanoꝝ, & headie proceedings. But to  
the purpose. Shortlye after that the duke had bene in-  
dicted (as befoze ye haue heard) he was arreigned in  
Westminster hall, befoze the duke of Norfolke, be-  
ing made by the kings letters patents high steward  
of England, to accomplish the high cause of appeals  
of the pæres & pæres of the realme, and to discerne  
and iudge the cause of the pæres.

There were also appointed to sit as iudges and iudges vpon the said duke of Buckingham, the duke of Suffolke, the marquess Dorset, the earls of Worcester, Devonshire, Essex, Somersetshire, Kent, Devon and Derby, the lord of saint Johns, the lord de la Mare, the lord Fitzwarren, the lord Willoughbie, the lord Brooke, the lord Cobham, the lord Herbert, and the lord Spoytelle: Where was made within the hall at Westminster a scaffold for these lords, and a presence for a iudge, a scaffold and counterrailed about, and barred with begréés. When the lords had taken their place, the duke was brought to the barre, and vpon his arraignment pleaded not guiltie, and put himselfe vpon his piéres. Then was his indictment read, which the duke denied to be true, and (as he was an eloquent man) alledged reasons to falsifie the indictment; pleading the matter for his owne iustificacion verie pijsilie and earnestlie. The kings attourneie against the dukes reasons alledged the examinations, confessions, and profes of witnesses

The duke desired that the witnesses might be brought forth. And then came before him Charles Annet, Perke, de la Court, & Hopkins the monk of the priorie of the Charterhouse beside Bath, which like a false hypocrite had induced the duke to the treason with his false forged propheties. Diuerse presumptions and accusations were laid vnto him by Charles Annet, which he would faine haue couered. The depositions were read, & the deponents deliuered as prisoners to the officers of the Tower. Then spake the duke of Rosfolke, and said: My lord, the king our soveraigne lord hath commanded that you shall haue his lawes ministred with fauour and right to you. Therefore if you haue anie other thing to say for your selfe, you shall be heard. Then he was commanded to withdraue him, and so was led into Paradise, a house so named. The lords went to counsell a great while and after toke their places.

Then said the duke of **Forssfolke** to the duke of  
**Suffolke**; What say you of sir **Edward** duke of **Buck-**  
**ingham** touching the high treasons? The duke of  
**Suffolke** answered; He is giltyte: & so said the mar-  
 ques and all the other earls and lords. Thus was this  
 prince duke of **Buckingham** found giltyte of high  
 treason, by a duke, a marques, seven earls, & twelue  
 barons. The duke was brought to the barre fore cha-  
 fing, and sweet mariellouslie; & after he had made his  
 reuerence, he paused a while. The duke of **Forssfolke**  
 as iudge said; Sir **Edward**, you haue heard how you  
 be indicted of high treason, you pleaded thereto not  
 giltyte, putting your selfe to the pées of the realme.  
 which haue found you giltyte. Then the duke of **Forss-**  
**folke** wept and said; You shall be led to the kings pil-  
 son, and there laid on a hardle, and so drayne to the  
 place of execution, and there be hanged, cut downe  
 aloue, your members cut off and cast into the fire.  
 your bowels burnt before you, your head smitten off.  
 and your bodie quartered and diuided at the kings  
 will, and God haue mercie on your soule. Amen.

The duke of Buckingham said, My lord of Northfolke, you haue said as a traitor should be said vnto, but I was neuer anie: but my lords I nothing maligne for that you haue downe to me, but the eternall God forgive you my death, and I doe: I shall neuer be to the king for life, howbeit he is a gracious

prince, and more grace may come from him than I desire. I desire you my lords and all my fellows to pray for me. Then was the edge of the axe turned towards him, and heled into a barge. Sir Thomas Howell desired him to sit on the cushions and carpet ordeined for him. He said nay; for when I went to Westminster I was duke of Buckingham, now I am but Edward Bohune the most cattife of the world. Thus they landed at the Temple, where received him Sir Nicholas Walsle & Sir William Sandes baronets, and led him through the citie, &c. as desired ever the people to pray for him, of whome some wept and lamented, and said: This is the end of euill life, God forgive him, he was a proud prince, it is pittie that he behaued him so against his king and liege lord, whome God preferue. Thus about foure of the clocke he was brought as a cast man to the Tower.

On fridaie the ſeuenteenth daie of Maie, about  
elesen of the clocke, this duke of Buckingham, earle  
of Hereford, Stafford, and Northampton, with a  
great power was deliuered to Iohn Beine a Iohn  
Skenington ſhirriffes, who led him to the ſcaffold or  
Tower hill, where he ſaid he had offended the kings  
grace through negligence and lacke of grace, and de-  
ſired all noble men to beare by him, and all men to  
pray for him, and that he truſted to die the kings true  
man. Thus makeſſe with an axe he toke his death.  
Then the Anguſtine friers toke his bodie, and head,  
and buried them. Alas that ener the grace of truth  
was withdrayne from ſo noble a man, that he was  
not to his king in allegiance as he ought to haue  
bene! Such is the end of ambition, the end of falſe  
prophesies, the end of euill life, and euill counſell; but  
ſpeciallie the end of malice, which grew to ſo huge and  
monſtrous a fire in the bawtie hart of the proud car-  
dinal, that nothing could allwaie it, but the blood of  
this noble duke, againſt whome he had procured this  
proceſſe in iudgement ended with the execution of  
death: the toquents whereof were (as it ſeemeth by  
the ſentence of the iudge) much diminished through  
the mercie of the king.

For though his offense was traitorous, and therefore deserved as law had provided, and the Iudge defined; yet in respect of the offenders person, the kings favour dispensed with the rigor of iudgement, so that he was beheaded onlie, and his bodie not dismembred. ¶ This duke had begun a great and sumptuous building at his manor of Thornburie, but left the same unfinished. He made a faire parke hard by the same building, for the which he took in much and fruitfull ground. Also another parke at Galfwood, one mile off, he enlarged at two times to the compasse of six miles, for the which deed, and such like, he had manie a curse of the poore tenants.] At the time of his death (no doubt) his conscience (giving in greater evidence than 10000 witnesses) told him whether he was iustlie condemned or no. for a mans dieng day is as a bill of information, putting him in mind of his life well or ill spent, as one saith:

*Pectora terribili cum mors ferit horrida telo,  
Quomodo vita tibi sit prius acta scies.*

Abr. Fl. ex 1. S.  
pag. 929.  
John Leland.

Gu. Ha. in eccle.  
cap. II.

A conuenient collection concerning  
the high constables of England, which office  
ceased and tooke end at the duke of  
Buckingham about mentioned.



The collection  
of Fr. Thin in  
this year 1585:

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as sometime was the chiefe place of a temporall subier in the reline the (high steward excepted) whose power did extend to restraine some actions of the kings. Wherefore being now no such office (for there was neuer anie advanced thereunto since the beheading of this duke) I thinke it not bnniet to make some memorie of those persons possessing to high a place, least both they and their office might hereafter grow in vtter obliuion: these therefore they were.

Alfgarus  
Stallere.

Alfgarus Stallere, constable to Edward the Confessor, of whome thus writeth the histozie of Elie in the second booke written by Richard of Elie a monke of that house, in the time of Henrie the second, whose words although they be somewhat long, I shall not graue to set downe in this sort. *De famosa villa Estre, alio nomine Plasie vocata, dicendum est quam misere ab Elie est destrata. Alfgarus quidem Stallere, quod Latine dux dicitur, eam inuasi, & vniuersa. Abbas vero Wulfscum & fratres, cum sedulo frustrarequirerent, Edwardum Confessorem adieunt, cui rex mandauit, ut restitueret: sed ille regis iussu nequaquam obtemperauit. Fratres autem, cum nec prece nec precio eius animum flectere potuissent, anathematizant eum, nec sententiam super eum vlla die pratermittunt.*

*Quod ille diutius paripendens, licet magnus & potens in regno esset (vix regis confabularum) ab ecclesia eliminatus, & fidelium consortio ad correptionem (vix iam cunctis detestabilis effectus) compulsum peruenire, tandem plurimum oburgatus & correptus a rege) reuersus est in se, & prece tandem nititur obtinere quod iniqua manu cunctatus non est. Illi vero hoc cognoscentes, illi annunt, demiserunt ei (quamuis ad suum incommodum) ita ut iureiurando postipsum vitam ab omni suorum inquietudine libera ad ecclesiam possessio rediret. Quod quidem factum est, & scripto Anglica sermone designatum. Testes rex Edwardus & regina, &c. Which man (after the death of king Edward the Confessor and Harold the usurper) was when the Normans entered England, as saith the said histozie In ergastulo plurimis alijs ferro astrictus usque ad mortem.*

Walter of  
Gloucester.

Walter constable of England in the time of William the Conquerour, and of William Rufus succeeded Alfgarus. Here (before I saie anie more) I thinke it not amisse to set downe somewhat touching William Fitz Dierne, or Dbert earle of Hereford, whome manie will haue to be constable in the time of the Conquerour: which truelie I can not as yet be led to beleue. For although that this William was the onelie man, who both persuaded, incouraged, and procured aid of others to assist William Conquerour for the obtaining of England; and that this man was (as we commonlie saie) the onelie right hand, cheefe compeller, and disposer of the kingdome, after that William the Conquerour had obtained the same, being also *Tribunus militum* of all the armie that William Conquerour led into England, and the man that persuaded the bishop of Sambozow to compound for the title of the king of Denmarke made vnto England: yet I suppose him not to be constable, but onelie marshall of England; or at the least if he were, it could not be verie long. For that this earle was extreme old, departed the realme, and disposed all the affaires of the Norman bastard beyond the seas, and died about the yeare of our redemption 1072, being about the eight yeare of the reigne of William Conquerour.

Spilo of Here-  
ford.

Spilo the sonne of the said Walter, an enimic to king Stephan (who yet confirmed him in his fathers inheritance) was advanced first to great honors by Henrie the first: who meeting Spawd the emperesse at Bisslow, and taking hir for lawfull queene, did continually follow hir faction: for which the, in the first yeare of king Stephan, to honour him for his good seruice (as appeareth by the charter thereof) gaue him

the earldome of Hereford, constableship of England, the castell of Wironell, & the forest of Deane. He was lord also of Bechehenocke. He translated the chanons of the monastirie of Saint Iohnis of Lanthonie, in the yeare of our redemption 1103, being the fourth yeare of king Henrie the first, to a place nere Gloucester, then called Hyde, and since Lanthonie; as Iohn Stow hath well noted out of other authors.

10 He married Sibilla the daughter of Bernard de Wymarch, a nobleman of Normandie, who obtained by conquest the lordship of Bechehenocke: by whome he had issue five sonnes and three daughters. The sonnes were Roger; Walter, Henrie, William and Spahell. His three daughters were, Margaret, married to Humfrey Bohune; Bertha the second was married to Philip Buse, created by king Stephan lord of Buse; Colver, Bauld, & Wyntble, and in his wiues right lord of Bechehenocke; Lucia married to Herebert the sonne of Herebert, base sonne to Henrie the first, who was (in his right) lord of the forest of Deane: he died in the eight or (as others haue) the ninth yeare of king Stephan, being the yeare of our redemption 1143.

William (the sonne of Walter Beauchampe) thirthe of Worcester, was made high constable of England by king Stephan, in the first yeare of his reigne, being in the yeare of our redemption 1139, when the king was at Worcester: which honour he toke from Spiles of Gloucester; as saith that painefull antiquarie Iohn Stow in his chronicle printed in the yeare of our Lord 1580, fol. 197.

Roger the sonne of Spilo succeeded his father in all his inheritance, as well of the earldome, as otherwise: whereby he was in time following also constable of England, and (as it is most probable) restored to that office by Henrie the second; for that he was a great enimic to king Stephan. He went amongest others with Henrie Fitz Empressse to Dauid king of Scots, who knighted the said Henrie in the fourteenth yeare of king Stephan: he married Cicilie the daughter of Iohn Fitz Paine, and died without issue.

Walter second sonne to Spilo, after the death of his brother Roger was earle of Hereford, constable of England, and lord ouer Swenthie or Wenthe: he builded in the time of Henrie the first the castles of Gloucester, Bisslow, and Rochester, with the Tower of London: he held the land of Wenthe by long time, who hauing no heire of his bodie gaue the same land to Henrie of Hereford, and for taking the world toke monasticall habit on him at Lanthonie, where he was buried, dieng without issue.

Henrie of Hereford the sonne of Spilo, after the enterance of Walter his brother into religion, was earle of Hereford, constable of England, and lord of Bechehenocke and Deane, who was in Wenthe at a conflict slaine by his owne men, and buried at Lanthonie with Walter the constable: after whose death

60 Henrie the second deputed Iago ap Seisell to the custody of the land of Wenthe.

William the sonne of Spilo, and brother to Henrie of Hereford, was constable of England, after the death of his brother, and died without issue.

Spahell the youngest sonne of Spilo, after the death of William, was constable of England, who died without issue: whome I feare not to place as constable, since all histozies agree that all the sons of Spilo did successiuelie intoe that office, after whome the inheritance comming to their sister, whereof the eldest called Margaret (or Margerie) was married to Humfrey Bohune, which line of the Bohunes became afterwards constables of England by inheritance.

Henrie

1521

1521

Humfrie de Bohune, steward to Henrie the first, (the sonne of Humfrie de Bohune, steward in houle to William Rufus, sonne to Humfrie de Bohune that came in with the Conquerour) was (in the right of his wife Margerie one of the daughters and heire of the foresaid spile) constable of England; he had issue Humfrie de Bohune.

Humfrie de Bohune, constable of England, married Margaret sister to William king of Scots and daughter to the earle of Huntingdon, mother to Canon earle of Britaine: he had issue Henrie. This Margaret died the third of king John, being the yeare of Christ 1201. And this Humfrie also died in the time of king John, as some haue: or rather (as others haue) in the time of king Richard the first.

Henrie de Bohune, the sonne of the said Humfrie and Margaret, was the first earle of Hereford of that name of the Bohunes, contrarie to that received error, which hitherto hath made the other Bohunes earle of Hereford: and contrarie to the printed pedigree of the deceased father of the earle of Essex now living. For this man, being the first erle of the Bohunes, was made earle of Hereford in the first yeare of king John, as the charter doth witness. He was also constable of England, and married spawd, the daughter and heire of Cessie lord Ludgar (all sometime earle of Essex, in whose right his husband was intituled to that honoz of the earldome of Essex, by whome he had issue Humfrie his heire. He died about the fourth yeare of Henrie the third, being the yeare of our redemption 1220, in his iourne as he went to Jerusalem with other noble men.

Humfrie de Bohune sonne of Henrie, being the second of that name that was erle of Hereford, was also earle of Essex and constable of England, being by all men termed La bone counte de Hereford. He married spawd the daughter of the earle of Erie in Normandie, he had issue Humfrie de Bohune that was taken in the yeare of Christ 1265, being the fourth of king Henrie the third at the battell of Cuesham, and died in the life of his father, leaving behind him a sonne called Humfrie, heire to him and to his father, which Humfrie the father died in the yeare of our redemption 1275, being the third yeare of king Edward the first.

Humfrie de Bohune the third earle of Hereford of that name, the sonne of Humfrie Bohune slaine at the battell of Cuesham, was after the death of his grandfather erle of Hereford and Essex, and constable of England, he married spawd de Ferens, or Frenis, and had issue Humfrie, this earle died in the yeare of our redemption 1298, being the twentieth first of Edward the first, & was buried at Malden with his wife spawd.

Humfrie de Bohune the fourth erle of Hereford of that name, was earle of Hereford, Essex, and constable of England, he married Elizabeth the daughter to king Edward the first, and widow to John earle of Holland, he had issue John erle of Hereford, Humfrie earle of Hereford, and William earle of Northampton. This Humfrie taking part with Thomas earle of Lancaster was slaine at Worwilde by a Welshman standing under a bidge that thrust him thorough with a speare, in the fourteenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the second, being the yeare of our redemption 1321.

John de Bohune the eldest sonne of this Humfrie, being the first earle of Hereford, was after the death of his father earle of Hereford, Essex, and constable of England, he married the daughter of Edmund Fitz Alen earle of Arundell, and died without issue in the yeare of Christ 1335, being the ninth yeare of king Edward the third. He was buried in the ab-

beie of Stratford besides London.

Humfrie de Bohune first earle of Hereford, being brother to John de Bohune, whome he succeeded, was after the death of his brother earle of Hereford and Essex, and constable of England, he died without issue in the yeare of our Lord 1361, being the thirtieth first of king Edward the third, and was buried at the Augustine friers in London.

William de Bohune seventh erle of Hereford of that surname, being the sonne of the other Humfrie and brother to the last Humfrie, was at a parlement holden in the tenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, being in the yeare of our Lord 1336, created earle of Northampton, and after the death of his brother Humfrie, he was earle of Hereford and Essex, and constable of England. He was in the eighteenth yeare of Edward the third, being the pere of Christ 1344, sent into Britaine as generall ouer the English armie, to restore John de Montford to the dukedome of Britaine: which he did, putting Charles de Blois to flight. He married Elizabeth some saie Cleane, one of the daughters and heires of Bartholomew Bladenere baron of Bedes in Kent, by whome he had issue Humfrie.

Humfrie de Bohune, the eighth & last erle of Hereford of that surname of Bohune, was after the death of William his father earle of Hereford, Essex and Northampton, and constable of England. He augmented the castell of Brecknocke, first built by Bernard Preymarch. He in the eight and twentieth pere of Edward the third (as John Stow noteth) being the yeare of Christ 1354, reedified the frier Augustines church in London, in which he was buried. He married Ione the daughter of Richard Fitz Alen erle of Arundell, by whome he had issue two daughters and heires, Cleane, the eldest, married to Thomas of Woodstocke: and Marie the second, married to Henrie of Bolingbroke, after king of England, by the name of king Henrie the fourth.

Thomas of Woodstocke the first sonne to king Edward the third, was created earle of Buckingham, in the first yeare of Richard the second at his coronation, being the yeare of our Lord 1377, and after duke of Gloucester, in the eight yeare of Richard the second 1385. He married Cleane, eldest daughter of Humfrie Bohune (as before) in whose right he was earle of Essex, Northampton, and constable of England, besides which he was also lord of Brecknocke. He had issue one son & foure daughters: his sonne was Humfrie erle of Buckingham, whom R. Richard (after the murdering of his father at Calis) sent into Ireland, where he remained as prisoner untill the time of king Henrie the fourth; which called him home: who returning into England, died of the plague without issue at Chester: after whome his mother lived not long. Of whose death thus writeth that worthy poet Sir John Gower knight, living at that time, in his booke of the historie of Richard the second, and Henrie the fourth, commonlie taken as part of his worke intituled & named, *For clamantibus*.

*Interea transit moriens nec in orbe remansit,  
Humfredus dictus reddit illo Deo benedictum,  
Defuncto nato cito post de sine beato,  
Mater transiit dum nati funera sumpsit,  
Primo decessit Cignus, dolor videri prepsit  
Matrem cum pullo sibi mors nec parire in vello.*

The foure daughters, heires to Thomas of Woodstocke & their brother Humfrie, were Anne the eldest, married to Edmund Stafford erle Stafford, who had issue Humfrie erle of Stafford, Hereford, & Northampton, lord of Brecknocke, &c: which Anne after the death of erle Stafford, and the second time maried William viscount Southhampton created erle of Gloucester in France: the second daughter was Philip,

Humfrie de Bohune.

William de Bohune.

Humfrie de Bohune.

Thomas of Woodstocke.

The duke of Gloucester, because the swan was his cognifiance.

lip, which died without issue: the third Zou, was married to Gilbert lord Talbot: the fourth Zabel, was a religious person at the Monies in London. The duke of Gloucester was murdered at Calis about the yeare of Christ 1398, being the 22 yeare of Richard the second, touching whose life and death, with the manner thereof, thus writeth the said sir John Gower, in the same booke intituled *Vox clamantis*:

*O quam fortuna stabili non permanet una,  
Exemplum cuius fiat in ordine carminis huius,  
Rex agit, & Cygnus patitur de corde benignus,  
Ille prostratus non est de rege leuatus,  
Ad plebsse captus tunc est velut hostia raptus,  
Rex iubet arma geri, nec eo voluit misereri,  
Cum sponsa nati lugent quasi morte grauati,  
Pluribus huius rex dummodo semina fleuit,  
Nil peras munit quem tunc manus inuida punit,  
Rex sterit obliquus nec erat tunc vnus amicus,  
O regale genus, princeps quasi pauper egenus,  
Turpiter attractus iacet & sine iure subactus,  
Sunt ibi fautores regis de sorte priores,  
Qui Cygnum pendunt, ubi captum ducere tendunt,  
Sic ducendo ducem, perdit sine lumine lucem,  
Anglia quae tota tenebrefcit luce remota,  
Trans mare natauit, regnum qui semper amauit,  
Fleunt centum mille, quia Cygnus praeterit ille,  
Calisq; portus petit unde dolus later ortus,  
Error quem regis genuit putredine legis,  
Carcere conclusus subit fuit ille reclusus,  
Nescit quo sine sit vita sine ruina,  
Tunc rex elatum sumpsit quasi fulco volatum,  
Vnde suas gentes perdit custode carentes.*

A little after which followeth these verses, touching the deniall of buriall to be granted vnto him among the rest of his honourable and roiall ancessors:

*Sic nece deuictum, sic corpus ab hoste relictum,  
Clam de conlatu, susceperat Anglia nauis,  
Per mare regreditur, corpus nec adhuc sepelitur,  
Namq; sepulturam, defendit rex sibi puram,  
Desuper a latere, patris loca iusta revere,  
Dummodo quiescit, vix bassa sepulchra subiuit.*

Of the manner also of whose death the said sir John Gower hath set downe these three following verses:

*Huius quam rectorum quidam de sorte malorum,  
Sic duci electi plumarum pondere lecti,  
Corpus quassatum ingulantiq; necans ingulatum.*

His wife Elenor died the third of October, in the yeare of our redemption 1399, being the first yeare of king Henrie the fourth, and was buried at Westminster on the south side of king Edward the third with this epitaph:

*Icy gift Elenor de Bohune aysne fille & vn des  
heyres a honorable seigneur monseigneur Hum-  
phrey de Bohune, countie de Hereford, & de Essex,  
& de Northampton, & constable d'Anglitterre, fem-  
me a puillanc & noble prince Thomas Woodstocke,  
fitz a tres excellent & tres puissant seigneur Edward  
roy d'Anglitterre plus le coquest tierce, duc de Glo-  
cester, que motust tierce iours de October lan du  
grace 1399, de que alme Dieux fait mercy.*

Edward  
Plantagenet.

Edward Plantagenet sonne to Edmund of Langley, was by Richard the second created earle of Arundell, and duke of Albemarle, who being constable of England arrived in the three and twentieth yeare of Richard the second, and in the yeare of our Lord 1399 in Ireland, to bring aid to the king being there in warre. Of this man is moze liberall discourse in my following treatise of the dukes of England.

Henrie Persie

Henrie Persie lord Persie, the first lord, and the first earle of Northumberland of that name, was advanced to that honourable title of earle at the coronation of king Richard the second, in the yeare of our redemption 1377. He was made high constable

of England by Henrie the fourth, then elected but not crowned king of England, because the said earle did giue that ring to the king whereby he was wedded to the kingdome of England, to whom also the king gaue the Ile of man to beare the sword with which he entered the realme. He in the fourth yeare of king Henrie the fourth, being the yeare of Christ 1403, rebelled against the king: but after coming to the king vpon sending for, he was pardoned his life, but committed to safe custodie. After which, in the first yeare of that king, he was at a parlement holden at London restored to his estate and dignitie, who the yeare following, being the first of Henrie the fourth, and the yeare of Christ 1405, againe rebelled, and after fled into Scotland, to Dauid lord Fleming who receiued him, and in the seventh yeare of Henrie the fourth, being the yeare of our redemption 1506, as saith John Stow.

This Dauid persuaded the erle to flee into Wales, for which cause the Scots slue the said Dauid. After this, in the ninth yeare of Henrie the fourth, he came into England, raised the people, and was slaine at Bowneham nere to Haselewood, in a conflict had with him by Thomas Kockleie shiriffe of Northshire. He married two wiues, the first was Margaret daughter to Hase lord Penill, by whom he had issue Henrie Persie, surnamed Hotspurre (slaine at the battell of Shrewesburie in the fourth yeare of Henrie the fourth in his fathers life) Thomas and Hase. His second wife was Mauid, daughter to Thomas lord Lucie, and sister and heire to Anthoine lord Lucie baron of Cockermonth, being before the widow of Gilbert Humfreuill called the earle of Angus. His ladie Mauid gaue to hir husband the lordship and castell of Cockermonth, whereby the earles of Northumberland are bound still to beare the armes of Lucie.

John duke of Bedford the sonne and brother of kings (so) he calleth himselfe in the precept to summon Reginald lord Greie, & sir Edward Hastings knight, to determine the controuersie for bearing of the armes of Hastings earle of Denbroke in the marshalls court) was earle of Richmond and Bedford, and constable of England, being advanced to that office about the eight yeare of Henrie the fourth his father, being the yeare of our redemption 1406, of whom there is moze mention in the following discourse of the protectors of England.

Humfrie earle of Stafford, Hereford, and Northampton, lord of Breconke, Holdernes, and of Cambridge, and constable of England, and of Dover castell, in the eight yeare of king Henrie the first, being the yeare of Christ 1430, went into France with Henrie the first to attend his coronation at Paris. He was created duke of Buckingham in the two and twentieth yeare of Henrie the first, being the yeare of Christ 1444. He was slaine at the battell of Northampton in the eight and thirtieth yeare of king Henrie the first, being the yeare of our Lord 1460. He married Anne daughter to Hase Peul erle of Westmerland: he had amongst manie other of his children Humfrie his eldest sonne earle of Stafford, but (as hath John Stow) with an arrow in the right hand at the battell of saint Albons in the three and thirtieth yeare of Henrie the first, being the yeare of our Lord 1455, of which battell of saint Albons thus writeth John Whethamsted a learned abbat of that house:

*Dum Maximus madidus flos saepuit inbriliq; arboris  
in collibus & Zephyrus resouerat flatus arboris  
Flora velut regnans herba ditauerat hortus  
Post glacies inopes herba fecerat & locupletat  
Et in peditis stillon praedonibus vndiq; regnum  
Repleuerat nimis, sic lateq; effuderat ossa  
Vnde villam tandem sapientis peruenit istam*

Dom. 1521

Reg. 13.

*Horum numerus quod vix euaderet unus,  
Quia plures fueret spoliantes vel trepidaret.  
Accidit ex causa spolatio tam grauis ista,  
Mars celi dominus fuerat tunc, et foror eius  
Interis domina belli Bellona vocata,  
Pade malum multis signanter partibus istis  
Contigit, et bellum fuit istuc grande peractum,  
Sanguis et effusus multus, dux est ingulatus  
Illius pigna qua fertur causa fuisse.  
Bello finito, strepitu quoq. pacificato,  
Indulgentum est preda, praedones quippe fuere  
Pictores omnes, nulli quasi compatiens.  
Tunc rex, tunc proceres, tunc villani quoq. plures,  
Ac alij vix fuerant rebus spoliatij,  
Attamen ecclesia simul ecclesia bona cuncta  
Intra qua fuerant sub clausuraq. iacebant,  
Manferunt salua nec ei res defuit vlla.  
Laudisigitur domino, laus in speciem patris,  
Cuius per media stabant sua singula salua,  
Salua et in cunctis simul abbas frater et omnis.  
Spiritus ille bonus sine fallo spiritus albus,  
Ad villam regem qui direxit venientem  
Illius ad medium, nec tunc permisit ipsam  
Ecclesiam petere, conferuauit sua quaeque.  
Sed patronus erat qui pro monachis mediator,  
A raptoe locumq. suum seruauit, et omnem  
Ipsius ornatum sedari nec fuit ipsam.  
Sirex intrasset, secumq. ducem sociasset,  
Palus ecclesia parissent cuncta rapine,  
Nec poterat furis quisquam compescere plebis.  
Lius igitur domino, rursus rursusq. patrono,  
Sua locustis suis salua munimine salua,  
Saluaq. supposita, sua salua iocalia cuncta.*

John Tiptoth or Tiptost knight, the son of John lord Tiptost, and of Joice his wife, second daughter to Edmund Charlston lord Powes, was treasuroz of the realme in Michellmasse tearme in the tenth yere of Henrie the fourth, after which he was againe admitted to that office in the one and thirtieth and two and thirtieth yere of Henrie the first, from which place being once more remitted, he was the third time aduanced to the honoz of lord treasuroz of England in the second of Edward the fourth, and continued the same in the third of the said king. He was created earle of Worcester in the time of king Henrie the first. This man in the yere 1470, being the tenth of king Edward the fourth, took his part against the duke of Clarence, and Richard Penill earle of Marwike, at what time the said duke and earle being discomfited, fled to the sea side, and thence sailed to Southhampton, where they thought to haue had the Trinity a great ship of the earle of Marwikes; but the lord Seales the quenes brother fought with them, and inforced them to stie into France.

Whereupon king Edward the fourth came to Southhampton and caused Tiptost earle of Worcester to sit in iudgement vpon certeine gentlemen, as Clapham and others, taken at the same skirmish of Southhampton, where the earle caused the bodie of certeine condemned men, after that they were hanged to be thrust thorough the fundament by to the head with stakes, for the which crueltie he and others fell into indignation of the common people. Before which in the eight yere of king Edward, he was with John Dobleie made constable of the Tower, during their liues, and the longer liue of them two.

After this in the said yere 1470, being the tenth of Edward the fourth, in which Henrie the first readepted the crowne of England, which yere of Henrie the first is called in the law booke, the fourtie ninth yere of the reigne of R. Henrie the first. This earle of Worcester was taken in the top of an high tre in the forest of Weibridge in Huntingdonshire, brought to London, and at a parlement arrested and

condemned to death, by sir John Here earle of Dorset. Whereupon he was beheaded at Tower hill, and buried in the blacke friers of London. He had thre wiues, whereof the first was called Cicilie the daughter of Richard earle of Salisburie: the second Elizabeth the daughter of Robert Greindoure: the third was Elizabeth, after married to sir William Stanleiz, which John had by his third wife Edward lord Tiptost who died without issue, so the inheritance went to the sisters of the said earle John Tiptost.

Lord Beaumont.

And here I thinke it not amisse to say somewhat of the lord Beaumont, who bring in our chronicles named constable of England (as may appeare in the five and twentieth yere of Henrie the first, in which yere he arrested Humfrie duke of Gloucester) that for any thing that I can yet see or learne, this Beaumont was not constable by patent during his life, but for the present time to execute the princes pleasure, and therefore not meet in this discourse to haue anie speciall place amongst such as were constables of England, either by descent or patent.

Sir Richard Woodville knight, earle Rivers, was Richard high constable of England in the fourth yere of king Edward the fourth, of whom is more large mention in the following discourse of the treasuroz of England in the historie of the reigne of quene Elizabeth.

George Plantagenet.

George Plantagenet, second sonne to Richard duke of Yorke, was created amongst other estates duke of Clarence, in the yere of our redemption 1461, being the first yere of king Edward the fourth immediately vpon his coronation, and was made constable of England in the time of Edward the fourth. He in the eight of Edward the fourth, about the yere of Christ 1468, married Isabell the eldest daughter of Richard Penill earle of Marwike and Salisburie, by whom he had issue Edward earle of Marwike and Salisburie, borne vpon the sea in the haven of Calis, who was in the time of Richard the third a continuall prisoner, and so having bene a prisoner, and thereto borne by a certeine satall destiny, was in the yere of our redemption 1485, being the first of king Henrie the seventh committed to custodie in the Tower, where he continued all the rest of his life, and was beheaded at Tower hill in the fiftenth yere of king Henrie the seventh, being the yere of Christ 1499, and was buried at Wilsam nere to his ancestors. Besides this Edward, this George duke of Clarence had issue a daughter called Margaret, created by king Henrie the eighth countesse of Salisburie, who married sir Richard Pole knight of the garter, descended of the ancient familie of the Poles in Wales.

Richard Plantagenet, the third sonne to Richard duke of Yorke, was aduanced to the title and honoz of the dukedome of Gloucester, in the yere of our redemption 1461, being the first yere of king Edward the fourth, some after his coronation. He was high constable of England: he married Anne second daughter to Richard Penill earle of Marwike and Salisburie. Which Richard after the death of his brother king Edward the fourth, did by the murder of his nephues ascend to the highest gouernement of England, and was crowned king by the name of Richard the third.

Richard Plantagenet.

Henrie Stafford, whome our chronicles doe in manie places corruptlie terme Edward, was sonne to Humfrie earle Stafford, and was high constable of England, and duke of Buckingham. This man raising warre against Richard the third usurping the crowne, was in the first yere of the reigne of the said Richard, being the yere of Christ 1483, betrayed by his man Humfrie Banasser (to whome being in distresse he fled for succour) and brought to Richard the third then lieng at Salisburie, where the

Henrie Stafford.

safo duke confessing all the conspiracie, was beha-  
ded without arremnement or iudgement, vpon the  
second of Nouember, in the said yere of our redemp-  
tion 1483, he married Katharine the daughter of Ri-  
chard Moulle, sister to quene Elizabeth wife to  
Edward the fourth; & had issue, Edward duke of Buc-  
kingham, and Henrie earle of Wilshire, with two  
daughters, which were, Anne married to George lord  
Hastings of whom is descended the erle of Hunting-  
ton now liuing, and Elizabeth married to Richard  
Katliffe lord Fitz Waters, of whome is issued sir  
Henrie Katcliffe knight, now earle of Souther.

Edward  
Stafford.

Edward Stafford sonne to Henrie duke of Buc-  
kingham, being also duke of Buckingham after the  
death of his father was constable of England, earle  
of Hereford, Stafford, and Northampton, being in  
the first yere of Henrie the seventh, in the yere of  
our redemption 1485, restored to his fathers digni-  
ties and possessions. He is teamed in the booke of the  
law in the said thirteenth yere of Henrie the eight  
(where his arremnement is liberallie set downe) to  
be the soueraine & mirror of all courtelie. This man (as  
before is toucht) was by Henrie the seventh resto-  
red to his fathers inheritance, in recompense of the  
losse of his fathers life, taken awaie (as before is  
said) by the vsurping king Richard the third. He  
married Elianor the daughter of Henrie earle of  
Northumberland, and had issue Henrie lord Staf-  
ford (father to Henrie lord Stafford now liuing) and  
three daughters, Elizabeth married to Thomas Ho-  
ward earle of Surrie, Katharine married to Rafe  
Penuill earle of Westmerland, and Marie married  
to George Penuill lord of Aburgauennie. And thus  
much by Francis Thim touching the succession of the  
constables of England.]

In this meane while, were the emperor and the  
French king fallen at variance, so that the warre  
was renewed betwixt them; for the pacifying wherof;  
the cardinall of Poike was sent ouer to Calis, where  
the ambassadours of both those princes were appoin-  
ted to come to him. He arrived there the second of  
August. There went ouer with him the erle of Glou-  
cestre, then lord chamberleine, the lord of St. Johns,  
the lord Ferrers, the lord Herbert, the bishop of Du-  
resine, the bishop of Elie, the pimat of Armacane,  
sir Thomas Bullen, sir John Beddie, sir John Wul-  
fie, sir Richard Wingfield, sir Henrie Gullford, and  
manie other knights, esquiers, gentlemen, doctors;  
and learned men. Thus honourable accompanied he  
rode thorough London the twentieth date of Julie,  
and at Thomas Becketts house the maior and alder-  
men toke leaue of him, praiering God to send him  
good speed. Thus passed he to Canturburie, where the  
archbishop of Canturburie and others receiued him  
in his stateliness, and brought him vnto his lodging  
vnder a canopie to the bishops palace. On the eighth  
date of Julie he came to Douer. On the twentieth  
he & the other lords with their retinues toke passage,  
and arrived at Calis in safetie, where the lord depu-  
tie and the counsell receiued them with much honour  
and lodged the cardinall in the Staple hall.

Cardinall  
Woolle sent  
ouer to Calis.

Edw. Hall in  
H. 8. fol. lxxxvj.

The emperor  
& the French  
king thram-  
bassadours  
met at Calis,  
to treat of a  
peace.

Shortlie after his arriuall at Calis, thither came  
the chancelor of France, and the countie de Palice,  
with foure hundred horses, as ambassadours from the  
French king; and likewise from the emperor came  
great ambassadours, either partie being furnished  
with sufficient commissions to treat and conclude of  
peace as should appeare. But yet when it came to the  
point, as the one partie seemed conforinable to rea-  
sonable offers, so the other would not incline that  
waie; insomuch that they were neuer at one time a-  
greable to anie indifferent motion that could be  
made. There were also the popes ambassadours, wher-

upon the cardinall would haue set the red a league  
betwixt the emperor, the king of England, the king  
of France, and the pope: but the popes ambassadours  
wanted commission thereto, and therefore were let-  
ters sent to Rome in all hast, and the Frenchmen  
taried still in Calis, till answer came from thence.  
The cardinall rode into Flanders to speake with  
the emperor, which as then laie in Bruges. A mile  
without Bruges the emperor receiued him, and did  
to him as much honour as could be deuised. The  
chere was great which was made to the English-  
men, and of euerie thing there was such plentie, that  
there was no want of things necessarie, in somuch  
that of the fare, both for plentifulnesse, delicatnesse,  
and stateliness of seruice, a man might haue said:

*De quocumque magnorum dixisset esse deorum.*

The cardinall after he had taried in Bruges the  
space of thirtene daies, and concluded diuerse mat-  
ters with the emperor, and accomplished his com-  
mission, he toke leaue of his maiestie, and by con-  
uenient tomes returned to Calis, where the ambas-  
sadors of France taried his coming; and immedi-  
atlie after his returne to Calis, he treated with them  
of peace, but not so earnestlie as he did before. In  
fine, nothing was concluded, but onclie that sister-  
men of both the princes might stidie fith on the seas  
without disturbance, till the second of Februarie  
next. When no conclusion of agreement could be ac-  
corded, the cardinall sent to the emperor the lord of  
St. Johns, and sir Thomas Bullen knight, to aduer-  
tise his maiestie what had bene done, and likewise  
to the French king, as then lieng in campe with a  
mightie armie in the marches about Cambrie. The  
earle of Westmerland and the bishop of Elie were sent  
to informe him of all things that had bene moti-  
oned, exhorting him to incline to peace, but he gaue  
little care thereto: and then after they had bene a  
ninetene or twentie daies in his host they returned.  
During the continuance of the cardinall in Calis,  
all writs and patents were there by him sealed, and  
no shiriffes chosen for lacke of his presence, hauing  
there with him the great seale, & full power in things,  
as if the king had bene there in person. Ambassa-  
dours coming from the king of Hungarie towards  
the king of England, were receiued honourable of  
the Cardinall during his abode in Calis.

After the returne of the English ambassadours,  
which the cardinall had sent to the emperor, and to  
the French king, he returned into England, hauing  
(as before is said) concluded a new league with the  
emperor, and signified by waie of intendment to  
the French king in the treatie with his ambassadours,  
that the king of England meant him not so much  
friendship as of late he had done, for diuerse causes.  
But specialie this was bittered, that where it was  
concluded that the king of Scots should be included  
within the league (as before yee haue heard) contra-  
rie to that agreement, the said king refused to enter  
as a confederate into the same league: and this no  
doubt proceeded through counsell of the French king,  
by whom he was whole guided. This quarrell was  
laide as an occasion, whie to moue the king of En-  
gland (perceiuing himselfe to be dissembled with) to  
withdraw his good will from the French king.

Who when he vnderstood the drifts of the cardinall,  
and conclusion of the new league confirmed be-  
twixt the king of England and the emperor, he con-  
demned the cardinall of vntruth, accused him of dis-  
simulation, abhorred his practices, as by the which he  
lost the fruition of the king of England his friend-  
ship, and might no longer inioy it. And herewith he  
determined with himselfe neuer to put confidence  
in anie Englishman after, nor to bestow anie gifts  
or pensions vpon them. For he bled parrilie to send

An. Dom.

An. R. S.

The emperor  
receiued the  
cardinall  
with great  
honour at  
Bruges.

Edw. Hall.

Cardinall  
Woolle ex-  
ceeding the  
great feare  
with him to  
Calis, where  
he receiued  
honourable

Polyd.

The manner  
of order of  
the popes  
path.



The emperor receiveth the cardinall with great honour at Buzages.

Cardinall wolke careth the great feale with him to Calis, & there sealerh his and parents.

Polydor.

to divers of the kings counsell after the maner of  
his predecessors sundrie gifts and summes of monie;  
because he had imployed more on the cardinall than  
on the residue, he was the more offended toward him  
as the head of all this invidious doing. Yet he found  
not himselfe so much grieved, as to bitter anie bitter  
words towards the king: but contrarie with in a  
while after, directed his letters unto him, signifieng  
that he meant to continue the league as his friend:  
but it maie be he did this after a dissembling sort, be-  
cause he would not be at warres with two so mightie  
princes at one time.

In this meane while, the warre was pursued be-  
tween the emperor & the French king, as well on the  
confines towards Flanders, as beyond the moun-  
tains in the parties of Lombardie. Lornate was be-  
sieged by the lord Hugh de Boncada, a Spaniard, the  
which coming upon the sudden, took the manie abroad  
in the fields, yet they knew of his approach, and after  
this, coming before the citie, he intrenched it with  
a hedge, to keepe the citizens from stirring forth, and  
sent part of his armie with the light horsemen to for-  
lace the fracts and passages, that no succour should  
come to them within. The French king assembled an  
armie, in hope to aid them of Lornate with men, in-  
vittles, and vittels, the which armie assailed twice or  
thrice with all endevor, to have approached the citie: but  
in vaine, for with no small losse the French were re-  
pelled by the imperials, which nevertheless felt their  
part of slaughter, losing sundrie of their capitaines, as  
bassard Cuertre, and the capitaine of Sant. Finalle,  
the French armie brake up, & was dispersed into for-  
tresses. Whereupon they of Lornate perceiving the  
succours which they hoped for, to faile them thus at  
need, rendered the citie to the emperor the last of Jan-  
nember, in this 13 yeare of king Henries reigne.

Pope Leo died this yeare suddenly, on the first  
of December, as he late at the village of Agalliana  
whither he went oftentimes for his recreation. He  
had heard the first reayport of the taking of Agillan,  
which stirred in him such an extream passion of joy,  
that the same night he entered into a small feaver:  
and for his better remedie he caused himselfe the next  
day to be remoured to Rome: where he died within  
a verie few daies after, notwithstanding the physici-  
ans in the beginning made no great reckoning of  
his disease. There was great suspicion that he was  
poisoned by Barnabie Palestina his chamberleine,  
whose office was alwaies to give him drinke. And  
yet though he was made prisoner through the suspici-  
on of the fact & the vehement reasons of the same; yet  
the matter was dashed and the examination thereof:  
for that the cardinall de Medici as soon as he came  
to Rome, set him at libertie, fearing to fall further in  
disgrace of the French king, by whose practise it was  
supposed that Barnabie gave him the fatal drinke.  
This was but whispered secretly, the author being no  
less doubtfull than the conjectures uncerteine.

He died (if we consider the common opinion: of  
men) in verie great glozie and felicitie, not so much  
for that by the surprisling of Agillan he saw himselfe  
delivered of dangers & expences intollerable, which  
having drained him of all store of monie and trea-  
sure, he was constrained to advance all meanes and  
maners for his supplie and relieving: but also that a  
verie few daies afore his death he received advertise-  
ment of the taking of Plaisance, and the verie day  
he died, newes came to him of the winning of Par-  
ma: a matter so greafully desired by him, that at such  
time as he debated to move warre against the  
Frenchmen, it is verie well remembred that he said  
unto the cardinall de Medici labouring to dissuade  
him, that as he was in nothing more caried to the de-  
sire of that warre, than to recover to the church those

two cities; so when so ever God should blesse him  
with the effect of that desire, it would not grieve him  
to die. He was a prince in whom were manie things  
worthy to be commended & blamed, and in the estate  
& discourse of his life he deceived greatlie the expec-  
tation that was had of him, when he was created  
pope, for that in his government was great discre-  
tion, but farre lesse bountie than was looked for.]

After the death of the pope, doctor Richard Pace  
was sent to Rome, to make friends in the behalfe  
of the cardinall of Porke, who was brought into a baine  
hope thorough the kings favour and furtherance, to  
be elected pope. But Adrian the first of that name  
was chosen before doctor Pace could come to Rome;  
and so that lute was dashed. This Adrian bishop of  
Derghusa (after great contention in the college of  
cardinals touching the election of a new pope) was  
preferred to the custome of lotting of voices in the  
conclauie, without anie affection or parcialitie of  
voice: he was of nation a Fleming, & in his youth  
having bene scholemaster to Cesar, and by his  
meane made cardinall under pope Leo, did at that  
time gouverne Spaine in the absence of Cesar. And  
as there began some voices to publish for him, so car-  
dinall Visto one of that election, began under an oza-  
tion speciall, to recount and amplifie his vertues and  
knowledge, by whose example certeine other carbi-  
nals yielded, and the residue from hand to hand fol-  
lowed, though more by constraint than counsell.

Thus was he chosen with the voices of all the car-  
dinals, and had his creation perfected the same mo-  
ning. Wherein this was to be wondered at, that e-  
uen those that had elected him could give no reason,  
why amid so manie troubles & dangers in the estate  
ecclesiastike, they had raised to the soueraigne see a  
stranger, a forrener, and of long absence out of the  
countrie, & wherein were helping no respects of fauor,  
no consideration of former merits, nor anie conuer-  
sation had with anie of the other cardinals: yet they  
scarcelie knew his name, he had neuer bene in Ita-  
lie, and had no hope nor cogitation to see it: of which  
strauagant maner of dealing, being not able to ex-  
cuse themselves, they attributed all to the working  
of the Holie-ghost, who is wont (for so they alleged)  
to inspire the hearts of the cardinals in the electing  
of popes: he received newes of his election in the  
towne of Vitoria in Biskaye, and would not haue  
imposed upon him anie other name than his etone,  
which he caused to be published under Adrian the first.

Now he made his entrie into Rome the nine and  
twentieth of August, with a great concourse of the  
commons and the whole court: of whome albeit his  
coming was desired with an vniuersall gladnesse  
(for that without the presence forsooth of the popes,  
Rome beareth more a resemblance of a saunge de-  
fact than of a citie) yet that spectacle wrought sun-  
drie impressions and diuersities of thoughts in the  
minds of all men, when they considered that they had  
a pope for nation and language a stranger, and for  
the affaires of Italie and the court altogether unex-  
perienced: and also for that he was not of those re-  
gions and countries, who by long conuersation were  
alreadie made familiar with the customes of Italie.  
The enuie that stirred by in men this consideration  
was redoubled by the accident of the plague, which  
beginning in Rome at his arrivall, afflicted the citie  
during the whole season of Autumne, to the great  
calamitie and losse of the people: a matter which in  
the fantasies of men was construed to an enill progno-  
stication of his pontificacie.]

Notwithstanding this election of Adrian (as you  
heare) accomplished; yet doctor Pace kept his tour-  
nie according to his commission. This Pace was a  
right worthy man, and one that gaue in counsell  
D o o o y. faithfully

Polydor.  
Cardinall  
wolke mas-  
keth meanes  
to be elected  
pope.

Guic. pag. 823.

The election  
of Adrian to  
the popedom  
was wondered at,  
and why.

Pope Adrian  
the first, com-  
meth to  
Rome.

The descrip-  
tion of doctor  
Pace.

faithfull aduise. He learned he was also, and indued with many excellent good gifts of nature, courteous, pleasant, and delighting in musike, highlie in the kings fauour, and well heard in matters of weight. But the more the prince fauoured him, the more was he mistlike of the cardinall, who sought onelie to breake all the rule himselfe, and to haue no partener; so that he procured that this doctor Place vnder coloz of ambassage, should be sent forth of the realme, that his presence about the king should not win him too much authoritie and fauour at the kings hands.

Edw. Hall.  
Doctor Tunstall made bishop of London.

1523

This yeare was a great death in London and other places of the realme. Many men of honour and great worship died, and amongst other, the bishop of London, doctor Fitz James, in whose place doctor Tunstall elected. The earle of Surrie returned out of Ireland, and came to the court the five and twentieth of Januarie. Many complaints were made by the merchants to the king and his counsell of the Frenchmen, which spoiled them by sea of their goods. For by reason that the wars were open betwixt the emperour, and the French king, many ships of warre were abroad on both parts, and now and then the Englishmen fell into their hands, and were used as enemies; namely by the Frenchmen, which naturally hated the Englishmen. The French kings ambassadours promised restitution of euery thing, but little was restored. In this month of Januarie therefore, the king commanded all his ships to be rigged, and made readie, which was done with all diligence.

The title of Defender of the faith given to the king of England and his successors for ever.  
I. S. pag. 930.  
King Henrie wrote against Luther.  
Abr. Flex. adm.  
A. G. ad Ang.  
Scot. excus.  
Gen. 1558, in fol. 69.

The king of England and the king of France at variance.

Christopher Columbus.

On the second daie of Februarie, the king as then being at Greenwich, received a bull from the pope, whereby he was declared Defender of the Christian faith, & likewise his successors for ever. The cardinall of Poike sang the high masse that daie with all the pompous solemnitie that might be, and gaue cleane remission of sinnes to all that heard it. This title was ascribed vnto the king, because he had written a booke against Luther in Germanie; wherevnto the said Luther answered verie sharpelie, nothing sparing his authoritie nor maiestie. Of which booke published by the king, I will not (for reuerence of his raiallie) though I durst, report what I haue read: because we are to iudge honourable of our rulers, and to speake nothing but good of the princes of the people. Onelie this breife clause or fragment I will adde (least I might seeme to tell a tale of the man in the mone) that king Henrie in his said booke is reported to rage against the diuell and antichrist, to cast out his name against Luther, to rase out the name of the pope, and yet to allow his law, &c. I suppress the rest for shame, and returne to our historie.]

In this meane time, grudges and displeasures still grew and increased betwixt the king of England and the French king, so that their graces rankled daile more and more, till at length the duke of Albanie returned into Scotland, contrarie to that which was covenanted by the league. The French king in deed alleaged, that he was not primum to his going thither; and wrote to the king, that the said duke was entered Scotland without his assent: but it was otherwise iudged & knowne, that he had commission of the French king to go thither. Whereupon, the king was sore offended, and prepared for wars. Buffers were made of able men, and a note taken of what substance men were. The king also sent his ships to the sea, well trimmed, manned, and vittelled. The admerall was one Christopher Columbus, a perfect sea man. His commission was, to take garde the merchants, and other the kings subjects, that were greivously spoiled and robbed on the sea, by Frenchmen, Scots, and other rousers.

The eight of Februarie, the lord Dacres, warden

of the marches foreaneinst Scotland, entered into Scotland with five hundred men, by the kings commandement, & there proclaimed, that the Scots should come in to the kings peace, by the first of March following, or else to stand at their perils; the duke of Albanie being then within five miles with a mightie power of Scots. The eleuenth of Februarie, the lord of Aburgauennie was brought from the Tower to Westminster, and there in the kings bench confessed his indictment of mispistion. The lord Pontefract was about the same time restored vnto the kings fauour. On the second of March, certaine noble men of the empire, arrived in England, to passe into Spaine, who were honourable received; and in honour of them, great iusts and triumphs were made, which being finished and done, they took their leave and departed on their iourne.

Duncan Campbell, a Scottish rouser, after long fight, was taken on the sea by John Arundell an equier of Cornewall, who presented him to the king. He was committed to the Tower, & there remained prisoner a long season. All the kings ships were put in a readinesse, so that by the beginning of April, they were rigged and trimmed readie to make saile. This yeare died the lord Brooke, sir Edward Poynings, knight of the garter, sir John Peche, and sir Edward Belknap, valiant captains, which were suspected to be poisoned at a banquet made at Ard, when the two kings met last. Wheat was sold this yeare in the citie of London, for twentie shillings a quarter, & in other places for twentie six shillings eight pence.

In this yeare Caluan Dowglas, bishop of Dunkell fled out of Scotland into England, because the duke of Albanie being come thither, had taken vpon him the whole gouernement of the king and realme there, the sequel of whose doings the bishop sore mistrusted. The king assigned vnto this bishop an honest pension to liue on. And shortly after, was Clarenceur the herald sent into Scotland, vnto the duke of Albanie, to command him to avoid that realme for diuerse considerations; & if he would not, then to desie him, with contrarie to the articles of the league concluded betwixt France & England, he was entered Scotland without his licence. The duke refused to accomplish the kings commandement, and was therefore desied by the said Clarenceur. The first of March, the French king commanded all English mens goods being in Burdeaur, to be attached, and put vnder arrest, and retained not onelie the monie due to be paid for the restitution of Coenaie, but also withheld the French quenes dowry.

The cardinall vnderstanding that he was enuill spoken of, for doing his power legantine to such advantage as he did, in selling graces & dispensations, he thought to bestow some part thereof amongst the people freelie, without taking any thing for the same. Whereupon, when Lent drew nere, he appointed the preachers at Pauls croffe, to declare, that it should be lawfull to all persons for that Lent, to eat milke, butter, cheese, & eggs. And to the end that none should haue any scrupulousness of conscience in so doing, he by his authoritie granted remission of sins to all those that did eat white meats: knowing as it were afore hand, that the people giuen to the obseruance of their religious fast, would not easilie be brought to breake the same, contrarie to the ancient custome used in their countrie. Neither was he deceived therein, for so farre were the people from receiuing or accounting this as a benefite, that they took it rather for a wicked & cursed deed in those that received it, & few or almost none could be indued to breake their old order and scrupulous trade in that behalf.

The king, vnderstanding how his subjects were handled at Burdeaur by the French kings commandement,

The French king was taken on the sea by John Arundell.

The French king was taken on the sea by John Arundell.

The French king was taken on the sea by John Arundell.

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The French king was taken on the sea by John Arundell.

in Reg. 14.

The French  
ambassador is  
before  
Mr. H.

French-  
man Lodon  
and creited  
to be the  
finest.

He has been  
in England  
apprehended  
by the French.

**Dramatic set-** **William**  
**tailor.** **eight**

The c  
fventid  
nied wi  
hundred

The marquis  
Desfer recei-  
ved the em-  
press at  
Stambrag.

in the be  
On  
ded at w

Perewith also, all the Frenchmen in London were arrested, committed to prison, and put to their fines: but they were more courteously used than the Englishmen were in France. For after they had bene in durance ten daies, they were set at libertie, upon finding suerties to appeare before the maior, or else before the councell at a certaine daie, and to paie the fine upon them assessed, which fine the king pardoned to diuerse of the poorest sort. But in comparison of the Scottish nation, you would haue said, the Frenchmen were in small displeasure: for not onely those that were bozne in Scotland, but also diuers northermen bozne, wthyn English ground, for enmious spite called Scots, were apprehended, imprisoned, and grieuouſly fined, although some of them by streit inquirie tried to be Englishmen, escaped without paying the fine.

The cardinall taking his tournie forward on the twentieth of Maie, rode through London, accompanied with two carles, six and thirtie knights, and an hundred gentlemen, eight bishops, ten abbats, thirtie chapleins, all in velvet and sattin, and peomen seven hundred. The marquesse Dorset was gone ouer before into Calis: and the five and twentieth of Maie being Sunday, the said marquesse, with the bishop of Chichester, the lord de la Mare, and diuerse other at the water of Graueling, receiued the emperour in the name of the king of England, and with all honour brought him to Calis, where he was receiued with procession, by the lord Bernes lieutenant of the towne, with the maior and merchants of the Staple, in the best manner that might be deuised.

On the mondaie he toke ship at Calis, and landed at Dover, where the cardinall with thre hundred lords, knights, and gentlemen of England was ready to receiue him, and with all honour that might be, brought him to the castell, where he was lodged. On wednesdaie, being the Ascension euen, the king

Justices and  
tenants at  
Greenwich.

On friday being the first of June, the king and the emperor with all their companies, marched toward London, where the citie was prepared for their entrie, after the manner as is used at a coronation, so that nothing was forgotten that might set forth the citie. For the rich citizens well apparellled stood within railles set on the left side of the streets, and the cleargie on the right side in rich copes, which censured the princes as they passed, and all the streets were richlie hanged with clothes of gold, silver, velvet, and arras, and in euery house almost minstrelle; and in euery street were the se two verses written in letters of gold, both Latine and English:

Carolus, Henricus, vivant; defensor uterq;  
Henricus fidei, Carolus ecclesia. **Tha**

Long prosperitie,      The one of the faith,  
To Charles and Henric,      The other of the church,  
Princes most puissant:      Chosen defendant.

Sundrie pageants were deuised, and stages verie faire and excellent to behold, with such melodie of instruments, and other tokens of ioy and gladnesse, that wouder it was to consider the manner thereof. The emperor was lodged at the Blache fries, and all his nobles in the new palace of Westwell. On Whitsundaie being the eight of June, the emperor and the king rode to the cathedrall church of saint Paule, and there heard masse, which was long by the cardinall that had his trauerse, and cupbord. Before masse, two barons gaue him water, and after the gospell two carles; and at the last lauatorie, two dukes: which pziue the Spaniards soze disdained. The emperor thus remained with the king certene daies and rode to diuerse places with him, being still feasted & banquetted, and had all the pleasure shewed to him that might be imagined. At Winclosz they taried a whole weeke and moze, where on Corpus Christi daie, the emperor wore his mantell of the garter, and sate in his owne hall. On the same daie both the princes receiued the sacrament, and after that scruiue was ended, they toke their corporall othes to keepe and obserue the league, which was concluded betwixt them. On the morow after, they departed from Winclosz, and by soft and easie iournies they came to Winchester, on the two & twentieth of June.

See Ed. Hall  
in H. 8. fo. xcvi  
& dcinceps.

Note the  
pride of cardinals  
hall window.

The emperor  
and the king  
of England  
sweate each fo  
other to ob-  
serue the  
league made  
betwixt them.

Now before the emperor was thus come to Winchester, the earle of Surrie being high admirall of England, was come to Hampton with all the kings nautie, & with him the lord Fitz Walter, the baron Curson, sir Nicholas Carew, sir Richard Wingfield, sir Richard Ferringham, Francis Bisan, sir William Barentine, sir Adrian Folskewe, sir Edward Donne, sir Edward Chamberleine, sir Richard Cornwall, sir Anthonye Holmes, sir Henrie Shirborne, and the viceadmirall sir William Fitz Williams, sir Edmund Baie, sir Giles Capell, sir William Pirton, John Cornwallis, sir John Mallop, sir Edward Chingham, sir William Sionele, Anthonie Browne, Giles Huslie, Thomas Woze, John Kussel, Edward Bay, Henrie Owen, George Cobham, Thomas Oldhall, Thomas Louell, Robert

Erle of Sur-  
rie high adme-  
rall of Eng-  
land.

Birmingham, Anthoine Bneuet, sir John Tremaile, and sir William Skevington the maister of the kings ordinance, & John Fabian sergent at armes, by whome this enterpryse was chiefly moued, with diuerse others, which in the end of June departed from Hampton, noising that they should onelie scowre the seas for safegard of the emperor and his nauie.

The emperor departeth out of England towards Spaine.

The king borroweth 20000 pounds of the citie.

The manner of the winning of Hozleis in Britaine by the earle of Surrie.

Diuerse gentlemen knighted by the earle of Surrie vpon the winning of Hozleis.

Polydor.

On the first of Iulie, the emperours nauie came before Hampton, containing an hundred and foure score goodlie ships. Then the emperor took leaue of the king, of whome he had manie great gifts, and notable summes of monie by waie of lone; & so the first of Iulie he took his ship, and made saile to Spaine, where he arrived in safetie the tenth daie after. The king bestowed of the citie of London twentie thousand pounds, and deliuered priuite seales for warrant of the repayment. None were charged but men of good wealth. The like lone was practised through all the realme, not without grudge of manie persons that were called vpon for the same. The earle of Surrie hauing waisted the emperor ouer to the coast of Biscaye, vpon his returne finding the wind fauourable, according to his instructions, made to the coast of Britaine, and landing with his people in number seven thousand, about fise miles from Hozleis, marched thither, and assaulting the towne, wan it.

For the maister gunner Christopher Pozreis hauing there certeine falcons, with the shot of one of them, stroke the Locke of the wicket in the gate, so that it flew open: and then the same Christopher and other gentlemen, with their souldiers, in the smoke of the gunnes pressed to the gates, and finding the wicket open, entered, and so finally was the towne of Hozleis wone, and put to sacke. The souldiers gained much by the pillage, for the towne was exceeding rich, and speciallie of linnen cloth. When they had rifled the towne thoroughlie, and taken their pleasure of all things therein, the earle caused them by sound of trumpet to resort to their standards, and after they had set fire in the towne, and burned a great part thereof, the earle retreated with his armie towards his ships, burning the villages by the waie, and all that night lay on land. On the morrow after they took their ships, and when they were bestowed on board, the earle commanded sixtene or seuentene ships small and great, lieng there in the hauen, to be burnt.

When the lord admerall had thus wone the towne of Hozleis, he called to him certeine esquires, and made them knights, as sir Francis Brian, sir Anthoine Botwone, sir Richard Cornwell, sir Thomas Dore, sir Giles Huseie, sir John Russell, sir John Keinsford, sir George Cobham, sir John Cornwallis, sir Edward Kigleie, and diuerse other. After this they continued a while on the coast of Britaine, and disquieted the Britains by entering their haucens, and sometimes landing and doing diuerse displeasures to the inhabitants about the coast. After that the earle had lien a while thus on the coast of Britaine, he was countermanded by the kings letters, who thereupon brought backe his whole fleet vnto a place called the Colw, vnder the Ile of Wight, and then went on land himselfe, discharging the more part of his people, and leauing the residue with certeine ships vnder the gouernance of the viceadmerall sir William Fitz Williams, to keepe the seas against the French.

In this meane while, diuerse exploits were achieved betwixt them of the garrisons in the marches of Calis, & the Frenchmen of Bullongne and Bullongnois: but still the losse ran for the most part on the French side. For the English frontiers were well and stronglie furnished with good numbers of

men of warre, and gouerned by right sage and valiant capitaines, which dailie made inuasions vpon the French confines, and namelie sir William Sandes treasurer of the towne of Calis, and sir Edward Gilsford marshall, were two that did the Frenchmen most displeasure. On the third of Iulie, three hundred French horsemen comming nere to the castle of Gulsnes, kept themselves in covert, appointing eight or ten of their companie to shew themselves in sight to the Englishmen within. Whereupon there went forth eight archers, and fell in skirmish with those horsemen, till there came three other to the rescue of the Frenchmen, and skirmished with the archers on foot.

Herewith issued out of Gulsnes twelue demulances all Welshmen, in rescue of the footmen, and then all the troope of the French horsemen brake forth and set on the Welshmen. The footmen, so long as they had anie arrowes to bestow, shot lustilie, and in the end were obliged to defend themselves with their swords. The Welshmen keeping together, entered into the band of the Frenchmen, brake their speares, and after fought and laid about them with their swords, so that they made a waie, and escaped from those three hundred French horsemen. Of the French side were slaine three men and fise horses, the English archers on foot selling their liues dearlie, were all slaine, for the Frenchmen would not take anie of their prisoners, they were so angrie for losse of their fellows.

On the fise and twentieth of Iulie, the treasurer and marshall of Calis, with fourtene hundred footmen, entered the French pale: and finding not monsieur de Fioat for whome they sought, they went to Whitland baie, set the towne on fire, and assaulting the church, into which the people were withdrawne, wan it, and afterwards set fire on the steeple, because that diuerse, hauing shut vp themselves therein, through counsell of a priest that was with them, refused to yield, till the fire caused them to leape downe and so manie of them perished, and the rest were taken prisoners, and led to Calis. About two daies before this, to wit, the three and twentieth daie of Iulie, one Thwaites a capteine of an English ship, with sir scoze men, archers and others, took land beside Bullongne, and passing vp into the countrie three miles to a towne called Newcastell, forraied all the parts as he went, and in his returne set fire on that towne, and burnt a great part thereof, and came againe to his ship in safetie, notwithstanding fourscore bagbutters, and three hundred other men of warre of the countrie came forth, and pursued the Englishmen verie fiercelie: but the Englishmen putting them backe, got to their ship, and lost not a man.

Whereouer, whilst the warres were thus followed in France, the lord Rosse, and the lord Wacres of the north, which were appointed to keepe the borders against Scotland, burnt the towne of Kelsie, and fourscore villages, & ouerthrew eightene towers of stone, with all their barnekines. Also the king appointed the earle of Shrewesburie to be his lieutenant generall of the north parts, against the inuasion which was intended by the duke of Albanie, which earle directed his letters to all the shires lieng from Trent northward, that all men should be in a readinesse. Order was taken by the cardinall, that the true value of all mens substance might be knowen, and he would haue had euerie man sworne to haue uttered the true valuation of that they were worth, and required a tenth part thereof to be granted towards the kings charges now in his warres, in like case as the spiritualtie had granted a fourth part, and were content to liue on the other three parts.

An. D.

An. Re.

The earle of Surrie sent with him an armie to France.

The Duke of Burgundie came with the English host.

The battell of the French men against the English.

The earle of Shrewesburie being belied by the Englishmen.

The lord Rosse and the lord Wacres of the north were appointed to keepe the borders against Scotland.

The earle of Shrewesburie returned with his armie to Calis.

The king granted a tenth part of the true valuation of the substance of all his subjects towards his warres.

This demand was thought gréuous to them of the citie of London, where the cardinall first moued it; so that manie reasons were alleaged by them why they indged themselves sore dealt with. In the end they brought in their billes, which were receiued vpon their honesties. The king in this meane time, being now entered into wars with France, thought not to suffer his enimies to rest in quiet: and therefore leauied an armie which he sent ouer to Calis, appointing the earle of Surrie to be generall of the same. When the earle was come to Calis, and had taken order in his businesse for that tourne, he set forward with his armie, being diuided into three battels or wards, of the which, the first was led by sir Robert Kataliffe, lord Fitz Water, the middle ward by battell the earle himselfe guided, and with him his brother the lord Edmund Howard. The reerward was gouerned by sir William Sands, and sir Richard Wingfield, both being knights of the garter. Capteine of the horsemen was sir Edward Gullford.

They entered into the French ground the second of September, being tuesdaie, and toke their iourne toward Hedding. By the way there came to them a great powder of Burgognians from the ladie Margaret, as then regent of Flanders, according to the articles of the league. All the townes, villages, and castels in the countrie thorough the which they marched, were burned, wasted, and destroyed on euerie side of their waie: as the towne and castell of Selhois, the townes of Wume bidge, Senekerke, Bostingham, & Panstier, the towne and castell of Perbins, the towne of Dauerne, the castels of Columberge, and Kew, the towne and church fortified of Boards, saint Marie de Bois, the towne of Maus, the towne and castell of Fringes. On the sixteenth daie of September, the earle of Surrie with his armie of Englishmen and Burgognians, came before the castell of Hedding, and planted his siege before it. The towne was entered, and part thereof burned by the Burgognians.

Within the castell was capteine monsieur de Biez, hauing provided for defense of the place all things necessarie; so that the earle of Surrie, and other capteins of the host, perceiving they could not within anie short time win it, after they had bin before it eleuen daies, they raised their siege, because they had no great battering peeces to ouerthrow the walles. For the weather was such, and the waies wored so deepe towards the latter end of that summer, that they could not conueie with them anie great ordnance. From Hedding they passed forward, and coming to Doelens, burned the towne, and raised the castell. From thence they came vnto the towne of Darrier, which they burnt also and spoiled. Thus they burned and spoiled all the waie as they passed. But the weather still wored worse and worse, so that manie fell sicke through intemperance thereof, and the Burgognians and Spaniards which were in the armie returned into Flanders.

Then the earle of Surrie, perceiving that he could no longer keepe the field in that season of the yeare, turned backe towards Calis in good order of battell, and came thither the sixteenth of October. He would gladlie in deed (before the departure of the Burgognians and Spaniards) haue passed the water of Somme: but other capteins considering the time of the yeare to be past, and that the whole armie contained not aboue eightene thousand men, iudged it more wisdome to returne, and so in the end their opinions were followed. After that the English armie was returned to Calis, the earle of Surrie sent forth sir William Sands, sir Maurice Berkeleye, sir William Fitz Williams, and with them three thou-

sand men, which burned Margulson, the towne of saint Jehans robe, and also Temple towne, with manie villages.

They also brought a marvellous great bottle of gods out of the countrie, which they got at this rode, as fouretene thousand sheepe, a thousand four hundred open and kine, and other great cattell, a thousand three hundred hogs, and eight hundred mares and horses, besides prisoners. When the earle of Surrie had set things in order, and appointed forth such as he would haue remaine in the garrisons, on that side the sea; he returned, and all the residue of the armie (sauing those that were commanded to tarie) came ouer also with the nauie, and arrived in the Thames; and so euerie man into his countrie at his pleasure. There remained also behind a companie of men of warre called aduenturers, which serued without wages, liuing onelie on that which they could catch & win of the enimies. There were foure hundred of them that went with the armie now this last time into France, and did much hurt vnto the Frenchmen: for they were by practise become expert and skillfull in the points of warre, and daile exploited one enterprise or other, to their owne aduantage, and hinderance of the enimie.

The duke of Albanie being in this meane while established gouernour of Scotland, raised an armie of fourescore thousand men and aboue, with the which he approached to the English borders: but made no inuasion. The mistrust that he had in the Scots caused him to staie, and therefore he sent to the French king for six thousand Almans, the which he daile looking for (as that in vaine) broue off time till the end of summer was now at hand, and then requiring a truce for certeine moneths, obtained it at the kings hand. The earle of Shrewesburie had in a readinesse eight and twentie thousand men to haue resisted him, if he had entered vpon the English confines. After that an abstinence of warre was taken betwixt England and Scotland, then in October following there came into England three personages of small behauiour (as it seemed) ambassadoers out of Scotland: they were smallie regarded, and shortly departed.

Their commission was onelie to vnderstand, whether the king had assented to the truce or not. Where vpon it was thought that they were sent rather for a countenance onelie of fulfilling the promise made by the duke of Albanie at that present, when the truce was granted, than for anie true meaning to accomplish that which was promised; that is to saie, to agree vnto some vnfeined and perfect conclusion of peace. The king here vpon doubting their old pranks, ordeined the earle of Northumberland and Henrie Persie the first of that name, wardens of the whole marches, who thankefullie receiued the honoz thereof, and so he departed. But whatsoeuer matter it was that moued him, shortly after he began to make sute to the king, and ceased not, till he was of that office discharged: and then the earle of Surrie lord admirall of England was made generall warden, and the lord Marqueste Dorset was made warden of the east and middle marches, and the lord Dacres of the west marches.

The earle of Northumberland was for this refusall of exercising the office of lord warden, greatlie blamed of his owne tenants, and accounted of all men to be bold of the loue and desire that noblemen ought to haue to honoz and chualrie. The lord Marqueste Dorset accompanied with sir William Bulmer, and sir Arthur Darcie, with manie other of the nobilitie, the second of Aprill then being thursdaie before Easter, entered into Cumbdale, and so passing forward ten miles into Gallowaie, burnt on euerie side the townes and villages. All the night he tarried within

A great bootie  
spoone by the  
Englishmen.

The earle of  
Surrie returneth  
with his  
armie into  
England.

Aduenturers

The duke of  
Albanie leueth  
an armie  
of Scots to  
inuaide Eng-  
land.  
Polydor.

Truce be-  
twixt Eng-  
land & Scot-  
land.  
Edw. Hall.

A meane amb-  
assage out of  
Scotland.

The earle of  
Northumber-  
land warden  
of the whole  
marches.  
1. 5. 2. 3.

The Mar-  
queste Dorset  
entereth into  
Scotland and  
burneth di-  
uerse townes  
there.



within the Scotch ground, and on the morrow being goodfridaye, he withdrew backe into England with foure thousand neat, hauing burned Grimleie, Polwhouse, Doufford, Hiles, Achfowth, Crowling, Polwes manour, Widdor, Crowling, Harbottell, Polwog, Deforsh manor, Widdell right, Primsted, Hobet, Shalwes, Harwell, Wide open haugh, with others.

A parlement holden at the Blackefriers in London. Edw. Hall. in H. 8. fol. Cvj.

On the fifteenth daie of Aprill began the parlement, which was holden as then at the Blackefriers, and that daie the masse of the Holie-ghost was song, all the lords being present in their parlement robes. ¶ Now when masse was finished, the k. came to the parlement chamber, and there sat downe in the seat roiall of thron, and at his feet on the right side sat the cardinall of Yorke and the archbishop of Canturburie, and at the raile behind stood doctor Tunstall bishop of London, which made to the whole parlement an eloquent oration, declaring to the people the office of a king. First he must be a man of iudgement, according to the saying of the prophet Dauid, *Domus iudicium tuum regi da, &c.* Also he must be a man of great learning, according to the saying of the prophet, *Erudimini qui indicatis terram.* According to which sayings he said, that God had sent vs a prince of great iudgement, of great learning, and great experience: which according to his princelie dutie, forgot not to studie to set forward all things which might be profitable to his people and realme, least might be laid to his charge the saying of Seneca; *Es rex & non habes tempus esse rex?* Art thou a king and hast no time to be a king? Which is as much to saie, as; Art thou a king, and doest nothing profitable to thy people? Art thou a king, and seest the people haue an insufficient law? Art thou a king, and wilt not provide remedie for the mischance of thy people?

The oration of doctor Tunstall bishop of London.

These things haue moued the kings most excellent maiestie to call this his high court of parlement, both for the remedie of mischances which be in the common law, as recoueries, foren vouchers & corrupt trials, and for making and ordering of new statutes, which mite be to the high advancement of the common-wealth. Wherefore he willeth his commons to repaire to the common house, and there to elect them a speaker, or their common mouth, and to certifie the lord chancelor of the same, who should thereof make report to the kings most noble grace, and should declare his pleasure when he would haue him presented to his person. This was the cause of the parlement, as he said. But suerlie of these things no word was spoken in the whole parlement, and in effect no good at made, except the grant of a great subsidie were one. But according to this instruction the commons departed to the common house, & chose for their speaker sir Thomas More knight, & presented him on the saturday after in the parlement chamber, where he (according to the old vsage) disabled himselfe both in wit, learning, & discretion, to speake before the king, and brought in for his purpose how one Rhomio desired Haniball to come to his reading, which thereto assented, and when Haniball was come he began to read *De remilitari*, that is, of cheualrie. When Haniball perceived him, he called him arrogant sole: because he would presume to teach him which was maister of cheualrie, in the seats of warre. So the speaker said, if he should speake before the king, of learning and ordering of a common-wealth and such other like, the king so well learned and of such prudence and experience might saie to him as Haniball said to Rhomio. Wherefore he desired his grace that the commons might chose an other speaker.

The oration of sir Thomas More speaker for commons.

The cardinall answered, that the king knew his wit, learning, and discretion by long experience in

his seruice: wherefore he thought that the commons had chosen him as the most meetest of all; and so he did admit him. Then sir Thomas More gaue to the king his most humble thanks, and desired of him two petitions: the one, if he should be sent from the commons to the king on message and mislike their intent, that he might with the kings pleasure resort againe vnto the commons for the knowledge of their true meaning. The other was, if in communication and reasoning, any man in the common house should speake more largelie than of dutie he ought to doe, that all such offenses should be pardoned, and that to be entered of record. Which two petitions were granted; and so thus began the parlement and continued as you shall heare.]

This yere was the citie and the whole Ile of the Rhodes conquered by the Turke, and all the christians displaced: whereof Guicciardin hath discoursed as followeth. ¶ The end of this yere (saith he) was made no lesse wretched and unhappie, than dangerous to all christian princes for the losse of the Ile of Rhodes: which Soliman Ottoman toke by violence, notwithstanding it was defended by the knights of Rhodes, called in other times more ancient the knights of saint John of Jerusalem. And abiding in that place since they were chased out of Jerusalem, notwithstanding they late betwixen two so mightie princes as the Turke & the Soldan; yet their valour had preserved it of long time, and to the right worthie glorie of their order, they had remained as an assured rampie christian religion in those seas: & yet they were not without their impatations & notes of infamie, for that hauing a continuall custome for the better defending of those shores, to spoile the vessels of the infidels, they were thought sometimes to make pillage of christian ships.

The Turke sent into the Island a wonderfull great armie, which remaining there manie moneths with no lesse horrour to good men for their cruelties, than terror to all men for their huge numbers, at last he came thither in person. And desiring to his desire of conquest and glorie, the respect of profit and riches which the victorie would yeld, he lost not one minute of time to ber them. Wherein his industrie was nothing inferior to his valour, for sometimes he cast monstrous mines and trenches, sometimes he raised platformes of earth and wood, whose height overtopped the wals of the towne, and sometimes he afflicted them with most furious and bloudie assaults: inso much that as these works and engines were not performed without a wonderfull butcherie & slaughter of his souldiours; so also the defense of them was so dangerous to the liues of them within, that manie numbers were diminished, manie bodies maimed and made vneruicible, & the residue soze terrified by the calamitie of their companions and friends, to whom they could giue no other propertie of compassion, than to mourne with them in their common miserie.

Their aduersitie was so much the more intolerable, by how much their travels were without fruit, their words without comfort, and their valour disfauoured of fortune, & lastlie their store of gunpowder was consumed, which is not the least necessitie for the defense of a place. They saw before their eyes huge breaches made into their walles with the artilleries of their enemies, they discerned severall mines wrought into manie parts of the towne, and they found by lamentable experience, that the lesse god they did, the more painfullie they laboured, for that their fortune had reduced them to these termes of extremitie, that in abandoning one place to relieue another, they put both in danger, not hauing numbers sufficient to furnish the seruice, and lesse expectation

The Turke great industrie equall sent to his valour.

King 474.

Hall in H. 8. fol. c. viij. the demerps.

Cardinall Wolfe made bishop of Durham.

The cardinall's calamities & troubles increased by his want.

The cardinall's calamities & troubles increased by his want.

Dom. 1527

An. Reg. 14, 15.

expectation of rescue amid perils so raging and desperate: so that, what for that their necessities were greater than their hopes, & their sense lesse able by the continuall diminution of their numbers, & lastly holding it no breach of honour to preserve by wisdom and composition, that they could no longer defend by their valour and prowes, they gave place to their destinie, and capitulated with the Turke as followeth. That the great maister of their order should leave the towne to him: that as well he as all his knights should depart in safetie, with libertie to carie with them as much of their goods as they could. And for assurance of this capitulation, the Turke should withdraw out of those seas, his fleet or naute, and retire his armie by land five miles from Rhodes. By vertue of which capitulation Rhodes remained to the Turkes, and the christians passed into Sicilie, and so into Italie, keeping their faith and profession unviolated. They found in Sicilie an armie by sea compounded of a certeine number of vessels, with great relace of vittells and munitions, and readie to hoise saile at the next wind to revivitt Rhodes. The shewment of this rescue was laid to the popes fault.

After they were departed, Soliman for a more contempt of christian religion, made his entrie into the citie upon the daie of the birth of the sonne of God: which daie being celebrated in the churches of christians with noise of musike & holie innocations, he converted all the churches of Rhodes dedicated to the service of Iesus Christ, into Mosques (so they call their temples) which after all the christian rites and ceremonies were abolished, they made dedicatorie to Mahomet. God cause had the christians hereupon with heavie hearts to make their complaint to God by the president of the psalmist, lamenting the libertie of the enemies exercising the vehemencie of his rage against Gods people: & full well with swolne ries testifying the sorrow of their soules might (saying he sounding the dumps of their threnomina) saie:

perde funditus  
Hosles proternos, qui tuum sacrum  
Mantusanda polluant,  
Clangunt sonora buccina, non que tuas  
Laudes canat, ludibrio  
sed fusa acerbo qua profanet: in tuis  
Pecillis figunt turribus, &c.

To understand more of this historie touching the taking of Rhodes, what moved the Turke to couet the same, his letter comminatorie to Philip de Villiers who took part against him, with other accidents and circumstances belonging to this martiall action; read the report of Edward Hall, which is verie copious and plentifull in this behalfe. And now will we returne to our owne affaires here in England. About this time the bishop of Durham departed this life, & the king gave that bishopricke to the cardinall, who resigned the bishopricke of Bath to doctor John Clerke maister of the rolles, and sir Henrie Parre that was vicechamberleine, was made lord privie seale, and shortly after was created lord Parre. In the end of this yeare, doctor Blith bishop of Chester was attached for treason, but he acquitted himselfe. About this time the cardinall exercised his authoritie (which he pretended by his power legatine) verie largelie, not onelie in prouing of testaments in his court, calling the executors and administrators before him, of what diocesse soever they were, but also by prouisions he gave all benefices belonging to spirituall persons, and ran thereby with in danger of the pzeunice, as after ward was laid to his charge.

But after that he perceived his owne follie and rash doing herein, contrarie to the lawes, which would not permit that anie such things as were mo-

ued within the prouince of Canturburie, might be concluded without the authoritie of the archbishop, he sent them againe to Boules, and saie himselfe at Westminster with his cleargie of the prouince of Yorke. And euen as there was much adw amongst them of the common house about their agreement to the subsidie, so was there as hard hold for a while amongst them of the clergie in the conuocation house. Paule Richard bishop of Winchester, & John bishop of Rochester held soze against it, but most of all sir Roland Philips vicar of Croidon, and one of the canons of Boules, being reputed a notable preacher in those daies, spake most against that payment.

But the cardinall taking him aside, so handled the matter with him, that he came no more into the house, willinglie absenting himselfe to his great infamie, and losse of that estimation which men had of his innocencie. Thus the belwedder giuing ouer his hold, the other yielded, and so was granted the halfe of all their spirituall revenues for one yeare, to be paid in five yerres following, that the burthen might the more easilie be borne. The parlement being begun (as ye have heard) the cardinall on the nine and twentieth day of Aprill came into the common house, and there shewing the great charges that the king necessarilie was at, and daile must be at in maintenance of his warres against the frenche and Scots, demanded the summes of eight hundred thousand pounds to bee raised of the first part of euerie mans goods and lands, that is to wit, foure shillings of euerie pound.

This demand was enforced on the morrow after, by sir Thomas More then speaker of the parlement: but he spake not so much in perswading the house to grant it, but other spake as earnestlie against it, so that the matter was argued to and fro, and handled to the bittermost. There were that proued how it was not possible to haue it leuied in morie, for men of lands and great substance had not the first part of the same in coine. And sith the king by the loanes had received two shillings of the pound, which by this rate amounted to 400000 pounds: and now to haue foure shillings of the pound, it would amount in the whole unto twelue hundred thousand pounds, which is first and last six shillings of the pound, being almost a third part of euerie mans goods, which in coine might not be had within this realme.

For the profe thereof was alleged, that if there were in England but twentie thousand parishes, and euerie parish should giue an hundred markes, that were but fiftene hundred thousand markes, which is but an hundred thousand pounds; and there be not verie manie parishes in England one with another, able to spare an hundred markes, out of cities and townes. And where it is written, that in England there be fortie thousand parish churches, it was proued that there were not thirtene thousand at this daie. Hard hold there was about this demand, and certeine wise and discret persons were sent to the cardinall, to moue him to be a meane to the king, that a lesse summe might be accepted: but he answered that he would rather haue his tong plucked out of his head with a paire of pinners, than to moue the king to take anie lesse summe: and so with that answer they departed, reporting to the house the cardinals words. Then euerie daie was reasoning, but nothing concluded.

Whereupon the cardinall came againe into the lower house, and desired that he might reason with them that were against the demand: but he was answered that the order of that house was to heare, and not to reason, except amongst themselves. Where he began to shew arguments of the great wealth of the

The cleargie grant halfe of all their spirituall revenues for one yeare.

Anno Reg. 15,

A great subsidie demanded by the cardinall in the common house.

Hard hold about grant of the great subsidie.

There are not 10000 parishes in England as Stow hath trulie noted.

The obstinate answer of the cardinall to the motion of the common house in the parliament.

Alm. Fl. 1527  
One page 1527  
Rhodes taken by Soliman  
Sottoman.

1527  
Rhodes

1527  
Rhodes

1527

The Turke great trouble sent to his valour.

1527  
Rhodes

Cardinall made bishop of Durham.

The manifest calamities & ruines inflicted by this warre.

Cardinall made bishop of Durham.

realme, so that it might be thought, that he repined and disdaind that anie man should be wealthie but himselfe. After he was gone, the commons debated the matter according to their former maner, and so in the end concluded of two shillings in the pound, from twentie pounds upward, and from forty shillings to twentie pounds, of euerie twentie shillings twelue pence, and vnder forty shillings of euerie head of sixtene peeres and vnder four pence to be paid in two yeares. When this was notified to the cardinall, he was much therewith offended, so that to please him, at length, the gentlemen of fiftie pounds land and vnder, by the liberrall motion of sir John Huseie, a knight of Lincolnshire, were burdened with twelue pence more of the pound of the same lands, to be paid in three yeares.

Sir John Huseie.

The cardinall to moue them thereto, bare them in hand that the lords had agreed to foure shillings of the pound, which was untrue: for they had granted nothing, but staid till they might vnderstand what the commons would do. The king therefore hauing knowledge of this, and such other notable lies uttered by the cardinall, repproved him therefore verie sharpelie, and said that yer it were long he would looke to things himselfe without anie substitute. A marvellous matter to consider how much the cardinall was coled herewith, and how lowlie for a while he bare himselfe, so that thereby it well appeared how the maiestie sharpenesse now and then, doth much to restrain the euill nature of the seruant. But the cardinall within a few daies after, pacifying the kings displeasure toward him, became nothing the better.

Polydor.

Cardinall Wolsey repproved by the king.

After that the foresaid grant was passed and accorded, the parlement was prorogued till the tenth of June. During which prorogation, the common people said to the burgeses; Sirs, we heare say you will grant foure shillings of the pound, we aduise you to do so that you may go home: with manie euill words and threatenings. In this season the cardinall by his potuer legantine dissolued the cōsecration at Pouls called by the archbishop of Cantuarburie, calling him and all the cleergie to his conuocation at Westmister, which was neuer sene before in England (saith Hall) whereof maister Skelton a merrie poet wrote:

Edw. Hall in H. 8. fol. Cx.

The cardinall dissolued the archbishop of Cantuarburie's consecration.

Gentle Paule lay downe thy sword,

For Peter of Westminster hath shauen thy beard.

When the parlement was begun againe, the gentlemen that saw themselves charged with twelue pence more of the pound for their lands, did so much, that it was granted, that men of fiftie pounds and vnder in goods, should also pay twelue pence of euerie pound in the fourth yeare: which could not be brought about but with great adu, and much grudging of the burgeses and commons. The one and thirtieth of Iulie, the parlement was adourned: Westmister, & there continuing till the thirteenth of August, was that day at nine of the clock at night dissolued. During the time of this parlement, the seven and twentieth of Appill, was sir Arthur Plagenet, bassard sonne to king Edward the fourth, at Wyndesore created vicount Lisle, in right of his wife, which was wife to Edmund Dupleie beheaded.

Arthur Plagenet created vicount Lisle.

In this yeare the fiftieth of June, Christerne king of Denmarke, with his wife, and a small traine with them, landed at Douer, where he was noblely receiued by the earle of Devonshire, the bishops of Exeter and Rochester, and diuerse knights and esquieres which brought them to Crēnwich, where the king and queene receiued them with all honor. Now after he had remained at the court certeine daies, he was brought to London, & lodged at Bath place.

The king of Denmarke arriveth in England.

He saw the watch on saint Peters euen, being brought vnto the kings head in Cheape, accompanied with the duke of Suffolke, the earles of Dorset,

Sir Edw. Hall in H. 8. fol. Cxj.

Essex, and Kent, and diuerse other lords and ladies. The citie made to him and to his wife a coslie banquet that night, and after he had passed the time a while in London, he resorted againe to the king, and had of him great gifts, and so likewise had his wife of the queene hir aunt, & then taking their leave they departed, and were conueied to Douer. And thus after this king had bene in England two and twentie daies, he tooke shipping, and sailed againe into Flanders, where he remained as a banished man out of his owne countrie.

About the same time, the earle of Gloucere being restored to the cardinals fauour, and taking to wife the ladie Elizabeth Graie, was sent ouer againe into Ireland to occupie his former office, where by the assistance of his faithfull friend Hugh Hynde archbishop of Dublin, and chancellour of that land, he brought the countrie into reasonable good order, so far as the rebellious doings of the wild Irish would permit. In this meane while, the warre was earnestly pursued betwene England & France, & England and Scotland, insomuch that each part did what in them lay to hurt other. On the borders toward Scotland lay the earle of Surrie high admerall of England, and the marques Dorset, with his brethren, sir William Compton, & sir William Kingston, with diuerse other knights and esquieres sent to them by the king, which dailely invaded the realme of Scotland, and threw downe the castell of Wetherbone, the castell of West Melgate, the castell of Blackater, the tower of Spackwallles, the tower of east Melgate, & manie other, and burnt to the number of thirtie and seven villages, and haried the countrie from the east marches to the west, and neuer had skirmish.

For the Scots, albeit they shewed themselves in plumps, waiting some aduantage, they durst not yet approach to the maine battell of the Englishmen, so that in all this iournie there were but few Englishmen lost. When the lords perceiued that the Scots ment not to make anie inuasion into England this yeare, they tooke order for the fortifying of the frontiers, & so returned. It was thought that the cardinall perceiuing in what fauour sir William Compton was with the king, and doubting lest the same might diminish his authoritie, desired to send him thus into the warres against the Scots. For the said sir William could not well brooke the cardinals presumption, in taking vpon him so highlie, to the derogation of the kings supreme gouernement, and therefore the cardinall in his absence thought to worke him out of fauour: but it would not be. For shortly after was sir William Compton called home to the court againe.

The Frenchmen burned a ship fraught with stone in the haven of Calis, vpon hope to haue destroyed the haven; but they missed the chanell in bringing in the ship, and so after that the ship was consumed with fire, the stones were recovered out of the water, and brought into Calis, which serued the Englishmen to good vse. Diuerse enterprises were atchieued betwixt them of the garrisons French and English in those marches. In Iulie the lord Sands treasuroer of Calis, with other capteins & souldiours, to the number of twelue hundred, entered into the confines of their enemies, and came before Bulongne, where they had a great skirmish, & put their enemies to the waxe: and after marching into the countrie, tooke diuerse churches and other places which the Frenchmen had fortified, as the church of Wderfall, the steeple of Wdingham, and the castell of Hardingham, and so after they had bene within the enemies countrie almost two nights and two daies, they came backe to Calis, hauing not lost past a dozen of their men.

The king of England being aduertised that the

The Frenchmen meaning to destroy Calis, burnt the ship, but missed the channel, and recovered the stones.

The Frenchmen were defeated by the Englishmen.

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The whole armie (as appeared by the musters taken thereof) consisted in six hundred demilances, two hundred archers on horsebacke, three thousand archers on foot, and five thousand bill men. To these also were adioined senentene hundred, which were taken out of the gentlemen and crewes of Hammes, Guines, & Calis, so that in all they were ten thousand and five hundred, well armed and appointed for the warre. Beside them, there were also two thousand six hundred labourers and pioneers. When this armie was come over to Calis, and all things readie for the iournie, they issued out of Calis

The duke being thus furnished with new aid,  
marched forward in wet weather, and made bridges,  
and

The Spaniards join  
with the English  
armie.





Dom. 1573

fn. Reg. 15.

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called Brekers,

which had as good will to be still as broad, as the Welshmen had desire to returne home. For these Brekers by spoiling of townes, taking of prisoners, & other such practises of warlike exploits, made their haunts, and dailie brought to the campe, horses, mares, bittels, cloth, come, and other necessaries, which might not have bene missed.

After great raines and winds which had chanced in that season, there followed a sore frost, which was so extreme, that manie died for cold, and some lost fingers, some lost toes, and manie lost nailes between their fingers, so extreme was the rigour of that frost. The thirteenth daie of November the duke removed to a place within two miles of Bogan castle, and still it froze. The Welshmen in the morning set out a shout, and cried; Home, home. The Brekers hearing that, cried; Hang, hang. Whereof businesse was like to have ensued, but by policie it was ceased. Sir Edward Guilford capitaine of the horsemen viewing the castell of Bogan, perceived that the marshes (wherewith it was inclosed) were so hard frozen, that great ordinance might passe over the same. Which he signified to the duke, & therewith the duke was contented that he should trie what successe would come of giving the attempt to win it. So was the ordinance brought over the marshy ground, whereof they within being advertised, immediatlie after three shots of canon discharged against them, they yielded the castell, and all the artillerie within it, of the which there was good store, as three score & thirtie peeces great and small. The keeping of this castell was delivered to the seneſcall of Henegob.

In this meane while the lord Sands was come to the court, and informed the king of the state of the armie. The king had before his coming heard that his people in the said armie were in great miserie, both by reason of the intemperat weather, & unseasonable time of the yeare, the lacke of bittels, & such other discommodities: wherefore he caused a new power of six thousand men to be prepared and sent unto the duke of Suffolke for a reliefe, under the leading of the lord Pontiole. But per this power could be put in order to passe the sea, and before the duke could have knowledge againe from the king of his further pleasure, he was constrained to breake up his armie, and returned by Valencennes, and so through flanders unto Calis. He left at Valencennes all the great artillerie. The king was somewhat displeased with the breaking up of the armie thus contrarie to his mind, but hearing the reasonable excuses which the duke & the captains had to alleage, he was shortly after pacified. And so after they had remained in Calis a certeine time, untill their friends had asswaged the kings displeasure, they returned, and all things were well taken, and they received into as much favour as before.

But now to returne to the doings in other parts, as betwixt the Englishmen and Scots, which chanced in this meane while that the duke of Suffolke was thus in France. We shall understand, that the Scots hearing that the warre was thus turned into France, thought that nothing should be attempted against them, and therefore waxed more bold, and began to rob and spoile on the marches of England. Wherefore the king sent againe thither the earle of Surrie treasurer, and high admerall of England, the which with all speed comming to the west borders, sent for an armie of six thousand men, with the which entering Scotland by the drie marshes, he overthrew certeine castles, piles, and small holds, till he came through the dales to Jedworth, wherein laie a great garrison of Scots, which skirmished with the Englishmen in right charpelle at their first comming, but yet at length the towne, abbeie, and castell were

wone, spoiled, and burned.

After this the earle incamped within the Scottish ground from the two and twentieth of September till the five and twentieth of the same moneth, & then returned backe againe into England. During which time the lord Dacres won the castell of Fernibers. The French king perceiving that the Scots did not worke anie notable trouble to the Englishmen to keepe them from the invading of France (the cause was (as he took it) for that they lacked the duke of Albanie, whome they named their gouvernour) he therefore provided a naue of ships to have transported him over into Scotland; so that all things were redie for his iournie. But the Englishmen were redie on the sea under the conduct of sir William Fitz Williams to stop his passage if he had let forward; wherefore he caused his ships to be brought into West haven, and byted it abroad, that he would not go into Scotland that yeare.

The king of England being certified that the duke meant not to depart out of France of all that yeare, about the middes of September, commanded that his ships should be laid up in hauens till the next spring. The duke of Albanie being thereof advertised, boldie then took his ships, and sailed into Scotland with all convenient speed, as in the Scottish historie ye maie read more at large. Shortly after his arrivall there, he wrought so with the Scots, that an armie was leaved, with the which he approached to the borders of England, & lodged at Calwedstreame, readie to enter into England. The king of England having advertisement given to him from time to time of the proceedings of his aduerſaries, with all diligence caused to be assembled the people of the north parts beyond Trent, in such numbers that there were three thousand gentlemen bearing coats of armes with their powers and strength, which were all commanded to repaire to the erle of Surrie with speed. The noble marquesse Dorset was appointed with six thousand men to keepe Berwik, least the Scots should laie siege thereto.

The duke of Albanie hearing of the preparation which the earle of Surrie made against him, sent to him an herald, promising him of his honour to give him battell; and if he took him prisoner, he would put him to courteous ransom, & his bodie to be safe. To whome the earle answered, that much he thanked the duke of his offer, promising him to abide battell if he durst give it; & that if the said duke chanced to be taken by him or his, he would strike off his head, and send it for a present to his maister the king of England, and bade him that he should trust to none other. At this answer the duke and the Scots took great despite. The earle of Surrie being at Alnewicke, there came to him the earles of Northumberland and Westmerland, the lords Clifford, Dacres, Lumleie, Dgle, & Darcie, with manie knights, esquires, gentlemen, and other souldiers and men of warre, to the number of fortie thousand: And from the court there came the maister of the horse, sir Nicholas Carew, sir Francis Brian, sir Edward Bainton, and others.

The last of October being saturday, in the night before the same daie, the duke of Albanie sent two or three thousand men over the water to besiege the castell of Marke, which comming thither with their great ordinance, beat the castell verie sore, and won the uttermost ward called the Barnekins. On sundae and mondae being the first and second of November, they continued their batterie, and then thinking that the place was assaultable, courageously set on the castell, and by strength entered the second ward. Sir William Lisle that was capitaine of this castell, perceiving the enimies to have wone the

The castell of Fernibers won by the lord Dacres.

See the historie of Scotland, pag. 399. & sic deinceps.

Berwik cheſtie regar ded.

The castell of Marke assaulted by the Scots.

The Scots & French driven backe from warke castell.

false bazies, and that nothing remained but onlie the inner ward or dungeon, incouraged his men to the best of his power, with words of great comfort and manhood, and therewith issued forth with those few that he had left about him (for he had lost manie at other assaults) and what with courageous shewing, and manfull fighting, the enemies were driven out of the place, and of them were slaine, and named lie of those Frenchmen which the duke had brought forth of France, to the number of three hundred, which laie there dead in fight when the earle of Surrie came thither, besides such as died of wounds, and were drowned.

When the Scots and Frenchmen removed their ordinance over the water in all hast, and by that time that they were got over, the earle of Surrie was come with five thousand horsemen, and all his great armie followed. He was sozie that his enemies were gone, and much praised sir William Lisle for his valiancie. The earle would gladlie have followed his enemies into their owne borders, but his commission was onlie to defend the realme, and not to invade Scotland; and therefore he said, not onlie unto the great displeasure of himselfe, but also of manie a lustie gentleman, that would gladlie have seen further proofe of the Scottish mens manhood. Shortly after, the quene of Scots, mother to the king, sent to hir brother the king of England, for an abstinence of warre, untill further communication might be had about the conclusion of some good agreement betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland, which request to hir was granted; and so the English armie brake up, and the earle of Surrie returned to the court.

Edw. Hall in H. 8. fol. Cxvj. A present sent by the emperor to the king.

In this season the emperor Charles sent to the king of England two mules trapped in crimson velvet curiouslie embroidered, all the buckles, stirrups and all such other garnishings were silver and gilt of marvellous cunning worke. He sent also eleven girdles full goodlie to behold trapped with rusted velvet richlie wrought, and foure speares, and two iavelins of strange timber & worke richlie garnished, and five brace of greihounds: and to the quene he sent two mules with rich trappers, and high chaires after the Spanish fashion. All these presents were thankfullie received both of the king and quene.]

An anticipation.

Whilest the earle of Surrie was in the marches of Scotland, and the duke of Suffolke in France (as before ye have heard) the cardinal sent out commissions in the moneth of October, that everie man being worth fortie pounds, should paie the whole subsidie before granted, out of hand, not tarrieng till the daies of payment limited. This was called an anticipation, that is to meane, a thing taken before the time appointed, and was a new terme not knowne before those daies: but they paid sweetlie for their learning. In December were taken certeine traitors in Couentrie, one called Francis Philip, scholemaster to the kings henchmen, and one Christopher Pickering cleerke of the larder, and one Anthonie Painville gentleman, which by the perswasion of the said Francis Philip, intended to have taken the kings treasure of his subsidie, as the collectors of the same came towards London, and then to have raised men and taken the castell of Killingworth, and to have arreared warre against the king. The said Francis, Christopher, and Anthonie, were hanged, drawne, and quartered at Tborne the eleuenth of Februarie, and the other were sent to Couentrie, and there executed.

The archduke of Austria made knight of the garter.

In this peare the king sent the lord Doroie, sir William Huseie knight, & doctor Lee his almoner to don Ferdinando the archduke of Austria, with the order of the garter, which in the token of Ju-

remberge received the same, where all the princes of Germanie were then assembled at a diet or council. In this meane while, diuerse enterprises and feats of warre were practised and atchieved by them of the garrisons in the marches of Calis, and the Frenchmen of Bullogne, and the borders thereabouts: but the Frenchmen commonlie were put to the worse. Amongest other exploits, it chanced that one Brexton a gentleman, and capteine of a number of the aduenturers, as he went about to spoile the towne of Wall, was taken by the French horsemen, and sold unto the peasants of the countrie, the which unmercifullie slue him and fiftene more that were taken with him; after that the men of warre had deliuered them, and were departed. But this murder was reuenged shortly by other of the aduenturers, which comming vnto the same towne of Wall, took thirtie eight prisoners of the inhabitants, & slue of them thirtie & six, & burned the towne.

In this peare thorough books of cphemerides, and prognostications, foreshewing much hurt to come by waters & floods, many persons bittelled themselves, and went to high grounds for feare of drowning. Speciallie one Bolton prior of saint Bartholomewes in Smithfield, builded him an house upon Harow on the hill, onlie for feare of this flood, and thither he went and made prouision of all things necessarie for the space of two moneths. This great raine and waters should haue fallen in Februarie, but no such thing happened, whereby the follie of men was shewed. The astronomers for their excuse did saie, that in their computation they had miscounted in their number an hundred yeares. A legat was sent from the pope to the king to moue him to peace: but the king declared to him the whole circumstance of his title, for the which he made wars against the Frenchmen, and thereof deliuered notes to the said legat, the which departed with the same backe to Rome in post. He had bene first with the French king, and with the emperor, but could not bring them to any god consocietie, as his desire was to haue done; so that his trauell was without frute in manner, as it appeared.

Manie enterprises, skirmishes, foires, and other feats of warre were attempted and put in vze betwixt the Englishmen of Calis, Guisnes, and other fortresses there in those marches, and the Frenchmen of Bullogne, and other of the garrisons in the frontiers of Picardie, and still sir William Fitz Williams as then capteine of Guisnes, sir Robert Jerningham capteine of Helwam bridge, sir John Mallop, and sir John Cage were those that did to the Frenchmen most damage. Also monsieur de Bees being capteine of Bullogne, did for his part what he could to defend the frontiers there, and to annoy his enemies. Yet one daie in Maie, sir William Fitz Williams, and sir Robert Jerningham, with seven hundred men (accounting in that number the Breckers) went to Bullogne, and there skirmished with the Frenchmen, whilest Christopher Co a capteine of foure English ships took land, and fought with them of base Bullogne on the one side, as the Breckers assailed them on an other.

There was a sharpe bickering, and in the end the Frenchmen were driven backe, and diuerse of them slaine & taken, speciallie by the Breckers, that were the barriers of them, & so when the tide was turned, Christopher Co with his men withdrew to his ships, the Breckers returned to sir William Fitz Williams, who staid for them, and then gathering his men together by sound of a trumpet, sent forth such as might fetch the dists of beafts and cattell in the countrie neere adjoining, & with the same returned backe in safetie. On the eight of August monsieur de Bees accompanied

Some captives of the warre returned home.

Some captives of the warre returned home.

Some captives of the warre returned home.

Some captives of the warre returned home.

Some captives of the warre returned home.

Some captives of the warre returned home.

Some captives of the warre returned home.

Some captives of the warre returned home.

Dom. 1521

Reg. 16.

accompanied with diuerse French lordes and men of war, to the number of eight hundred footmen, and as manie horsemen, came verie earlie in a morning to a village called Bonnings, within the English pale, and leauing there three hundred horsemen in ambush, road to Balkerwell, and there appointed to tarrie with other three hundred men, and the residue of the horsemen and footmen with banner displayed went forth and forraied all the countrie.

Sir Robert Herningham also with foure score horsemen issued forth of Calis, to vnderstand the demeanour of the Frenchmen: but being not able to resist the great number of the Frenchmen, he was chased, and saued himselfe by flight. But this displeasure was shortly after reuenged by the said Robert, the which comming to Marguison the twelfe of August with three hundred footmen, and three score horsemen, he skirmished with the Frenchmen that stood at defense, chased them into the church, and fired them out of the same, so that the Frenchmen leapt out of the church to their destruction, for of three hundred there were saued but three score alive. On the one and twentieth of Maie being Trinitie sundaie, five hundred Scotchmen in the morning verie carlie, entred by severall wayes into England, and laie covertlie by the high wales, in purpose to haue surprised such market men as came to the faire that day kept at Wretwike. They toke diuerse, but finally being espied, the alarme rose, and they were fought with right sharplie, who defended themselves with such manhood in bawling backe to their advantage, that if the young lord of Fulberie had not come to the succours of the Englishmen, the Scots had gone a waile with their bottie. Notwithstanding in the end they were glad to seeke refuge by flight, losing 200 of their number, which were taken in the chase.

On the fift of Iulie next ensuing, sir John a Fentwike, Leonard Pulgrau, and bassard Heron, with diuerse other English captains, hauing with them nine hundred men of war, entred the Pers, minding to fetch out of the same some bottie, and encountering with the Scots being in number two thousand, after soe and long fight, caused them to leaue their ground and to flie, so that in the chase were taken two hundred Scots, and manie slaine, & amongst them were diuerse gentlemen. But sir Rafe a Fentwike, Leonard Pulgrau, and the bassard Heron, with thirtie other Englishmen well horsed, followed so farre in the chase, that they were past rescues of their companie, whereof the Scots being aduised, suddenly returned, and set on the Englishmen, which oppressed with the multitude of their enemies, were some overcome, and there was taken sir Rafe a Fentwike, Leonard Pulgrau, and sir other: and bassard Heron, with seauen other were slaine. The residue by chance escaped. The other Englishmen with their 200 prisoners returned safelie into England.

On the seuenth of Iulie, the Englishmen fought with like fortune against the Scots that were entered England at the west marches. For in the beginning they put the Scots to the worke, and toke three hundred of them prisoners: but afterwards, because the Englishmen that had taken those prisoners, withdrew out of the field with the same prisoners, the Scots perceiuing the number of the Englishmen to be diminished, gaue a new onset on the Englishmen, and them distressed. After this, the Scots sued for a truce, and had it granted to indure till the feast of saint Andrew. This yeare the first of September was doctor Thomas Haniball maister of the rolles receiued into London with earles, and bishops, and diuerse other nobles and gentlemen, as ambassadors from pope Clement, which brought with him a rose of gold for a token to the king. And

on the daie of the natiuitie of our ladie, after a solemne masse song by the cardinal of Boke, the said present was deliuered to the king: which was a tree forged of fine gold, & wrought with branches, leaues, and floures resembling roses. This tree was set in a pot of gold which had three feet of antique fashion. The pot was of measure halfe a pint, in the vpper most rose was a faire sapphire loupe peried, the bignesse of an acorne, the tree was of heighth halfe an English yard, and a foot in breadth.

This yeare in Iulie the lord Archembald Douglas earle of Angus, which had married the queene of Scots sister to the king of England, escaped out of France (where he had remained for a season, in manner as a banished man) and came into England to the king, as then being at Grenewich, and was of him courteously receiued. Sir Anthonie Fitz Herbert one of the Iustices of the common ples, sir Rafe Egerton knight, and doctor Denton deane of Lichfield, being sent in the beginning of this yeare into Ireland as commissioners, behaued themselves so sagelie, that they reformed diuers wrongs, brought sundrie of the wild Irish by faire means vnto obedience, and made (by the kings authoritie) the earle of Kildare deputie of the land; before whome the great Owele bare the sword. And the lord Piers Butler earle of Ormond, which before was deputie, was now made high treasurer of Ireland. In September the said commissioners returned.

During all this season, there were daile attempts made and practised by the Englishmen in the lowe countries, namelie the English horsemen; & the aduenturers rested not, but daile made inuasions vpon the French confines. But the aduenturers about the beginning of winter made an enterpryse to fetch some bottie from a village lieng towards Spurrell. They were not fullie two hundred men, and of those there were five and twentie horsemen. The Frenchmen by chance the same time were abroad vnder the conduct of the earle of Dammartine, which was going to St. Omers with fiftene hundred horsemen, and eight hundred footmen, and perceiuing where the aduenturers were comming, made towards them, and after long & cruell fight overcame them, and slue most part of them, for that in defending themselves most stoutlie, they had slaine and wounded a great number of the Frenchmen, per they could be overcome, keeping themselves close together, and might not be broken so long as they had any arrowes to shot. This was the end of the aduenturers otherwise called Irakers, being as hardie men as euer serued prince.

In December there came to London diuerse ambassadoes out of Scotland, about a peace to be had, and a marriage concluded betwene the king of Scots, and the ladie Marie daughter to the king of England, as in the Scottish historie yett shall find moze at large expressed. Before the feast of Christ masse, the lord Leonard Craie, and the lord John Craie, brethren to the marquesse Dorset, sir George Cobham, sonne to the lord Cobham, William Carie, sir John Dobleie, Thomas Wiat, Francis Pointz, Francis Sidneie, sir Anthonie Woune, sir Edward Seimoz, Oliuer Spanners, Perciuall Hart, Sebastian Pudigate, and Thomas Calen, esquires of the kings household, enterprised a challenge of feats of armes against the feast of Christmas, which was proclaimed by Winsore the herald, and performed at the time appointed after the best maner, both at tilt, tourneie, barriers, and assault of a cassell erected for that purpose in the tiltyard at Grenewich, where the king held a rofall Christmas that yeare, with great mirth and princelie pastime.

In the moneth of Iuanuarie, the cardinal by his power

Commissioners sent into Ireland to reforme the countrie.

The earle of Kildare made deputie of Ireland.

The end of the Irakers.

See the historie of Scotland, pag. 312.

See these triumphs in Edw. Hall pag. Cxxxij.

1525

The friers  
obseruants  
impute the  
cardinals au-  
thoritie.

An. Dom. 1552.

An. Reg. 16

power Legantine, would haue visited the friers ob-  
seruants, but they in no wise would thereto condes-  
cend, wherefore nineteene of the same religion were  
accursed at Pauls crosse, by one of their owne reli-  
gion, called frer Fozrest. John Fokin Steward of  
household to the French kings mother, this yere whil-  
est the French king was in Italie, came into Eng-  
land, & was receiued in secret maner into the house  
of one doctor Larke, a prebendarie of S. Stephens,  
and oftentimes talked with the cardinal about the  
affaires betwixt the kings of England and France,  
motioning waies for a peace to be concluded. When  
this was knowne abroad, as at the length it was,  
monseigneur de Bzate the emperours ambassadoz mis-  
liked such covert doings, and soe gradged thereat.  
The foure and twentieth of Ianuarie, the president of  
Rome called monsieur Bzinion, came to London as  
ambassadoz from the French king, and was lodged  
with the said John Fokin.

Ambassadors  
from the em-  
perour and  
their requestes.

On sundaie the fift of March were receiued in  
to London monsieur de Beuer lord of Campher, ad-  
mirall of Flanders, and maister John de la Cose,  
president of Valins, & maister John de la Cose, as  
ambassadors from the ladie Margaret in the name  
of the emperour. These ambassadors required three  
things in their suit. First they demanded the ladie  
Marie the kings onelie daughter to be deliuered out  
of hand, and she to be named emperesse, and to take  
possession of all the lowe countries, and to be gouer-  
nour of the same. Also that all such sums of monie as  
the king should giue with hir in mariage for a dow-  
er to be made to hir, should be paid instantlie.  
Thirde, that the king of England himselfe should  
passe the sea, and make warre in France the next  
summer. The two first demands were not agreed to  
for certene causes, and as to this last, the king said  
he would take aduilement.

Newses of the  
siege of Pauls  
& the taking  
of the French  
king prisoner.

On thursdaie the ninth of March, at seauen of the  
clocke in the morning, there came a gentleman in  
poist from the ladie Margaret gouernesse of Flan-  
ders, which brought letters containing how that the  
seure and twentieth of februarye, the siege of Pauls  
(where the French king had lien long) was raised by  
force of battell, and the French king himselfe taken  
prisoner. The same day the president of Rome, & John  
Fokin were going to the court (for they had not yet  
spoken with the king) and in Wolborne in their waie  
heard these things, whereupon they returned to their  
lodging right sorrowfull, and within short space after  
returned to the regent of France. It was thought  
the king would haue agreed with the French king, if  
his chance had not hapned, for all the people of Eng-  
land grudged against Flanders, for the euill demean-  
our of the Flemings in time of the warre. Also the  
king was displeased with them for inhancing his  
coine there, which caused much monie to be conueied  
out of this realme baile ouer into that countrie.  
Bountifull and great triumph was made in London  
for the taking of the French king, on saturdaye the  
eleuenth of March; and on the morow after being  
sundaie the twelfth of March, the king came to  
Pauls, and there heard a solemne masse, and after  
the same was ended, the quere sang *Te Deum*, and the  
minstrels plaid on euerie side.

Abi. Fl. ex  
Guic. pag. 902.  
& sic deinceps.  
The battell  
of Pauls,  
wherein the  
French king  
is taken pris-  
oner.

Here it is conuenient to adde the battell of Pa-  
ula, wherein the French king was taken prisoner,  
most notable discouered by Guicciardine, in the fif-  
teenth booke of his historie: the principall matter  
whereof, to make the report of Pauls and the French  
king more perspicuous, it were good to inferre. On  
the night (saith mine author) before the five and twen-  
tith of februarye, a daie dedicated by the christians  
to the apostle saint Marthe, and also the daie of the  
battaille of the emperour, the imperiales determi-

ned to march to Spirabell, where late incamped cer-  
teine companies of hollemen and footmen. In this  
march they stood vpon this intention, that if the  
French men moued, then they had set at libertie the  
siege of Pauls: and if they moued not, then to ad-  
uenture the fortune of the battell. Therefore the bet-  
ter to aduance this determination, all the beginning  
of the night they gaue manie alarmes, the more to  
keepe trauelled and wearie the French men, making  
semblance as though they would charge them on  
that side towards Pauls, Belin, and saint Lazarus.

About midnight enerie souldior, by the comman-  
dement of the capteins, put on a white cassakin ouer  
his armor, to be knowne from the Frenchmen. They  
were cast into two squadrons of hollemen, a foure  
of footmen. In the first were six thousand footmen  
equallie compounded of lanceknights, Spaniards,  
and Italians: this squadron was led by the mar-  
quesse of Guast: the second stood onelie vpon cer-  
teine bands of Spanish footmen under the charge of  
the marquesse of Biskwaite: the third and fourth  
squadron were of lanceknights, commanded by the  
viceroy and the duke of Bourbon. They arrived  
at the parkes walles certene houres before daie, and  
by the working of their masons, and readie willes  
of their souldiers, they cast downe to the earth three  
score fadome of wall: by which breach, being entred  
within the parkes, the first squadron drew towards  
Spirabell, and the residue of the armie toke the waie  
to the campe.

As soone as the king vnderstood that they were  
entred into the parkes, thinking they would draw to  
Spirabell, he issued out of his lodging to fight in  
plaine and open field, desiring to draw the battell  
rather to that place than to any other, for the ad-  
uantages which it gaue to the hollemen: he com-  
manded to turne the artilleries toward the enemies,  
which beating them in flanke, brought great da-  
mage to the reregard. But in the meane while, the  
battell of the imperiales gaue a furious charge vpon  
the kings squadron, which ordinarilie was the  
battell: but as the Spaniards went, it was the  
reregard. The king fought valiantlie, & abode with  
great courage the violence of his enemies, who with  
the furie of their harquebuziers forced his men to  
giue ground, till the rescue of the Switzers came,  
when the Spaniards were repelled, as well by them  
as by the hollemen that charged them in flanke.  
But the viceroy being called in by the marquesse of  
Biskwaite, who brought to the fight his lanceknights,  
they were easilie broken, not without great slaugh-  
ter of the Switzers, who that daie did nothing an-  
swer the opinion of valor which aforesometimes they had  
waied to honorablie to expresse in battelles.

The king kept alwaies the middle of the battell,  
being insurrounded with a great gard of men at armes.  
And albeit he did what he could to containe and con-  
firme his people: yet after he had fought long with  
his owne hands, his horse being slaine vnder him,  
him selfe lightlie hurt in the face and in the hand, he  
was stricken downe to the earth, and taken pris-  
oner by five souldiers that knew not what he was. In  
which misfortune the viceroy pressing into the  
throng his maiestie disclosed him selfe to him, who  
with great reuerence kissed his hand, and receiued  
him prisoner in the emperours name. At the same  
time the marquesse of Guast with the first squadron  
had defeated the hollemen that were at Spirabell.  
And Anthoine de Leua, who (as was said) had to that  
end cast downe to the earth so great a quantitie and  
space of wall, as an hundred and fiftie hollemen  
might fallie forth in front, issued out of Pauls, &  
charged the French behind, that he put them whole  
to flight. And in that feare they were almost all strip-  
ped.

The number  
of the French  
that were  
killed in this  
battell.

the number  
of the French  
that were  
killed in this  
battell.

The number  
of the French  
that were  
killed in this  
battell.

the number  
of the French  
that were  
killed in this  
battell.

The French  
king led pri-  
soner to the  
tower of St.  
Marthe.

The French  
king led pri-  
soner to the  
tower of St.  
Marthe.

The march  
of the French  
king towards  
Pauls.

The march  
of the French  
king towards  
Pauls.

Guic. pag. 904.

Guic. pag. 904.

Ex number  
of the French  
king who  
was in this  
battel.

Whie the  
French  
king desired  
to fight in  
plaine and open  
field.

The manner  
how the  
French king  
was banquish-  
ed and taken  
prisoner.

The French  
king who was  
taken in the  
battel of Pavia.

Ex number  
of the French  
king who was  
taken in this  
battel.

ped and trusted, except the reregard of the hostle-  
men, which being led by monsieur de Alanfon from  
the beginning of the battell, retired almost whole.

It is holden for certeine, that in this battell were  
slaine more than eight thousand men of the French  
campe, part by sword, and part of bodies drowned  
in the river of Theffin, seeking their safetie by swim-  
ming. Of this generall number were about twen-  
tie of the most noble and apparant lords of France,  
as the admerall, the lord James Chebanes, the lord  
Palissa, and Trimonville, the master of the hostle,  
monsieur de Aubignie, monsieur de Boisse, and  
monsieur de la Escud, who being taken graueilie  
wounded by his enemies, gaue to them his life in  
stead of a ranfome. The prisoners that were taken  
were the king of Nauarre, the bastard of Sauoie,  
the lord Pontinterancie, Saint Paule, Biron, A-  
nall, monsieur de Chandon, monsieur de Amber-  
court, Galeas Visconte, Frederike Boscolo, Barna-  
bie Visconte, Cuidanes, with manie gentlemen,  
and almost all the capteins that escaped the slaugh-  
ter of the sword. There was also taken prisoner Je-  
rome Landro bishop of Brundisio the popes nun-  
tio, but by commandement of the viceroy, he was  
easily set at libertie: as also monsieur Saint  
Paule and Frederike Boscolo committed to the cas-  
tell of Pavia, brake prison a little after, by the cor-  
ruption of the Spaniards that had them in charge.  
Of the imperialles side the vniuersall slaughter  
exceeded not seauen hundred bodies; and not one  
captaine of name except Ferrand Castriot mar-  
quesse of Angco, the marquesse of Disquairo was  
wounded in two places, & Anthonie de Arua light-  
lie hurt in the leg. The preie and spoile of this battell  
was so great, as there had not bene scene in Italie  
more rich fouldoies.

Of so great an armie there was preserved but the  
reregard of foure hundred lances, commanded by  
monsieur de Alanfon, they neuer came to the fight,  
neuer suffered charge, nor neuer were followed, but  
leaving behind them their baggage, they retired  
whole to Piemont, their feare making them more  
hastie to flie, than carefull of their honor. And as  
one calamitie followeth another, so the losse of the  
battell was no sower reappoynted at Millaine, than  
Theodor Trunlce, who laie there in garrison with  
foure hundred lances, departed and toke his waie to  
Spusocquo, all the fouldoies following him by troops:  
insomuch as the same daie that the king lost the  
battell, all the dutchie of Millaine was made free  
from the iurisdiction of the French. The daie after  
the victorie, the king was led prisoner to the rocke of  
Milqueton, for that the duke of Millaine, in regard  
of his proper suretie, consented hardlie that the per-  
son of the king should be kept within the castell of  
Millaine: he was garded with great gelousie and  
watch; but in all other things (except his libertie) he  
was used and honored as appertained to the state  
and maiestie of a king.

Now (saith mine author, speaking to the readers  
of his historie) you haue scene set downe the ouer-  
throw of the French armie in the battell of Pavia:  
a wretched successe, where was so great expectation  
of victorie. You haue scene a mightie king deliue-  
red by prisoner into the hands of him, with whom he  
contended for glorie and emperie: a spectacle most  
tragical amongst all the calamities that fortune  
bringeth vpon mans mortalitie. You haue scene the  
most part of the nobilitie, and honozable capteins  
of France, slaine in the sernice and presence of their  
king: a matter that made more lamentable his  
owne condition and aduersitie. You haue scene the  
residue of that armie, so vniuersallie perplexed with  
feare and confusion, that the same thing that should

haue retained them in so great affliction, made them  
the lesse assured, and further off from confidence.

When word came to the emperour of all the for-  
mer accidents, the eies of euerie man were set to  
behold with what propriete of affection he would  
receiue his gladfome newes, and to what ends his  
thoughts were disposed: who so farre as exterior de-  
monstrations made shew, expressed great tokens  
of a mind much moderated, and verie apt to resist  
easilie the prosperitie of fortune: yea the signes and  
inclinations appering so much the more incredible,  
by how much he was a prince mightie & yong, and as  
yet had neuer tasted but of felicitie. For after he  
was informed truelie of so great a victorie, whereof  
he had the reappoynt the tenth of March, together  
with letters of the French kings owne hand, written ra-  
ther in the spirit and condition of a prisoner, than  
with the courage of a king, he went forthwith to the  
church to make his holie oblations to God with ma-  
nie solemnities. And the morning folowing he recei-  
ued with signes of right great deuotion the sacra-  
ment of the eucharist, and so went in procession to  
our ladies church out of Paduill, where was his  
court at that time.

His temperance and moderation was aboute  
the expectation of his estate, and farre contrarie to  
the course of the time in matters of that nature: for  
he would not suffer anie bels to be rung, nor boun-  
faires to be made, nor anie other manner of publike  
demonstrations, such as are used for glorie or glad-  
nesse, alledging with a mind more vertuous than in-  
solent, that such propriete of fasting and reioicing  
was due to victories obtained against infidels, but  
ought to haue no shew where one christian ouercame  
another. Neither were the actions and gestures of  
his person and speeches differing from so great a  
temperance and continencie of mind, which he well  
expessed in the answers he made to the congratula-  
tions of the ambassadours and great men that were  
about him: to whome he said he was not glad of the  
accident according to the gloriois operation of flesh  
and blood, but his reioicing was in that God had so  
manifestlie aided him: which he interpreted to be an  
assured signe that he stood in his grace and fauour,  
though not through his owne merit, yet by his cele-  
stial election. The French king being in the custo-  
die of the viceroy of Naples (who much comforted  
him, and praised his valiantnesse, and praised him to  
be content, for he should haue a gentle end) desired to  
write to his mother, which was to him granted. His  
verie words were these.

Guic. pag. 915.  
The modera-  
tion and tem-  
perance of the  
emperour ap-  
pear on the newes  
of the victorie.

A most excel-  
lent conceit  
and saying of  
the emperour.

Ed. Hall in H.8.  
fol. Cxxxvj.

The French kings letter to his mo-  
ther the regent of France.

**T**o aduertise you of my infortunat  
chance: nothing is left but the  
honour and the life that is saued.  
And seeing some other newes shall  
recomfort you, I haue desired to write to  
you this letter, the which liberalitie hath  
bene granted to me: beseeching you to re-  
gard the extremitie of your selfe, in infir-  
ming your accustomed wisdom. For I hope  
that at length God will not forget me, to  
you recommending your little infants and  
mine, suppling you to giue safe conduct, to  
passe and returne from Spaine, to this  
brarer that goeth toward the emperour, to  
know in what wise I shall be intreated.  
And thus right humbly to your good grace  
I haue me recommended. This subscri-  
bed

This he  
wrote being  
the emperours  
prisoner.

Ex number  
of the French  
king who was  
taken in this  
battel.



bed by your humble and obedient sonne  
Francis.

Guic. pag. 625.  
The manifold  
passions of  
perplexities  
of the people  
in generall.

In this estate of aduersitie the people set before  
their eyes all that feare and despaire could imagine:  
they doubted least so great a calamitie were not the  
beginning of a further ruine & subuersion: they saw  
their king prisoner, and with him either taken or  
slaine in the battell the chieftains of the kingdome,  
which in the imagination of their sorowes they held  
a losse irreparable: they beheld their captiues dis-  
comfited, and their souldiers discouraged: a calamitie  
which stopped in them all hope to be readressed or re-  
assured: they saw the realme made naked of mo-  
nie and treasure, and inuironed with most mightie  
enimies: an affliction which most of all caried their  
thoughts into the last cogitation of desperat ruine:  
for the king of England, notwithstanding that he  
had holden manie parles and treaties, and shewed  
in manie things a variation of mind, yet not manie  
daies before the battell, he had cut off all the nego-  
ciations which he had interteined with the king, and  
had published that he would descend into France, if  
the things of Italie took anie good successe.

So that the Frenchmen feared least in so great  
an oportunitie, the emperor and he would not le-  
aue warre against France, either for that there was  
no other head or gouernour than a woman, and the  
little children of the king, of whom the eldest had not  
yet run eight yeares accomplished: or else because  
the enimies had with them the duke of Burbon, for  
his owne particular a puissant prince, and for his  
authoritie in the realme of France verie popular  
and strong in opinion, a mightie instrument to stirre  
vp most dangerous emotions. Besides, the ladie re-  
gent, as well for the loue she bare to the king, as for  
the dangers of the realme was not without hir pas-  
sions both proper and particular: for being full  
of ambition, and most greedie of the gouernment, she  
feared that if the kings deliuerie drew any long tract  
of time, or if anie new difficultie hapned in France,  
she should be constrained to yield by the administra-  
tion of the crowne to such as should be delegate and  
assigned by the voices of the kingdome. Neuerthe-  
lesse and so manie astonishments and confusions,  
she drew hir spirits to hir, and by hir example were  
recomfited the nobles that were of counsell with  
hir, who took speedie order to man the frontiers of  
the realme, and with diligence to leaue a good pro-  
vision of monie.

The ladie regent, in whose name all expeditions  
and dispatches went out, wrote to the emperor let-  
ters full of humilitie and compassion, wherein she for-  
gat not by degrees vehement and inducing to solicit  
a negotiation of accord: by vertue whereof, hauing  
a little after deliuered don Hugo de Boncado, she  
sent him to the emperor, to offer him that hir sonne  
should renounce and disclaime from all rights of the  
kingdome of Naples, and the estate of Apellan, with  
contentment to refer to the censure and arbitration  
of the law, the titles and rights of Burgundie, which  
if it appertained to the emperor, he should acknow-  
ledge it for the dowrie of his sister: that he should  
render to monsieur Burbon his estate together with  
his mouables which were of great valour, and also the  
reits and revenues which had bene le-  
nued by the commissioners sent out of the regall  
chamber: that he should giue to him his sister in ma-  
riage, and deliuer vp to him Provence, if iudgement  
of the interest and right were made of his side.

And for the more facilitie and speedie passage of  
this negotiation, rather than for anie desire he had  
to nourish hir inclination to the warre, she dispat-  
ched immediatlie ambassadours into Italie, to re-

commend to the pope and the Venetians the safetie  
of hir sonne: To whom she offered, that if for their  
proper securitie, they would contract with hir, and  
raise armes against the emperor, she would for the  
particular aduance five hundred lances, together  
with a great contribution of monie. But amid these  
travels and astonishments, the principall desire as  
well of hir, as of the whole realme of France, was, to  
appease and assure the mind of the king of England,  
iudging trulie that if they could reduce him to amitie  
and reconcilement, the crowne of France should re-  
maine without quarrell or molestation. Where, if he  
on the one side, and the emperor on the other, should  
rise in one saint face, hauing concurrent with them  
the person of the duke of Burbon, and manie other  
oportunities and occasions, it could not be but all  
things would be full of difficulties and dangers.

At this the ladie regent began to discern manie  
tokens and apparances of god hope: for notwith-  
standing the king of England immediatlie after the  
first reappoirts of the victorie, had not onelie expressed  
great tokens of gladnesse and reioysing, but also pub-  
lished that he would in person passe into France:  
and withall had sent ambassadours to the emperor  
to solicit and treat of the moving of warre iointlie  
together: yet proceeding in deed with more mildnesse  
than was expected of so furious thewes and tokens,  
he dispatched a messenger to the ladie regent, to send  
to him an expresse ambassadour: which accordingly  
was accomplished, and that with fulnesse of authori-  
tie and commission, such as brought with it also all  
sorts of submitions & implozations which she thought  
apt to reduce to appeasement the mind of that king  
so highlie displeased. He reposed himselfe altogether  
upon the will and counsell of the cardinal of Borke,  
who seemed to restraine the king and his thoughts  
to this principall end, that bearing such a hand upon  
the controuersies and quarrels that ran betwene o-  
ther princes, all the world might acknowledge to de-  
pend upon him and his authoritie the resolution and  
expectation of all affaires.

And for this cause he offered to the emperor at  
the same time to descend into France with a puis-  
sant armie, both to giue perfection vnto the alliance  
concluded betwene them before; and also to remove  
all scruple and gelousie, he offered presentlie to con-  
signe vnto him his daughter, who was not as yet in  
an age and disposition able for marriage. But in these  
matters were very great difficulties, partlie depen-  
ding upon himselfe, and partlie deriuing from the  
emperor, who now shewed nothing of that readi-  
nesse to contract with him which he had used before:  
for the king of England demanded almost all the  
rewards of the victorie, as Normandie, Guien, and  
Gascoigne, with the title of king of France. And  
that the emperor, notwithstanding the inequality  
of the conditions should passe likewise into France,  
and communicate equalitie in the expences and  
dangers. The inequality of these demands troubled  
not a little the emperor, to whom they were by so  
much the more grievous, by how much he remem-  
bered that in the yeares next before, he had alwaies  
deferred to make warre euen in the greatest dan-  
gers of the French king. So that he perswaded him-  
selfe that he should not be able to make anie founda-  
tion upon that confederation.

And standing in a state no lesse impouerished for  
monie and treasure, than made wearie with labours  
and perils, he hoped to draw more commodities  
from the French king by the means of peace, than  
by the violence of armes and warres, speciallie tol-  
ding with the king of England. Besides, he made  
not that accompt which he was wont to doe of the  
marriage of his daughter, both for hir mino-  
ritie in  
age,

An. Dom. 1534. An. Reg.

Chambers  
standing  
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surrender

what moved  
the king of  
England  
rationale  
because the  
regent's  
ambassadour.

Guic. pag. 930.  
The person of  
the French  
kinged pri-  
soner into  
Spain.

The ladie re-  
gent's offer to  
the emperor  
for the deliue-  
rie of hir sonne

Guic. pag. 930.  
The person of  
the French  
kinged pri-  
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Dom. 1525

Reg. 16.

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Expo-  
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age, and also for the dowrie for the which he should stand accountable for: so much as the emperor had received by waite of loane of the king of England: he seemed by manie tokens in nature to nourish a wonderfull desire to haue children, and by the necessity of his condition he was caried with great contentment of monie: upon which two reasons he took a great desire to marie the sister of the house of Portugal, which was both in an age able for marriage, and with whom he hoped to receiue a plentiful portion in gold and treasure, besides the liberalities of his owne people offered by waite of beneuolence in case the marriage went forward: such was their desire to haue a queene of the same nation and language, and of hope to procreate children.

For these causes the negociation became euerie daie more hard and desperat betwene both those princes, wherein was also concurrent the ordinarie inclination of the cardinall of Portie towards the French king, together with the open complaints he made of the emperor, as well for the interests and respects of his king, as for the small reputation the emperor began to hold of him. He considered that afoze the battell of Pavia, the emperor neuer sent letters unto him which were not written with his owne hand, and subscribed, your sonne and cosine Charles: but after the battell, he used the seruice of secretaries in all the letters he wrote to him, insiring nothing of his owne hand but the subscription, not with titles of so great reuerence and submission, but onelie with this bare word Charles. In this alteration of affection in the emperor, the king of England took occasion to receiue with gracious words and demonstrations, the ambassadour sent by the ladie regent, to whom he gaue comfort to hope well in things to come. And a little afterward, estranging his mind wholie from the affaires which were in negociation betwene him and the emperor, he made a confederation with the ladie regent, contracting in the name of hir sonne, wherein he would haue inserted this expresse condition, that for the kings ransom and deliuerie, should not be deliuered to the emperor anie thing that at that time should be vnder the power or possession of the crowne of France.

Shortlie after, the viceroy & the other capitans imperiall were induced upon vrgent reasons to transport the person of the French king into a surer hold, than where presentlie he was kept, iudging that for the ill disposition of others, they could not without perill kepe him garded in the duchie of Milan: in which feare ioined to their continuall desire so to doe, they resolved to conueie him to Genes, and from thence by sea to Naples, where his lodging was prepared within the new castell. This determination brought no little græfe to the king, who from the beginning of his captinitie, had vehementlie desired to be carried into Spaine: perhaps he had opinion (measuring happilie an other man by his owne nature, or else running with the common error of mortall men being easilie beguiled in things they desire) that if once he were brought to the presence of the emperor, he doubted not of some easie passage for his libertie, either through the emperours benignitie, or by the conditions he meant to offer. The viceroy was of the same desire for the augmentation of his owne glorie.

But being retained for feare of the French armie by sea, they dispatched by common consent monsieur Pontmerancie to the ladie regent: who granted to him six light gallies of those that late in the port of Barcelles upon promise to haue them restored as soon as the king was arrived in Spaine. With these gallies, he returned to Portofino, where the kings person was alreadie arrived, and joining them to six

tene gallies of the emperor, which was the nauie appointed at first to conduct him to Naples, he reduced them all into one fleet, and armed them all with solmen of the Spanish. The capturing imperials and the duke of Bourbon were persuaded, that the kings person should be led to Naples: but of the contrarie, setting by sail the seuenth of June, they took such course, that the eight daie they arrived with a happie voyage at Rosas a haven of Catalogna: there coming brought no small joy to the emperor, who till that daie had understood nothing at all of that resolution.

As soon as he was made assured of the kings being there, he dispatched commandments unto all places where he should passe, to receiue him with great honours: onelie till it should be otherwise determined, he gave order to kepe him in the castell of Sociatua nere to Valence, a castell ancientlie used by the kings of Aragon for the garding of great personages, and wherein had bene kept prisoner for manie yeares the duke of Calabria. But the deliberation to kepe him in that place, seeming farre too rigorous to the viceroy, and nothing agreeable to the promises he had made to the king in Italie, he wone so much of the emperor, that till he had taken an other counsell, the kings person might remaine nere Valence in a place apt for hunting and other delights of the field. Where he left him lodged with sufficient gard, vnder the charge of capitaine Alarcon, in whose custodie he had alwaies remained since his vnfortunate daie.

From thence the viceroy, together with Pontmerancie, went to the emperor to make reappoynt of the state of Italie, and the discourse of things which till that daie had bene debated with the king, with whom he persuaded the emperor with manie reasons to draw to accord, for that he could not haue a faithfull amitie and coniunction with the Italians. The emperor after he had heard the viceroy and Pontmerancie, determined to conueie the king into Castillo to the castell of Paduill, a place farre removed from the sea and the confines of France, where being honored with ceremonies & reuerences agreeable to so great a prince, he should neuertheless be kept vnder carefull and strait gard, with libertie to take the aire abroad certeine times of the daie, mounted onelie upon a mule. The emperor could neuer be brought to admit the king to his presence, if first the accord were not either established, or at least in an assured hope of resolution.

And to the end there might be interposed in the negociation a personage honorable, & almost equall with the king, Pontmerancie was sent in great diligence into France, to bring the duchesse of Milan the kings sister and a widow, with fullnesse of authority to debate and contract. And to the end this negociation of accord were not hindered by new difficulties, there was made a little afterwards a truce untill the end of December, betwene the emperor and such as administrated the gouernment of France. Whereouer the emperor gaue order that one part of those gallies which were come with the viceroy, should returne into Italie to bring the duke of Bourbon into Spaine, without whose presence and priuatie he gaue out that he would make no conuention: and yet the gallies that for want of monie, and other impediments, were prepared but with slow diligence.

Whiles the case of the French king was in demand, but not yet determined, by means of sundrie ouerthwarts that ouerthrew the foundation of euerie purpose tending to his deliuerance: it fortuned that the French king falling sicke in the castell of Paduill, and hauing in vaine desired the presence of

The emperor  
commandeth  
that the  
French king  
should be re-  
ceiued with  
honour in all  
places whers  
he should  
passe.

A truce for a  
time betwene  
the emperor  
and the gou-  
ernors of France.

The French  
king extreme-  
lie sicke in the  
castell of Padu-  
ill.  
Guic. pag. 377.

the emperor, was caried by his discontentment and melancholie into such extremitie and danger of his life, that the physicians appointed for his cure, told the emperor that they stood desperat of his recovery, if himselfe in person came not to comfort him with some hope of his deliuerie. The emperor obteyning more compassion than the reason of things, was not curious to condescend to perforce so good an office, and as he prepared to visit him accordingly, his high chancellor seeking to turne him from the soene, told him with manie strong reasons, that he could not go to him in honour, but with intention to deliuer him presentlie and without anie covenant: otherwise as it would be a humanitie not roiall but mercenarie, so it would disclose a desire to recouer him, not moued of charitie, but pushed on by his proper interest, as not to lose by his death the occasion of the profit hoped for by the victorie.

The emperor  
visits the  
French king  
in durance.

This counsell assuredlie was graue and honourable touching the man that gaue it, and no lesse worthy to be followed by so great a prince as the emperor: and yet being more caried by the reasons of others, he took post to go to him. But for the danger of the king being almost at the extremitie, the visitation was short, and yet for the time accompanied with gracious words full of hope that he would deliuer him immediatlie vpon his returning to health: in so much that whether it was by the comfort that he breathed into him (in the sicknesse of captiuitie the promise of libertie credeeth all medicines) or by the benefit of his youth, which with the fauour of nature was stronger than the maladie, he began after this visitation to resume so good disposition, that within few daies he was out of danger, notwithstanding he could not recouer his former health but with verie slowe time.

And now neither the difficulties that were shewed on the emperours side, nor the hopes which were giuen by the Italians, nor anie other nature of impediments whatsoever, could staie the volage of the ladie Alanson into Spaine. For that as nothing was more hard or heauie to the Frenchmen than to leaue off the practises and negotiations of accord begun with those that had power to restore their king: so nothing was more easie to the emperor, than feeding the French with hopes, to draw their minds from taking armes; and by that meane so to keepe the Italians in suspence, as not to dare to enter into new deliberations. And in that cunning maner, sometimes using delaies, and sometimes pressing forward the affaires, he thought to keepe the minds of all men confused and intangled. The ladie Alanson was receiued by the emperor with verie gracious demonstrations and hopes: but the effects fell out both hard and heauie. For when she ministered speech to him for the marriage of his sister the widowe with the king: he made answer; that it was a matter which could not be done without the consent of the duke of Bourbon.

The ladie Alanson treateth with the emperor for the kings deliuerie.

The other particularities were debated by deputies of both parts, wherein, as the emperor insisted obstinatlie to haue the dutchie of Burgognie restored as appertaining to him: so the French refused to consent, unless he would accept it for dowrie; or else to referre it to the sentence of the law and iustice to decide the true title. And albeit they could easilie haue condescended to the residue, yet for that they were so farre off for the demand of Burgognie, the ladie Alanson returned at last into France, without winning anie other grace, than a fauour to see the king his brother; who growing more and more into distrust of his deliuerie, desired him at his departing to admonish his mother, and all the counsell from him, to looke carefulie to the profit of the crowne of

The French king is careful of the

France, without having anie consideration of him, as if he liued not. But notwithstanding the departure of the ladie Alanson, the solicitations for the kings deliuerie did not cease, for that there remained behinde the president of Paris, and the bishops of Ambrun and Carbe, who had till then followed the negotiation but with verie little hope, with the emperor would not harken to anie condition, if first Burgognie were not restored, which the king would not be brought to restore; but in a last necessitie.

After this unfortunate accident of the French king ensued manie troublesome and intricate matters, among which the case of the French king was descanted vpon, and a solicitation of peace resolved, which contained these covenants following. That betwene the emperor and the French king should be a peace perpetuall, in which should be comprehended all such as should be named by their common consent. That the French king by the first daie of the next moneth of March, should be set at libertie vpon the marches in the coast of Fontarabie. That within six weeks after he should consigne to the emperor the dutchie of Burgognie, the countie of Charolois, the iurisdiction of Flanders, the castell Chainro, dependancies of the said dutchie, the countie of Fflandona, the reloyt of St. Laurence de la Roche, a dependant of French countie, together with all the appurtenances as well of the said dutchie as vicountie, all which for hereafter should be separate and exempted from the souereigntie of the realme of France. That at the same and verie instant that the king should be deliuered, there should be put into the emperours hands the Dolphin of France, and with him either the duke of Orleans the kings second sonne, or else twelue principall lords of France, whom the emperor did name.

It was left to the election of the ladie regent, either to deliuer the kings second sonne, or the twelue barons, and they to remaine as hostages untill restitution were made of the lands and places aforesaid, and the peace swoyne and ratified, together with all the articles by the estates generall of France, and inregistered in all the courts of parlement of the kingdome with forme and solemnities necessarie. For the accomplishing wherof, there was set downe a terme of foure moneths: at which time returning the hostages, there should be put into the emperours hands the duke de Angouleme the kings third son, to the end to traine him vp with the emperor, the better to intertaine and assure the peace. That the French king should renounce and giue vp to the emperor all his rights to the realme of Naples, together with all such titles and preeminences as were to come to him by the inuestiture of the church. That he should doe the like touching his interest in the state of Millaine, of Venes, of Ast, and likewise of Arras, Tourneie, of the Isle, and of Motuete. That he should render vp the towne and castell of Hedin as a member of the countie of Artois, with all the munitions, artilleries, and moueables that were in it when it was last taken. That he should disclaime and yeld vp all souereigntie in Flanders and Artois, and all other places or peeces which the emperor possessed.

That on the other side, the emperor should resigne and giue vp to him all the right, title, and quarter which he pretended to anie place possessed by the Frenchmen, and especiallie the townes and castles of Perone, Montdidier, Roie, the counties of Bullongne, Guines, & Donchieto, with other townes standing vpon the one and other shore of the river of Some. That there should be betwene them a league and confederation perpetuall for the defense of their estates, with obligation to aid one another when

Guise's  
demise.  
The means  
of appeasing  
touching the  
deliuerie of  
the French  
king.

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The king of  
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An. Reg.

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in this  
capitulation.

when need required, with 500 men at armes, and ten thousand footmen: that the emperor should promise to giue in marriage to the king the ladie Eliano; his sister, whom, as soon as the dispensation should be obtained from the pope, he should contract or handfast with words obligatorie for the present, and afterwards she should be led into France, to consummate the marriage at the same time that according to the capitulations the hostages were to be deliuered: that she should haue for her portion two hundred thousand crownes, with iewels according to her estate, the one moiety of the monie to be paid within sixteene moneths, and the other halfe in one yeare after.

Furthermore, that a marriage should be betwene the Dolphin & the daughter of the Is. of Portugal, daughter to the ladie Eliano, at such time as their age will suffer: that the French king should do all that he could to induce the ancient Is. of Auarre to giue up to the emperor the rights of that kingdom, which in case he would not performe, then the king not to aid him with any succours. That the duke of Guelders, and the countie of Zutphen, and the principall townes of those estates, should promise with sufficient securitie, to giue themselves to the emperor, after his death, that the king should giue no succour to the duke of Wittenberge, nor likewise to Robert de la Sparch. That he should furnish and rigge for the emperor, both when he should passe into Italie, and two moneths after being so required, twelve gallies, foure ships, & foure gallions, all well munitioned and appointed, except men of war, & the said vessels to be rendred three moneths after accompting from the date of his imbarcking: that in place of the armie by land which the king offered for Italie, he should paie him two hundred thousand crownes in monie, the one halfe within sixteene moneths, and the other halfe within a yeare after.

Again, that at the time when the hostages should be deliuered, he should be bound to giue bills of exchange for the paie of six thousand footmen for six moneths immediatly after the emperours arrivall in Italie: that he should also furnish for his service five hundred lances paid, with a band of artillerie. That he should saue harmlesse the emperor of his promise made to the king of England by pensions, which the French king should paie him, the arerages whereof amounted to five hundred thousand crownes, or else to deliuer so much in readie monie to the emperor. That they should both ioine to beseech the pope to call a generall councell with all speed, to the end to consult vpon an vniuersall peace amongst christians, to aduance an enterprise against the infidels and heretikes, and to grant to all the crowne for three yeares. That within six weeks the king should restore the duke of Bourbon in most ample forme, into all his estates, goods mouable and immouable, and fruits and reuenues received: nor to molest him for any thing past, nor constrain him to dwell or go to the realme of France, that it should be lawfull to the said duke of Bourbon, to demand by the waie of law and iustice, the earldome of Provence. That in like sort all those that had followed him, should reenter in safetie into their goods and states, and namely the bishop of Autun, and monsieur de saint Valler.

Moreover, that the prisoners taken in the towres should be deliuered on both parts within sixteene moneths. That there should be restitution made to the ladie Margaret of Austria of all that she possessed afore the warre. That the prince of Orange should be set at libertie with restitution to the principalltie of Orange, and all that he possessed by the death of his father, which had bene taken from him for

lowing the faction of the emperor. That the like should be done to other barons. That there should be made restitution to the marquesse of Salusse of his estate. That the king as soon as he arrived in the first towne of his realme, should ratifie this capitulation, and be bound to procure the Dolphin to ratifie it when he should come to the age of foureteene yeares. And were named by common consent, and cheslie the Switzers. Whelie there was not one of the potentates of Italie, except the pope, whom they named as conseruator of the accord, and that more for maner sake and ceremony, than in effect and true meaning. Lastlie, it was expressed in the said capitulation, that in case the king for any occasion, would not accomplish these matters promised; he should returne true prisoner.

This accord for the parts it contained, brought no small astonishment to all Christendome. For when it was understood, that the first execution thereof consisted in the deliuerie of the king, all mens opinions were, that being in his libertie, he would not deliuer by Burgongnie, as being a member of too great importance for the realme of France. And except a few, who had counselled the emperor to it, all his court had the same iudgement, and namely the Chancellor, who reprehended and detested the matter with so great vehemencie, that notwithstanding he was commanded to signe the capitulation (according to the office of chiefe chancellors) yet he refused to do it, alledging; that in such matters, dangerous and hurtfull as that was, he ought not to vse the authoritie that was giuen him: neither could he be altered from this opinion, notwithstanding the emperor was angrie with him: who seeing him so resolute in his opinion, signed it himselfe, and within few daies after went to Madrid, to confirme the alliance, and make a foundation of amitie and good will with the king, whom he interteined in familiar and priuat sort.

Great were the ceremonies and demonstrations of amitie betwene them: oftentimes they shewed themselves together in places publike: and as often did they passe in secret familiar discourses. They went together in one coach vnto a castell not halfe a daies iourne from thence, where was quene Cleano, whom the king married. And yet in all these great signes of peace and amitie, he was observed with as carefull and strict gard as before, without any aduantage of libertie. So that he was embraced as a brother, and garded as a prisoner. A matter which made manifest to the world, that it was an accord full of discord, an alliance without amitie, and that vpon euery occasion their ancient gelousies and passions would be stronger in them, than the regard of that alliance, made more by force than frendship. And daies were spent in these offices and ceremonies of amitie, when was brought from the ladie regent the ratification, together with the declaration, that with the Dolphin of France they would rather giue in hostage the kings second son, than the twelve barons.

When the king departed from Madrid, taking his waie to the frontier of his realme, there was to be exchanged his person for his sonnes, who had bene small age. There was sent to accompanie him the viceroie the worker and author of his deliuerie, to whom the emperor had given the citie of Arras, with other estates in Flanders and in the Kingdome of Frawles. The king of England hearing that the French king should now be deliuered, sent to him a knight of his chamber, called sir Thomas Chente, to signifie to him the great joy and gladnesse, which he conceived for his restitution to libertie, and the conclusion of the generall peace. For which kindnesse & courtesie

while this accord set all Christendome in a wondering.

The French king married the emperors sister according to a clause in the capitulation.

The king of England giveth the French kings daughter.

courteous remembrance, the French king thought himselfe much bound (as he confesseth himselfe here after) to the king of England, & thanked him greatly hereafter.

Quic. pag. 966.  
The manner of  
the deliuerie  
of the French  
king.

After much a do and manie remonings, the French king was come on the confines of Fontarabie, a towne appertaining to the emperor, standing upon the Ocean sea, and is a frontier betwene Biskaye and the duchie of Guisen. And on the other side, the ladie regent was arrived with the children of France, at Baion, not manie leagues from Fontarabie. The torments of the golfe took hit by the waie, which was the cause that he had linged some time longer than the date appointed of permutation. But at last, the eighteenth daie of March, the French king accompanied with the bicerope and capteine Alarcon with fiftie horse, was presented upon the shore of the riuer that diuideth the realme of France from the kingdome of Spaine. And on the other side, upon the shore opposite appeared monsieur Lawtrech with the kings children and like number of horse. There was in the middell of the riuer a great barke made fast with anchors, in which was no person. The king was rowed nere to this barke in a little boat, wherein he was accompanied with the bicerope, capteine Alarcon, and eight others, all armed with short weapons: and on the other side of the barke were likewise brought in a little boat, monsieur Lawtrech with the hostages & eight others, weaponed according to the others.

The French  
king with the  
bicerope are  
unbarkeed.

After this the bicerope went into the barke with the king, and all his companie: and also monsieur Lawtrech with his eight that accompanied him, so that they were within the barke a like number of both parts, Alarcon and his eight being with the bicerope, and Lawtrech and the others with the person of the king. And when they were all thus within the barke, the Dolphin, who being giuen to the bicerope and by him committed to capteine Alarcon, was forthwith bestowed in their boate, and after him followed the little duke of Mleance, who was no sooner entred the barke, than the French king leaped out of the barke into his boate, which he did with such quicknesse and celeritie, that the exchange or permutation was thought to be done at one selfe instant; so welcome to him was libertie, without the which nothing is sweet, nothing is comfortable, as the poet saith:

*Libertas per dulce bonum, bona cetera reddit.*

The French  
king is not a little  
glad of his li-  
bertie.

Asone as the king was on the other side of the shore, his new libertie making him fearefull of ambush, he mounted upon a Turkish horse of a wonderfull swiftnesse, which was prepared for the purpose: and running betwene feare and gladnesse by on the spur, he neuer staid till he came to St. John de Lus, a towne of his obedience, foure leagues from the place. And being there readilie relieved with a fresh horse, he ran with the same swiftnesse to Baion, where, after he had passed ouer the offices of court done to him by his people, he dispatched with great diligence a gentleman to the king of England, to whom he wrote with his owne hand letters of his deliuerie, charging the messenger under verie lying commission, to tell the king of England, that as he acknowledged the effect of his libertie to be wrought whole by him and his operations, so in recompense, he offered to remaine to him a perpetuall and assured friend, and to be guided in all his affaires by his counsell. And afterwards he sent an other solemne ambassage into England, to ratifie the peace which his mother had made with him, as one that reaped a verie great foundation in the amitie of that king.

Quic. pag. 968.

When the French king was gotten into Baion,

being required by a gentleman of the bicerope, to ratifie the accord according to the obligation of his word, being come into a place free and assured, he deferred it from one daie to another, interposing reasons and excuses general: wherein, to the end to hold still the emperor in hope, he sent to aduertise him by a man especiall, that he forbore for the present to accomplish the ratification, not by omission or wilful negligence, but upon this necessitie, that before he proceeded realtie to such an act, he was to labour to reapease and reduce the minds of his subjects contented with the obligations he had made, tending to the diminution of the crowne of France. Nevertheless, he would in his time resolve all difficulties, and obserue with fidelitie all that he had promised to him, both in substance and circumstance. By this dealing, no lesse doubtfull for the manner, than dangerous in meaning, might easilie be comprehended what were his intentions, the same being more manifestlie detected at the arrivall of the messengers sent to him not manie daies after, by the pope and Venetians, in whom was no great need of industrie or labour, to sound out the plaine course of his inclination.

For, after he had received them with manie demonstrations and offices of court, he intertained them severallie and apart with sundrie speeches of compassion, such as tended to manifest complaints against the inhumanitie of the emperor: who he said did neuer administer to him during his captivitie, anie one office appertaining to the ranks of a prince, nor at anie time shewed himselfe touched with that affection and commiseration which one prince ought to expresse in the calamities of another; and much lesse would use anie course of common comfort, either to relieue the heavinesse of his condition with anie propertie of apt consolation, or once to enter into consideration, that the same accident that had fallen upon him, might also be as heavilie heaped upon his owne head. In this complaint, he alleged the example of Edward king of England called of some Edward Long-Shankes. To whom when was presented as prisoner John king of the Frenchmen, taken by the prince of Wales his son in the battell of Poitiers, he did not onelie receive him with great comfort and compassion of his afflicted case, but also, all the tyme of his imprisonment within the realme of England, he let him go at libertie under a free gard.

Furthermore he had daily familiar conversation with him, he would oftentimes haue him to accompany him on hunting, to communicate in the open aire and solace of the field, and was not curious to call him to eat with him at his table. And by these humanities much lesse that he lost his prisoner, or ranged him to an accord lesse favourable; but of the contrarie, by the operation of those graces and good offices, there grew betwene them such a familiaritie and confidence, that the French king, after he had continued manie yeares in France, made a voluntarie voiage into England, to honour and gratifie under that propertie of office, the liberalitie and frankenesse of the king. He alleged that as there was onelie remembrance of two kings of France that had bene taken prisoners in battell, king John and himselfe, so the diuersitie of the examples was also worthie of singular memorie, seeing upon the one was expressed all facilitie and mildnesse of the victor, and to the other were ministred all those rigours and severities, which tyrants in the height and pride of their fortune are wont to use. Whereby to he added manie circumstances discovering the discontentment of his mind, whereupon ensued practices wherewith the emperor was not well pleased.

The French  
king complai-  
neth upon the  
emperor to the  
messengers sent  
from the pope  
and the Venetians.

The king of  
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The empe-  
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taking the king.

Death of the  
king of France.  
An. Reg. 17.



Dom. 1525.

The French king is not verie halie to rathe the accord.

The French king complaith neth upon the emperor to the messengers sent from the pope and the elections.

The king of England alledged by the French king as a president of humilitie in the case of a captive king.

Some thow after that this peace was accorded, and the French king delivered, the emperor married the lady Isabel daughter to Emanuel king of Portugal, and had with him eleven hundred thousand marks. Thus were the French affaires intermixed with our owne, and verie needfull to us, and wher here we will end, and returne to Emanuel.

Cardinal Wolsey being still most highlie in the emperours favour, obtained licence to erect a college at Oxford, and another at Ipswich, the towne where he was borne, the which foundations he began rather of a vaine desire of glorie and worldlie praise, than of the institution of true religion and advancement of doctrine, and therefore sith he was not moved thereto by respect of true godlinesse and bountifull liberalitie, he went about to clothe Peter and Paul: for the which godliness of the king to suppress certeine small monasteries, and after got a confirmation of the pope that he might implew the goods, lands, and revenues belonging to those houses, to the maintenance of most of his two colleges, wherby not onelie he, but also the pope were evil spoken of through the whole realme. In March the king sent Cuthbert, Lenthall bishop of London, and Sir Richard Whittington chamberlaine of the duchie of Lancaster, a knight of the order, into Spain, to confer with the emperor touching causes, concerning the raising of the French king, and so, warres to be made into France on euerie side.

The same being determined thus to make warre in France, he tooke the sea himselfe in person, his council considered that a great all things great treasure and victuals of monie must needs be provided. Whereupon the cardinal there was deuised strange commissions, and sent in the end of March into euerie shire, and commissioners appointed, and priuie instructions sent to them how they should proceed in their writings, and order the people to bring them to their percole: which was, that the first part of euerie mans substance should be paid in monie or plate to the king without delay, for the furniture of his warre, he thereto tolde them cursing, weeping, and exclaiming against our king & cardinal, that pite it was to hear. And so he wrote, notwithstanding all that could be said or done, for as he occupied by the commissioners to persuade the people to this contribution, the same would not be granted. And in excuse of this he said it was alledged, that wrong was offered, and the ancient customs & lawes of the realme broken, which would not any man to be charged with long payment, except it were granted by the estates of the realme in parlement assembled. The like answer was made by them of the spiritualitie, & whom was demanded the fourth part of their goods.

Wherupon the emperor sent his ambassadoe, hincup offered for admitting of John Bokun into the realme as before ye haue heard, for some other cause. The ninth of April departed out of England, not taking leave of the king, nor of the cardinal, and so much did he take condole, that he passed through France in post, and came to the emperor before the ambassadoes of England came thither. And together with his report, or otherwise, the accustomed fashion that the emperor showed to the Englishmen, began again to occur, as was well perceived, what the matter was. This yeare at Westminster died Thomas, duke of Suffolke, and was honourable buried at Epsom. The cardinal travelled earthenly with the monks and abbotmen of London, about the same monie to be granted, and likewise the commissioners appointed in the shires of the realme, set upon the same: but the burthen was so greuous,

that it was generallie venet, and the common in euerie place so moued, that it was like to grow to rebellion.

In After the people would not assemble before the commissioners in no houses, but in open places, and in Huntingdonshire diuerse resisted the commissioners, and would not suffer them to sit, which were apprehended and sent to the Fleet. The duke of Suffolke sitting in commission about this subside in Suffolke, perswaded by courteous meanes the rich clothiers to assent thereto: but when they came home, and went about to discharge and put from them their spinners, carbers, fullers, weavers, and other artificers, which they kept in worke afore time, the people began to assemble in companies. Wherof when the duke was aduertised, he commanded the constables that euerie mans hartes should be taken from him. But when that was knowne, then the rage of the people increased, raising openie on the duke, and Sir Robert Druce, and threatened them with death, and the cardinal also. And herewith there assembled together after the manner of rebels four thousand men of Lanark, Sudburie, Wyndesore, and other towne thersabouts, which put themselves in hartesse, and raised the beis alarme, and began still to assemble in great number.

The duke of Suffolke perceiuing this, began to gather such power as he could, but that was verie slender, for the gentlemen that were with the duke, but so much that all the bridges were broken, so that the assemble of those rebels was somewhat letted. The duke of Suffolke being therof aduertised, gathered a great power in Suffolke, and came towards the commons, sending to them to know their intent, received answer, that they would live and die in the kings causes, and be to him obedient. Therupon he came himselfe to talke with them, and willing to know who was their capitaine, that he might answer for them all: it was told him by one John Greene a man of fiftie yeares of age, that Howertie was their capitaine, the which with his cousin Jocerelle, had brought them to that doing. For whereas they and a great number of other in that countrie, had not not upon themselves, but upon the substantiall occupiers, now that they through such payments as were demanded of them, were not able to maintain them in worke, they must of necessity perishe, want of sustentance.

The duke hearing this matter, was sore for their case, and promised them, that if they would depart home to their dwellings, he would be a meane for their pardon to the king. Whereupon they were contented to depart. After this, the duke of Suffolke, and the duke of Suffolke came to Burie, and thither released much people of the countrie in their shires with halters about their neckes, meekely desiring pardon for their offences. The dukes in which demeaned themselves, that the commons were appeased, and the demand of monie ceased in all the realme, for well it was perceived that the commons would pay none. Then went the two dukes to London, and brought with them the chiefe captains of the rebellion, which were put in the Fleet. The king then came to Westminster to the cardinals palace, and assembled there a great councill, in the which he openly protested, that his mind was neuer to aske any thing of his commons which might sound to the breach of his lawes, wherefore he willed to know by whose meanes the commissions were so frentie gotten forth, to demand the first part of euerie mans goods.

The cardinal excused himselfe, and said, that when it was moued in councill how to raise monie to the kings use, the kings councill, and name the commons, for the king

The commons however so the papall rule

2 rebellion in Suffolke, and the gentlemen and clothiers

The duke of Suffolke gathered a great power in Suffolke, and came towards the commons, sending to them to know their intent

Howertie and Jocerelle captains of the rebellion

The captains of the rebels committed a pillon

The cardinal of York excuseth himselfe touching the frent commissions, for the king

ges, said, that he might lawfullie demand anie summe by commission, and that by the consent of the whole counsell it was done, and toke God to witnes that he neuer desired the hinderance of the commons, but like a true counsellor deuised how to enrich the king. The king indeed was much offended that his commons was thus intreated, & thought it touched his honoz, that his counsell should attempt such a doubtfull matter in his name, and to be denied both of the spirituality and temporality. Therefore he would no more of that trouble, but caused letters to be sent into all shires, that the matter should no further be talked of: & he pardoned all them that had denied the demand openlie or secretlie. The cardinal, to deliuer himselfe of the euill will of the commons, purchased by procuring & aduancing of this demand, affirmed, and caused it to be bzuted abroad, that though his intercession the king had pardoned and released all things.

The rebels pardoned after their appearance in the Star chamber.

Those that were in the Towler and Fleet for the rebellion in Suffolke, and resisting the commissioners aswell there as in Huntingdon shire and Kent, were brought before the lords in the Star chamber, and there had their offenses opened and shewed to them: and finally the kings pardon declared, and thereon they were deliuered. In this season a great number of men of warre laie at Bullongne, and in other places thereabout, which diuerse times attempted to indamage the Englishmen, and to spoile the English pale: but they could neuer spoile the marches where the greatest part of the cattell belonging to the inhabitants was kept. Tindale men with aid of the Scots, did much hurt in England by robberies, which they exercised: and therefore were sent thither, sir Richard Bulmore, and sir Christopher Dacres, to redreine their doings. Diuerse came to them, and submitted themselves: but the greatest theues kept them in the mounteins of Cheuiot, and did much hurt, yet at length they seuered, and many of them were taken.

Tindale men great robbers

The cardinal by his power legantine sent one of his chaplains called doctor John Allen, to visit the religious houses of this realme about this season, which doctor pzactised amongst them greatlie to his profit, but more to the slander both of himselfe and of his maister. On the eighteenth daie of June, at the manor place of Wyndesore, the kings sonne (which he had begot of Elizabeth Blunt, daughter to sir John Blunt knight) called Henrie Fitzroie, was created first earle of Huntingham, and after on the selfe same daie he was created duke of Richmond and Somerset. Also the same daie the lord Henrie Courtenie earle of Denonshire, and cosine germane to the king, was created marquisse of Excester: and the lord Henrie Brandon sonne to the duke of Suffolke and the French quene, a child of two yeares old, was created earle of Lincoln: and sir Thomas Hanners lord Ross was created earle of Rutland, and sir Henrie Clifford earle of Cumberland, and the lord Fitzwater sir Robert Katcliffe was created vicount Fitzwater, and sir Thomas Bullen treasurer of the kings household was created vicount Rochefort.

Henries baie sonne created earle and duke in one daie.

The French kings mother as then regent of France, procured a safe conduct for an ambassadoz to be sent into England to treat of peace, and there, with sent John Jokin called monsieur de Claur, which (as we haue heard) in the last yeare was kept secret in maister Larks house. By his procurement a truce was granted to indure from the thirtieth of Iulie for forty daies betwene England and France both by sea and land. In the later end of Iulie came into England the cheefe president of Rome with sufficient authoritie to conclude anie agreement that

A truce betwene England & France for forty daies.

should be granted. At his suite the king was contented that a truce should be taken, to endure from the fourteenth of August, till the first of December. This yeare the king sent doctor Henrie Standish bishop of saint Asse, and sir John Baker knight into Denmarke, to intreat with the nobles of that countrie for the reduction of their king Christierne to his realme and former dignitie: but the Danes hated him so much for his crueltie, that they could not abide to heare of anie such matter, and so these ambassadoz returned without speeding of their purpose for the which they were sent.

But the French ambassadoz did so much both by offers and intreaties, that the king condescended to a peace, which being concluded, was proclaimed in London with a trumpet the eight of September. By the covenants of this peace the king of England should receiue at certeine daies twentie hundred thousand crownes, which then amounted in sterling monie to the summe of foure hundred thousand pounds sterling, of which one payment of fiftie thousand pounds was paid in hand. In October were sent into France, sir William Fitzwilliam treasurer of the kings house, and doctor Tailor, as ambassadoz from the king of England to the labie regent, whome they found at the citie of Lion, where, of hir they were honozable receiued: and in their presence the said labie regent toke a corporall oth in solemne wise, and according to the custome in such cases used, to performe all the articles and covenants passed and concluded in the league and treatie of peace by his commissioners.

The emperour was nothing pleased, in that the king of England had thus concluded peace with the Frenchmen, and therefore the English merchants were not so courtouslie dealt with, as they had bene afore time. In this winter was great death in London, so that the terme was adourned: and the king kept his Christmasse at Eltham, with a small number, and therefore it was called the still Christmasse. In Januarie was a peace concluded betwixt the realmes of England and Scotland for three yeares and six moneths. The cardinal about this time comming to the court, which then laie (as before we haue heard) at Eltham, toke order for altering the state of the kings house. Spanie officers and other seruants were discharged, and put to their pensions and annuities. In which number were fourtescore and foure yeomen of the gard, which before hauing twelue pence the daie with checke, were now allowed five pence the daie without checke, and commanded to go home into their countries. Diuers ordinances were made at that season by the cardinal, touching the gouernance of the kings house, more profitable than honozable, as some said, and were called long after, The statutes of Eltham.

On Shrouetuesdaie there was a solemne iusts held at the manor of Grenewich, the king & eleuen other on the one part, and the marquisse of Excester with eleuen other on the contrarie part. At those iusts by chance of shiuring of a speare sir Francis Brian lost one of his eyes. The eleuenth of February being fundaie, the cardinal with great pompe came to the cathedrall church of Bawles, where he sat in pontificalibus under his cloth of estate of rich cloth of gold, and there doctor Barnes an Augustine frier bare a fagot for certeine points of heresie alleged against him; and two merchants of the Shilleard bare fagots for eating of flesh on a fridaie: and there the bishop of Rochester doctor Fisher made a sermon against apartine Luther, which certeine yeares before, that is to wit, about the yeare a thousand five hundred and eightene, had begun to preach and write against the authoritie of the pope.

The letter to the regent to performe the articles of the league.

The letter to the regent to performe the articles of the league.

The letter to the regent to performe the articles of the league.

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The letter to the regent to performe the articles of the league.

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Embassadoys  
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A peace pro-  
claimed be-  
tweene Eng-  
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The lable re-  
gent tooke  
to performe  
the articles  
of the league.

A winters  
death.  
The still  
Christmalle.  
1526

The cardinall  
altereth the  
state of the  
kings house-  
hold.

The statutes  
of Citham.

Dot. Barnes  
and two more  
chants of the  
Bullward  
beare fagots.

Reg. 18.

Henrie  
leagues to pre-  
vent the lea-  
guers.

Henrie lea-  
guers to pre-  
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guers.

Ed. Hall.

Ed. Hall.

The pope be-  
ing shamo-  
ed of all  
kinds, com-  
pactly by the  
pope.

A band article  
was made be-  
tweene Henrie  
the eight and his  
brother the  
king of France.

We must here note, that the emperor being at Windsor in the fourteenth yere of the kings reigne covenanted, amongst other things, to take to wife the ladie Marie daughter to the king of England: but now upon considerations his mind changed, for the which the Englishmen sore murmured against him. On the nine and twentieth of Aprill being sun-  
daye, the cardinall sang a solemne masse in the kings chappell at Greenwich, and after the same was ended, the king swore in presence of the ambassadoys of France, and of the ambassadoys of Rome, of the emperor of Venice, and of Florence, to observe and keepe the peace and league concluded betwixt him and his loving brother, and perpetuall alie the French king, during his life and one yere after.

In this meane while, there was a secret league concluded betwixt the pope, the Venetians, the Florentines, and Francis Sforza duke of Milan: into the which league the French king also entered, after he was returned into France. There was also place left to the king of England to enter into the same league, and likewise to all other kings and princes: and if the king of England would, he should be admitted as protector of the same. But the emperor might not be admitted, till he had delivered the French kings children (having a reasonable summe of monie for the same) and had restored the duke of Milan to his whole duchie. It was thought indeed, that the emperor being wrongfullie informed against this duke, rather through envie of some of the emperours captains, than for any cause ministered by the duke, dealt verie treightlie with him, and meant to defeat him of his duchie. For redresse therof, and also to provide that the emperor should not grow too strong in Italie to the danger of other estates, this league was devised: by force whereof he might be brought to reason, if he would refuse convenient offers and indifferent waies of agreement.

This league was concluded the two and twentieth of Maie in this yere. What followed thereof, ye may read more at large in the histories of Italie and France, where the warres are more at large touched, which chanced in that season betwixt the emperor, and the confederats, and how the imperiall armie toke the citie of Rome, and besieging the pope in cassell saint Angelo, constrained him to yield, and agree to certaine propositions put unto him. ¶ Who being by his aduersitie made naked of all helpe present, and lesse expectation to be rescued there was so great want of valour and order, was driven to turn the race of his fortune, compounding the first daie of June with the imperials almost under the same conditions with the which he might have accorded before. That the pope should paie to the armie four hundred thousand duckets in this order: one hundred thousand presentlie to be defraied of the gold, monie, and treasure reserved in the cassell: fiftie thousand within twentie daies, and two hundred and fiftie thousand within two moneths: assigning to him for these defraiments, an impost of monie to be charged upon the whole church state. That he should deliver into the power of the emperor, to retaine them so long as he thought good, the cassell saint Angelo, the rocks of Ostia, of Civita Vecchia, of Civita Castellana, together with the cities of Parma, Plasencia, and Modena.

Furthermore, that the pope together with all those cardinals that were with him, which were thirtene in number, should remaine prisoners within the cassell, untill the first payment of an hundred and fiftie thousand duckets were satisfied. That afterwards they should go to Naples or to Caietta, to expect what the emperor would determine of them. That for assurance of the payments, wherof he third part

apportioned to the Spaniards, he should deliver in for hostages, the archbishops of Siponto and Bisca, the bishops of Bistola & Verona, together with James Salviatio, Simon de Ricapola, and Laurence brother to cardinall Rodolfo. That Hans de Cero, Albert Pio, Dattio Baillon, the knight Casalo, the ambassadour of England, with all others that were saved within the cassell, except the pope and the cardinals, should depart in suertie. That the pope should give absolution to the Colonnois of the censures they had incurred. And that when he should be led out of Rome, a legat should remaine there for him with authoritie to dispose and administer iustice.

During the popes captivitie, Rome was sore afflicted with the plague, in somuch that the rage thereof so greatlie increased, that the cassell of saint Angelo was visited, to the great danger of the life of the pope; about whome died certene spectall men that did service to his person: who amid so manie afflictions and aduersities, and no other hope remaining to him than in the clemencie of the emperor, appointed for legat with the consent of the captains, cardinall Alexander of Farnese, who notwithstanding being issued out of the cassell, and Rome, refused under that occasion to go in the said legation. The captains desired to carie the person of the pope with the thirtene cardinals that were with him, to Caietta: but he laboured against that resolution with great diligence, petitions, and art.]

¶ In the month of Maie was a proclamation made against all unlawfull games, according to the statutes made in this behalf, and commissions awarded into euerie shire for the execution of the same; so that in all places, tables, dice, cards, and boules were taken and burnt. Wherefore the people murmured against the cardinall, saying: that he grudged at euerie mans pleasure, saving his owne. But this proclamation small time indured. For when yong men were forbidden boules and such other games: some fell to drinking, some to fereetting of other mens coines, some to stealing of deere in parks, and other brutishnesses.]

This yere in the citie of London a great grudge was conceived against merchants strangers, for that they by vertue of licences, which they had purchased to bring woad into the realme, contrarie to a statute thereof provided, brought over such plentie thereof, and uttered it aswell in the citie, as abroad in the countrie, so franklie, that Englishmens woad laie unbought. At length the maior called a common council in the month of August, and there were manie billes laied against the strangers, and at last it was enacted, that no citizen nor freman should buy nor sell in no place, nor exchange nor meddle with certene strangers, called Anthonie Bonuice, Laurence Bonuice, Anthonie Ciuale, Anthonie Caueler, Francis de Ward, Thomas Calneant, and a great sort more, whose names I let passe. And if any person did meddle or occupie with them contrarie to this act, he should lose his freedom and liberty in the citie of London. By which act the strangers were so bideled, that they came to a reasonable point and conclusion.

In this season the angell noble was tuff the first part of an ounce Troie, so that six angells were tuff an ounce, which was fourtie shillings sterling; & the angell was worth two ounces of siluer: so that six angells were worth twelue ounces, which was but fourtie shillings in siluer. By reason of the good weight and low valuation of the English coine, merchants daily carried ouer great store, because the same was much inhauced there. So that, to meet with this inconuenience, in September proclamation was made through all England, that the angell should

Guic. pag. 1072

The cassell  
where the  
pope was pri-  
soner infected  
with the pla-  
gue.

Ed. Hall in H. 8.  
fol. Cxlix.

Great grudge  
against stran-  
gers for pro-  
curing licences  
to sell woad.

Edw. Hall. H. 8.  
fol. Clij.

Valuation of  
certene coines  
as angells,  
rials, crowns,  
&c.

should go for seven shillings four pence, the roiall for eleven shillings, & the crowne for four shillings four pence. On the fifth of November following, by proclamation againe, the angell was enhanced to seven shillings six pence, and so euery ounce of gold should be five and fourtie shillings, and an ounce of silver at three shillings and nine pence in value.

Edw. Hall in  
H.8. fol. Clijij.

The king kept a solemne Christmasse at Greene, with with reuerles, masks, disguisings, & bankets: and the thirtieth daie of December, was an enterpryse of iusts made at the tilt by six gentlemen, against all comers, which balliantlie furnished the same, both with speare and sword: and like iusts were kept the third daie of Januarie, where were three hundred speares broken. That same night, the king and manie yong gentlemen with him, came to Bidewell, and there put him and sixtene other, all in masking apparell, and then toke his barge, and rowed to the cardinals place, where were at supper a great companie of lordes and ladies, and then the maskers danced, and made goodlie pastime: and when they had well danced, the ladies plucked awaie their visors, and so they were all knownen, and to the king was made a great banquet.

1527  
An ambassa-  
dour from the  
emperour.

On the fourteenth of Januarie came to the court don Hugo de Mendoza, a man of a noble familie in Spaine: he came as ambassadour from the emperour to the king, with large commission, for the emperour put it to the kings determination, whether his demands which he required of the French king were reasonable or not. This noble man carried here two yeres. This Christmasse was a goodlie disguising plaied at Grates In, which was compiled for the most part by maister John Ro, sergeant at the law manie yeres past, and long before the cardinall had any authoritie. The effect of the play was, that lord gouernance was ruled by dissipation and negligence, by whose misgouernance and euill order ladies publike weale was put from gouernance: which caused rumor, popul, inward grudge and disdain of wanton souereignetie, to rise with a great multitude, to expell negligence and dissipation, and to restore publike welth againe to his estate, which was so done.

Abr. Fl. ex  
Edw. Hall in  
H.8. fol. Clijij.  
A plaie at  
Grates In.

The argu-  
ment of the  
plaie

This plaie was so set forth with rich and costlie apparell, with strange deuises of masks & morisshes, that it was highlie praised of all men, sauing of the cardinall, which imagined that the play had bene deuised of him, and in a great furie sent for the said maister Ro, and toke from him his cosse, and sent him to the Fleet; and after he sent for the yong gentlemen, that plaied in the plaie, and them highlie rebuked and threatened, and sent one of them called Thomas Poile of Kent to the Fleet, but by means of friends maister Ro and he were deliuered at last. This plaie so displeased the cardinall, and yet it was neuer meant to him, as you haue heard. Wherefore manie wisemen grudged to see him take it so hartlie, and euer the cardinall said that the king was highlie displeased with it, and spake nothing of himselfe. But what will you haue of a guiltie conscience but to suspect all things to be said of him (as if all the world knew his wickednesse) according to the old verse:

*Confitemi ipse sibi de se putat omnia dici.*

The second of March were receiued into London the bishop of Tarbe, Francis bicount of Thurane, and maister Anthonie Welsie second president of Paris, as ambassadours from the French king. They were lodged in Tailors hall. On Shrouetuesdaie the king himselfe in a new harnesse all gilt, of a strange fashion that had not bene seene, and with him eight gentlemen all in cloth of gold of one sute, embroidered with knots of silver, and the marques of Cresser, and eight with him in blew velvet and

Edw. Hall  
pag. Cijv.  
A iustes.

white sattin, like the waues of the sea, these men of armes came to the tilt, and there ran manie fresh courses, till two hundred fourscore and six speares were broken, and then they disarmed and went to the quenes chamber, where for them was provided a costlie banquet.

The French ambassadours sued (as was said) to haue the ladie Marie daughter to the K. of England, giuen in mariage to the duke of Orleans, second sonne to the French king: but that matter was put in suspense for diuerse considerations. And one was, for that the president of Paris doubted whether the mariage betwene the king and his mother (he being his brother's wife) was lawfull or not. While the French ambassadours laie thus in London, it happened one euening as they were coming from the Blacke friers, from supper to the Tailors hall, two boies were in a gutter casting downe rubbish, which the raine had driuen there, and vntwares hit a lackie belonging to the bicount of Thurane, and hurt him nothing, for scantlie touched it his cote. But the French lords toke the matter highlie, as a thing done in despite, & sent word to the cardinall. Who being too hasty of credence, sent for sir Thomas Seimor knight, lord maior of the citie, and in all hast commanded him upon his allegiance, to take the husband, wife, children, and seruants of the house, and them to imprison, till he knew further of the kings pleasure, and that the two boies apprentices should be sent to the Tower: which commandement was accomplished without anie fauor. For the man, and his wife, and seruants, were kept in the counter till the first daie of Maie, which was six weekes full, and their neighbours of gentleness kept their house in the meane time, and one of the apprentices died in the Tower, and the other was almost lame. Of the crueltie of the cardinall, and of the pride of the Frenchmen, much people spake, & would haue bene reuenged on the Frenchmen, if wise men in the citie had not appeased it with faire words.

Sheweth the  
French am-  
bassadours  
the ladie Ma-  
rie to be mar-  
ried to the  
duke of Or-  
leans.

Edw. Hall in  
H.8. fol. Clij.  
The bogged  
nature of the  
French for a  
matter of re-  
uenging.

The card-  
inals cruetie.

Anno. Reg. 1  
Edw. Hall.  
in H.8. fol. Clij.  
The sauetie  
to the cardinall  
by a libell set  
by in a doo

On the fourteenth daie of March were conueied from London to Greenwich by the earle of Rutland and others, the lord Gabriel de Salamanca earle of Otonburgh, John Burgrau of Silberberge, and John Faber a famous cleerke, after bishop of Lien, as ambassadours from don Ferdinand, brother to the emperour, newlie elect king of Hungarie and Beaine, after the death of his brother in law king Lewis, which was slaine by the Turke the last summer, as you haue heard before. This companie was welcomed of the high officers, and after brought in to the kings presence, all the nobilitie being present, and there after great reuerence made, maister Faber made a notable oration, taking his ground of the gospel, *Exijt seminator seminare semen suum*, and of that he declared how Christ and his disciples went forth to sow, and how their seed was good that fell in to the good ground, and brought forth good fruit, which was the christian faith: and then he declared how contrarie to that sowing, Mahomet had sowne seed, which brought forth euill fruit. He also shewed from the beginning, how the Turkes haue increased in power, what realmes they had conquered, what people they had subdued euen to that daie.

He declared further what acts the great Turke then liuing had done, and in especial he noted the getting of Belgrad, and of the Rhodes, and the slaying of the king of Hungarie, to the great rebuke (as he said) of all the kings christened. He set forth also what power the Turke had, what diuersities of companies, what armor, what captains he had, so that he thought, that without a maruellous great number of people he could not be overthowne. Wherefore he most humbly besought the king, as S. Georges knight,

The kings  
answer by the  
mouth of sir  
Thomas  
Seimor

3 yeres too  
tation for a  
long time by  
continual  
raie.

The citizen  
of London  
hated of the  
cardinall, an  
he also of the

The French  
ambassadours  
in the name  
their maister  
swore to ot  
serue the  
league.  
See Edw. H.  
in H.8. fol. C  
& deinceps.

knight, and defender of the faith, to assist the king his master in that godlie warre and vertuous purpose. To this oration the is. by the mouth of sir Thomas Pope answered, that much he lamented the losse that happened in Hungarie, and if it were not for the wars which were betwene the two great princes, he thought that the Turke would not haue enterprised that act. Wherefore he with all his studie would take paine, first, to set an vnitie and peace throughout all christendome; and after that, both with monie and men, he wold be redie to helpe toward that glorious warre, as much as any other prince in christendome. After this done, the ambassadours were well thereto, and diuerse times resorted to the court, and had great cheare and good rewards, and so the third daie of Maie next ensuing, they toke their leaue and departed homeward.

In the winter season of this yeare fell great abundance of raine, and namelie in September, November, and December. And on the firstenth of January it rained so abundantly, that great floods thereby ensuing, destroyed corne fields, pastures, and drowned manie sheepe and beasts. When was it dyie till the twelue of Appill, and from thence it rained euerie day or night till the third of June, & in Maie it rained thirtie hours continuallie without ceasing, which caused great floods, & did much harme, namelie in corne, so that the next yeare it failed within this realme, and great dearth ensued.

This time a bill was set vp in London, much contrary to the honour of the cardinall, in the which the cardinall was warned that he should not counsell the king to marrie his daughter into France: for if he did, he should shew himselfe enimie to the king and the realme, with manie threatening words. This bill was deliuered to the cardinall by sir Thomas Seymour, maior of the citie, which thanked him for the same, & made much search for the author of that bill, but he could not be found, which sore displeased the cardinall. And upon this occasion the last daie of Appill at night he caused a great watch to be kept at Westminster, and had there cart guns readie charged, & caused diuerse watches to be kept about London, in Pewington, St. Johns Street, Westminster, saint Giles, Kingston, and other places nere London: which watches were kept by gentlemen & their seruants, with householders, and all for feare of the Londoners because of this bill. When the citizens knew of this, they said that they marvelled why the cardinall hated them so, for they said that if he mistrusted them, he loued them not: and where loue is not, there is hatred: and they affirmed that they neuer intendede any harme toward him, and mused of this chance. For if five or six persons had made alarm in the citie, then had entred all these watchmen with their traine, which might haue spoiled the citie without cause. Wherefore they much murmured against the cardinall and his indiscreet doings.

The French ambassadours at Greenwich on Sunday the first of Maie, swore in the name of their master the French king to obserue the peace and league concluded betwene them, for tearme of two princes lines. These ambassadours had great cheare, and lufkes were enterprised for the honour and pleasure of them at the kings commandement by sir Nicholas Carew, sir Robert Jerningham, sir Anthonie Browne, and Nicholas Haruie squier challengers. Against whome ran the marques of Excester, and thirteen with him as defendants. When these ambassadours should returne, they had great rewards giuen them of the king, and so toke their leaue and departed. Shortly after the king sent sir Thomas Bullen vicount Rochford, and sir Anthonie Browne knight, as ambassadours from him into France,

which came to Paris to the bishop of Bath that late there for the king as legier.

Then these three went to the court, and saw the French king in person sweare to keepe the league & amitie concluded betwene him & the king of England. Also the king sent sir Francis Poins knight ambassadour from him to Charles the emperor, and with him went Clarenceur king of armes, to demand the one halfe of the treasure and ordinance which was taken at Paula, for so much as that warre was made as well at the kings charge as at the emperours. Also they were commanded to demand one of the French kings sonnes, which lay in hostage with the emperour, that is to wit, the duke of Anjou, to be deliuered to the king of England; and further that he should call backe his armie out of Italie. And if it were so that he refused these reasonable requests, then should they in the kings name denounce open warre against him. The English merchants liked the matter nothing at all, that there should be any warres betwixt the emperor and the king of England. And where they were desired by the cardinall to keepe their marts at Calis, they would not assent thereto.

In this meane time great warres were managed betwene the pope and other princes, amongst whom the duke of Burbon (of whom you haue heard often mention before in sundrie actions) lenieng a great power, led the same towards Rome, and incamped within the medow nere to the citie, from whence with the insolencie of a souldier he sent a trumpet to demand passage of the pope through the citie of Rome, to go with his armie to the realme of Naples. The morning following vpon the point of the daie, by the consideration of his case and the aduersities thereof, he found there remained no other hope for his affaires, than to be resolute to releue the afflictions of his armie, and according to the opportunitie that was offered by the citie of Rome, either to die or to vanquish. In which resolution pushed on more and more by the murmurs and exclamations of his souldiers, in whom he could not discern which was greater, either their insolencies or their necessities, he drew nere the suburbs by the waie of the mounteine and *Santo Spirito*, where he began to giue a furious assault. Wherein he seemed to haue the fauour of fortune, who made him present his armie in more fueritie by the benefit of a thicke mist, which being risen before daie, and increased with degrees of fog and thicknesse, became such a couer to his whole campe, that his souldiers were not discerned till they were nere the place where they began to giue the assault.

The duke of Burbon through a last despaire of his estate advanced before all his companies, either for that he had no other expectation of refuge, in case he returned not victorious, or else by his owne example he thought to call on with a greater courage the lanceknights, who it seemed went not resolute to the seruice. But such was his destinie to determine his life & his glorie together, or rather such the reward of his wilfull forwardnes, which for the most part breapeth wretched effects vpon such as seeke not to accompany their valour with counsell and discretion. In the beginning of the assault he was stricken with a bullet of an harquebuz, of which wound he fell downe dead to the earth, receiuing instant death. His bodie and life the price of the action, which contrarie to all iustice and pietie he went about to execute. But much lesse that his death did abate or diminish, seeing it did inflame and redouble the courage of his souldiers, who fighting with a wonderfull constancie the space of two houres, made waie at last by their hands and weapons to enter the suburbs, where they were

ambassadours into France.

An ambassages to the emperor

English merchants.

Abbr. Fl. ex Guic. pag. 1060 The duke of Burbon in campeth nere Rome.

The duke of Burbon slain at the assault of Rome.



were not onelie holpen by the weaknesse of the rampires which were great and generall, but also they found helpe in the slender resistance which the defendants made.

The morall of the foze laid action worth the noting.

An experience of right good doctrine, to such as haue not as yet gotten by the benefit of examples past, the knowledge of things present, who in that action maie discern what propertie of difference is betwene the vertue of souldiours exercised and trained in war, and armes newlis and hapillie leuied, and compounded of the multitude of a people more wilfull than skilfull; and by so much lesse apt to be drawn vnder discipline, by how much more by their nature and custome they are seldome conformable to anie good order. For there was at the defense of the suburbs one part of the youth of Rome, vnder the ensignes of the people; notwithstanding that manie of the Cebelins & faction of Colonna desired, or at least did not feare the victorie of the imperials. They hoped in regard of their faction, to receiue no harme or offense by the victors: the same being the cause whie they proceeded so coldlie in the defense. Neuer thelesse, for that according to the rules of warre, it is a hard matter to take towines without artilleries, there died of the assailants, partlie by that want, and partlie through their wilfull forwardnesse, about a thousand footmen; who hauing once by their valor made the waie open to enter in, all the defendants fled before them as men whose feare was far aboue anie other sense or passion in them.

Rome taken and sacked.

In which disorder, some took the waie which his fortune and not his wit laid out for him: some in the astonishment seeking to fle, who durst no more fight, were slaine by the enimic afore he could resolve vpon the waie of his safetie; some either better prepared, or more hapillie preferred, found that safetie in running away, which they could not but doubt if they had longer endured the fight: and some with that resolution which their present calamitie would suffer, ran by heapes towards the castell, where in place of rescue they found a feare conformable to their owne: in so much as all things being reduced to confusion and manifest flight, the suburbs were entierlie abandoned & left a preie to the victors. And the person of the pope, who expected with great deuotion in the palace of Clatican what would be the issue of the assault, hearing that the enimies were entered, had also (with the others) his passions of feare & frailtie, and in that timorous contemplation of his owne perill, he fled with certaine cardinales to the castell.

The pope with certaine cardinales fle to the castell of saint Angelo.

This feare kept him from being resolute in a perill that was so desperate, neither did he thinke, that with the presence and maiestie of his person, though it was couered with the haile of the highest dignitie on earth, he was able to put by the danger, which the valor and fidelitie of his souldiers could not defend with their weapons. Where he consulted with the cardinales, whether it were more for his safetie to remaine there, or during the furie of the astonishment, to retire with the light horsemen of his gard into some place of more suertie by the waie of Rome. But he, who was appointed by destinie, to be an example of the calamities that maie thunder vpon popes, and how fraile is the authoritie and maiestie of that see, being certified by the relation of Berard de Padoa, who was fled from the armie imperiall, that the duke of Burboin was dead, and that the whole armie standing abated in courage for the death of their capteine, desired to come to accord with him. In which matter they sent out men to parlie with the principallies there, he wretchedlie left there all his counsellies to go awaie, both he and his capteins remaining no lesse irresolute in the prouisions for defense, than they had bene slow in

the expeditions.

So that the daie following, the Spaniards neither taking order nor counsell, to defend the quarter beyond Liber, entered the place without anie resistance. And from thence, not finding anie impediments to stop their victorie, the same euening they entered the citie of Rome by the bridge Nillo, where except such as reposed in the confidence of their faction, and certaine cardinales, who for that they bare a name to embrace the emperours quarrell, beleeued to find more suertie than the others, all the residue of the court and citie (as happeneth in accidents so furious) was conuerted into fleeing and confusion. But the souldiours being within the citie, which they knew wanted nothing to make them right glorious, and well satisfied of all things appertaining to their desires, they began to omit no time to execute the thing they had so deartlie bought. Cuprie one ran to pillage with the same vnbidded libertie, which in such cases maketh souldiours both insolent and impious.

There was small care or regard borne either to the name of friends, factions, or fauourers; and much lesse was respected the authoritie of cardinales and prelats, or dignitie of temples and monasteries; and lastlie, not reserved from violation, the holie relikes brought thither from all parts of the world; yea euen things sacred, and speciallie dedicated, were profaned from their shrines and holie places, and made subiect to the furious wills and discretion of the souldiours. It is not onelie impossible to reaccount, but also to imagine the calamities of that citie raised to a wonderfull greatnesse, and appointed by Gods ordinance to suffer manie fortunes and directions, hauing bene sacked by the Goths within ix. C. and lxxx. yeares. It is hard to particulate the greatnesse of the preie, both for the generall wealth and riches which the greedy hands of the souldiours had made vp in heaps, and for other things more rare and pretious drawne out of the store-houses of merchants and courtiers. But the matter which made the spoile infinit in value, was the qualitie and great number of prisoners redeemed with most rich and huge ransomes.

And to make by a full tragedie of miserie and infamie, the lanceknights being so much the more insolent and cruell, by how much they bare hatred to the name of the church of Rome, took prisoners certaine prelats, whom with great contempt and indignitie they set vpon asses and leane mules, and with their faces reuered to the crowne of the beasts, they led them thorough the citie of Rome, apparelled with the habits and markes of their dignitie: yea they passed manie of them to cruell toiments, who either died in the furie of the action, or at least with the painefulnesse thereof they liued not long after, first yielding a rancome, and afterwards rendering their liues. The generall slaughter as well at the assault as in the rage of sacking, was about foure thousand bodies. All the palaces of the cardinales were sacked, except some particulars, who to saue the merchants that were retired thither with their goods, together with the persons and goods of manie others reserved of the generall calamitie, made promise of great summes of monie. To whom notwithstanding was vsed this iniquitie, that some of them that had compounded with the Spaniards, were afterwards sacked by the lanceknights, or at least constrained to a second rancome.

The ladie marquesse of Mantua compounded for hir palace for the summe of fiftie thousand ducats, which were paid by the merchants and others retired thither: of which summe the rumour ran, that Ferrand hir sonne had ten thousand for his share.

The Spaniards entered into Rome by the bridge Nillo.

The readiness to tolerate the report of this discipline through fauouring of superstition.

The Italian mens use to souldier to make

Th this said and

Th this said and

Compounding with the lanceknights to save certain persons and goods.

The cardinall of Slenita dedicated in a perpetuall deuotion to the name of the emperoz, after he had agreed with the Spaniards, as well for him selfe as for his palace, was afterwards made prisoner by the lanceknights, who made botie and prcie of his palace; and afterwards leading him all naked with buffets and bastanadoes into the bozough, he was driuen to redeme his life out of their hands, with a promise of five thousand duckats. The cardinales Spinera and Bonsero passed vnder almost the like calamitie, who being prisoners to the lanceknights, were rated at a ranome which they paid, after they had bene in a vile spectacle caried in procession thorough the towne of Rome.

This furie of souldiours executed in a place of so great riches and profit, could endure no dispensation of anie sort or qualitie of men, seeing the prelates and cardinales, Spanissh and Germans, who made themselves assured that the souldiours of their nation would spare them from oppression and taration, were taken and passed by the same measure of miserie and calamitie as others did. Right pittifull were the criengs and lamentations of the women of Rome: and no lesse worthie of compassion, the calamitie of nunnies and virgins professed, whom the souldiours rauished by tropes out of their houses to satiffie their lust, no age, no sex, no dignitie or calling was free from the violation of souldiours, in whom it was doubtfull whether bare more rule, the humoz of crueltie to kill, or the appetite of lust to deshouse, or lastlie, the rage of couetousnesse to rob and spoile: yea in the violation of these women might be discerned a confirmation of the iudgements of God hid den from mortall men, for that he suffered to be deli uered by to the violence of men, barbarous and bloody, the renowned chastitie of women professed and virgins.

To this compassion was ioined the infinite clamors of men forced against all law of humanitie, partie to wrest from them vtreasonable ransomes, and partie to disclose their goods which they had hid den from the ruine of the souldiours. All these things, sacraments and relikes of saints, whereof the churches were full, being despoiled of their ornaments, were pulled downe, and laid vpon the earth, suffering no small propfanations, by the vile hands of the lanceknights. And whatsoever remained vpon the preies and spoillings of the imperiales, which were things but base and vile, were raked and caried away by the pezants and tenants of the lands of the Colonnois, whose insolencie caried them into Rome during the generall furie. Whelie the cardinall of Colonno arriuing the daie after, preferred in his compassion the honoz of manie women that hapilie were fled for rescue into his house. The rumoz went that the valuation and prcie of this sacke in gold, silver, and iewels, amounted to more than a millian of duckats, but the matter of ransomes contained a greater quantitie.]

When Rome was thus taken by the imperiales, and the pope brought into captiuitie, therewith the king was so incensed against the emperour by the instigation of the cardinall, that he had determined not to spare anie treasure for the popes deliuerance. There rose a secret bruite in London that the kings confessor doctor Longland, and diuerse other great clerks had told the king that the marriage betwene him and the ladie Katharine, late wife to his brother prince Arthur was not lawfull: whereupon the king should sue a diuorse, and marrie the duchesse of Alans for sister to the French king at the towne of Calis this summer: and that the vicount Rochford had brought with him the picture of the said ladie. The king was offended with those tales, and sent for sir

Thomas Setmore mazo of the citie of London, secretly charging him to see that the people ceased from such talke.

But what so euer the commons talked, it was determined that the cardinall should go ouer into France as high ambassadour for the king, and to take with him twelue score thousand pounds, to be employed on the warres to be made by the confederats against the emperour, if he would not condescend to such demands as the English ambassadours on the kings behalfe should exhibit vnto him. The third of Iulie this triumphant cardinall passed thorough London with twelue hundred horse towards the sea side, and comming vnto Canturburie rested there, and there declared to the people what had chanced vnto the pope, and caused the monks of Chyffes church to sing their Letanie after this maner: *Sancta Maria ora pro Clemente papa, &c.* Then he exhorted the people to fast and prae for the popes deliuerance, accordinglie as he had alreadie sent commissions vnto all the bishops within the realme to follow that order, which was to fast three daies in the weeke, and to be in euerie parish solemne processions. The eleuenth of Iulie the cardinall toke shipping at Dover, and landed the same daie at Calis, from whence he departed the two and twentieth of Iulie, and with him was the bishop of London Cuthbert Tunstall, the lord Sands chamberleine to the king, the earle of Derby, sir Henrie Guilford, sir Thomas Pope, with manie other knights and esquires, in all to the number of twelue hundred horse, and of carriages there were foure score wagons, and three score mules and sumpter horses.

He that is desirous to vnderstand with what honour this triumphant cardinall was receiued in all places as he passed thorough Picardie by order giuen by the French king, maie read thereof at large in the chronicles of maister Edward Hall. At Amiens he was receiued by the French king himselfe, and by his mother with all other chiefe peres of France. There was nothing forgot that might do him honour or pleasure. But to the effect of his businesse. After he had shewed his commission, they fell in counsell, and in the end grew to a full conclusion of a league to be accorded and established betwixt the kings of England and France: the couenants and articles whereof were drawne and written vp in a faire charter, which was sealed in solemne wise, and deliuered vnto the cardinals by the kings owne hand.

After this, it was agreed, that Duot de Foies, commonlie called monsieur de Lawtrech, should go into Italie with a puissant armie to procure the popes deliuerance, & repell the emperours poluer out of all the partie of Italie, if he refused such reasonable offers & articles of agreement as were drawen, & should be exhibited to him. In this armie went sir Robert Feringham, John Carew of Hakam, & 80 other English gentlemen, which were sent by the cardinall from Amiens. When the armie was assembled, the cardinall deliuered the monie which he had brought out of England with him in barrels, with the which the armie was paid two moneths before hand, & the surplisage was deliuered to sir Robert Feringham, which was called treasure of the wars. This armie was called in Latine, *Exercitus Angliae & Gallorum regum pro pontifice Romano liberando congregatus*, that is to saie, The armie of the kings of England and France, gathered for the deliuerance of the bishop of Rome: and so was it reputed.

In this meane time the English ambassadozs, sir Francis Pouns and Clarenceaux the herald, were come into Spaine, and there to the emperour in the towne of Ale Dolliffe the first of Iulie deliuered

The cardinall goeth ambassadour into France.

A procession. A new deuoted letanie.

The cardinall is honourablie receiued by the French king.

A league betwixt England and France.

Monsieur de Lawtrech.

Sir Robert Feringham.

The name of the armie sent into Italie.

The Spaniards enter into Rome by the bridge Ebro.

The reader is to tolerate the report of this story though anouring of superstition.

The theme ball and the remarkable note which the souldiours offered to the cardinals.

This spectacle could not stir affords of silent of part-grace.

The value of this sacke in gold, silver, and iewels.

The kings marriage brought in question.

Composition with the souldiours to haue certein places vnsacked.

The emperor's answer to the ambassadors.

the kings letters, and further declared their messages as they had in commandement. The emperor made to them a courteous answer for that time, and said he would take counsell in the matter, and then should they receiue further answer, and in the meane time they might repose them. Within a date or two after he called to him doctor Le that was the kings ambassador legier there with him, & the said sir Francis Poins, and said to them; My lordes we haue perceiued the king your maisters demands, which are weightie and of great importance. Wherefore we intend with all speed to write to the king our uncle, and when we haue receiued answer from him, we shall deliuer you of such things as you require, praieng you in the meane time to take patience.

The emperor protracted time of purpose, because he was loth to answer directlie to such greivous and most irkesome complaints, because he gessed by the course of things that the French king would shortly be constrained to agree to those conditions of peace, which he at the first had offered. But the French king & the cardinall being together at Amiens, amongst other things determined there betwixt them in counsell, deuised further what articles of offer should be sent to the emperor, which if he refused, then open defiance to be made vnto him in name of both the kings. The articles were these in effect.

Articles proposed to the emperor being in number sixtene.

1 First that the French king should paie for his rancome 25000 crownes: one wixter calleth it two millions. 2 Also that he should release all the pension that he had in Naples, with all the right of the same. 3 Also that he should neuer claime title to the dutchie of Millane. 4 Also he should release the superiortie of Flanders for ever, and the right which he had to the citie of Torone. 5 Also he should release all the homages of all persons within those countries. 6 Also to withdraue his armie out of Italie. 7 Also to forsake the aid of the Switzers against the emperor. 8 Also to take no moze part with Robert de la Marck against the emperor. 9 Also neuer to aid the king of Nauarre against him, although he had married the kings sister. 10 Also neuer to aid the duke of Gelderland, nor to challenge the same dutchie. 11 Also to aid the emperor with ships and men to his coronation. 12 Also to marie the ladie Celenor quene of Portugall sister to the emperor. 13 Also that the Dolphine should marie the said quenes daughter. 14 Also that if the French king had anie childe male by the said quene, then the dutchie of Burgognie to remaine to the said childe being male. 15 Also that the French king should be friend to the emperor & his friends; and enemie to his enemies.

These with manie other articles, which were not openlie knowne, were sent to the bishop of Tarbe, and to the vicount of Thuraine ambassadors with the emperor from the French king. Other articles were also sent to the English ambassadors being in Spaine, as to moue the emperor to some reasonable end with the French king: and that the king of England would release vnto him all the summes of monie due to him, as well by the emperor Maximilian his grandfather as himselfe, and take the French king as debto: for the same. If he would not agree to these offers, then was it accorded, that the French king should marrie the ladie Marie daughter to the king of England, and they both to be enemies to the emperor. When all these things were concluded, the cardinall took his leaue of the French king & his mother, and with great rewards returned, comming to Richmond, where the king then laie, the last of September.

The cardinall returneth out of France.

Ambassadors from the French king.

In October, there came ambassadors from the French king into England, the lord Annas de Mont-

merancie, great maister of the said French kings house, the bishop of Baion chiefe president of Rone, and monsieur de Humiers accompanied with sicke gentlemen well appointed. These ambassadors were receiued with all honour that might be deuised. On Alhalloves daie the king comming to the cathedrall church of saint Paule, where the cardinall sang masse, swore befoze the high altar in the presence of the French ambassadors to keepe and performe the league. On sundaie the tenth of Nouember, the king being elected knight of the order of St. Michael, receiued at Grænelwich the said order by the hands of the great maister of France, and monsieur Humiers that were companions of the same order: in like case as the French king the same daie at Paris receiued the order of the garter by the hands of the lord Aile, doctor Tailor, maister of the rolles, sir Nicholas Carew knight maister of the kings horses, sir Anthonie Botone knight, and sir Thomas Wriothesleie knight, otherwise called Cartier king of armes, the which were sent thither with the whole habit, collar, and other habillements of the order as apperteined.

After that the French ambassadors had bene highlie feasted, banketed, and interteined, with all hono: and pastime conuenient, the great maister and all his companie toke leaue of the king, and with great rewards returned into France, leaving the bishop of Baion behind them, who abode ambassador legier in England. In this moneth of Nouember, Arthur Wilshe, Gesteire Rone, and one Goret that spake against the popes authoritie, were abtured by the cardinall. By reason of the great wet that fell in the sowing time of the cozne, and in the beginning of the last yeare, now in the beginning of this cozne so failed, that in the citie of London for a while bread was scant, by reason that commissioners appointed to see order taken in shires about, ordeined that none should be conueied out of one shire into another.

Which order had like to haue bred disorder, for that euerie countrie and place was not prouided alike, and namelie London, that maketh his prouision out of other places, felt great inconuenience hereby, till the merchants of the Stiliard, and others out of the Dutch countries, brought such plentie, that it was better cheape in London than in anie other part of England, for the king also releued the citizens in time of their need with a thousand quarters by waie of lone of his owne prouision. The scarcitie at the first was moze than the dearth. For in the beginning of their want, wheat was onelie at sixtene shillings a quarter, & from thence it rose to twentie shillings, and after to sir and twentie shillings eight pence the quarter, till remedie by outward prouision was procured and had. In this meane while the lord Lautrech with his armie was entred into Italie, where how he sped, and what came of that expedition, we shall find in the histories of France and Italie, and therefore in this place I passe it over. Sir Francis Poins knight, in the end of December, returned out of Spaine into England, leaving Clarceur behind him to bring further answer.

The emperor at the request of this sir Francis Poins, who made the same in name of his maister the king of England, was contented to release twelue articles, which were reputed most preiudiciall to the French king, onelie to gratifie the king of England: but the cardinall kept the king still in displeasure toward the emperor, for the fauour which he bare to the French king, whose onelie purposes he sought to aduance. The articles which were drauene at Amiens when the cardinall was there, were exhibited to the emperor by the French ambassadors, and

The king of England receiveth the order of saint Michael.

The emperors commeth to the hour audience.

The French king receiveth the order of the garter.

Wilshe and Goret abtured.

The two of Charles his armie, emperor.

Dearth of cozne in London and other shires.

The emperors heralds to the king.

The emperor releaseth twelve articles to the French king.

n. 1527.

Reg. 19.

because he refused the same, word was sent to Clarenceur king of armes, to make defiance to the emperor. Whereupon on the Wednesday the two and twentieth of Januarie, Guien king of armes to the French king, and Clarenceur king of armes to the king of England, being in the cite of Burges in Spaine, came to the court of Charles the elect emperor, about nine of the clocke in the morning, and there did request of his maiestie, that it would please him to appoint them an houre of audience.

The lord de Chaour by ordinance from his maiestie gaue them answer, that it should be about ten of the clocke before none the same daie. And at the same houre his maiestie came into the great hall of his court accompanied with diuerse pzelats, dukes, marquesses, earles, barons, and other great lords and good personages, of diuerse nations of his kingdom and seignories in great number. The emperor sitting in a chaire prepared according to his dignitie, the two kings of armes of France & England being in the nether end of the hall, holding upon their left arms each one his coat of armes, did make three solenne reuerences accustomed, with knee to the ground. And when they were at the lowest staire before his imperiall maiestie, Clarenceur king of armes of England, hauing the words in both their names, spake as followeth.

Sir, following the three edicts inuolablie kept and obserued by your predecessours emperours of Rome, kings, princes, and capitains, Guien king of armes of the most christianised king; and also Clarenceur king of armes to the king of England our soueraigne & naturall lords: we presenting our selues before your sacred maiestie, for to declare certaine things from the said kings our maisters: beseech your maiestie, that hauing regard to the said labours according to your benignitie and mercie, that it would please you to giue vs sure access and good intreating in your countries, lands, and seignories, attending your answer, with sure conduct to returne vnto the countries, lands, and seignories of our said soueraigne lords. The emperor then bad them saie on what foucer the kings your maisters haue giuen you in charge: your priuileges shall be kept, none shall do you any displeasure within my kingdomes or territories. After this, Guien read a writing signed with the hand of the said Guien king of armes.

A copie of the said writing  
read as followeth.

**S**ir, the most christianised king my soueraigne and naturall lord hath commanded me to saie to you, that he hath conceived a maruelous greife and displeasure of that, that in place of amitie, which he so much desired to haue with you, the former enmitie in full force still remaineth. By the which he seeth and perceiueth, that the evils and inconueniences long since begun, shall continue and augment, not onelie vnto you, and vnto him, with your vassals and subiects, but also vnto all christendome: and that the forces and youths which the one and the other ought to employ against the enemies of the faith, shall be spent to the effusion of christian blood, and in offense vnto God: and that you and he endowd with so manie gracious gifts, shall not inioy the benefits, which it pleased the son of God to leane to vs, by his testament, which is peace, wherof all goodnesse proceedeth: and in place of the same shall haue war, wherof followeth all calamities, dangers, inconueniences, pouerties, and miseries. Wherevnto you shall submit your selfe vnto them

whome ye may command, and shall hazard the blood and substance of your subiects in the pursues of strangers. Euerie one as for himselfe ought to haue regard thereto, and for the short time that we haue here to liue, not to go about to depriue himselfe of that tranquillitie, ioy, god regard and pastime, that the princes may haue by peace: and by following the warre, to be in pouertie, heauinesse, and hazard of losse of goods, honours, and liues: and that worst is, after they haue had euill daies in this world, to be in danger of eternall paine in the world to come, thorough them that haue bene the cause thereof, and that would not yeld vnto reason.

The king my soueraigne lord is ready to put himselfe for his part in all deuoir, and more than so, to haue peace and amitie with you: and by this means peace shall be procured throughout all christendome, whereby men might do God good seruice, in making warre on the Infidels, which will be so thankfull to him, that it will put off the punishment of faultes, which haue bene committed heretofore by reason of the warres, which haue too long indured betwixne you two, and not yet like to cease, considering the termes which you hold and seeke to mainteine, sith on the one part, certeine aduocating themselves on you, haue assailed and taken by force the cite of Rome, which is the place of the holie and apostolike see, where they haue committed and done all the mischefe that might be deuised.

The churches and reliques were profaned, the pope holding saint Peters seat, as vicar of God on earth, taken and put out of his libertie. By means whereof, they that haue committed and executed the said execrable deeds and wickednesse, with their authors and fautors, be fallen and run in paines of right; and they that hold them captiues, beare themselves on you; and he that doth keepe them, hath bene and is of the principall capitains, of whome you haue bene serued in your warres in Italie and other parts. And on the other side, the difference which at this time resteth betwixne you and the king my soueraigne and naturall lord, is principallie vpon the ranfome and recouerie of the princes his sonnes, which you hold for hostages of the same. He hath oftentimes offered, and yet doth offer to paie to you, and giue to you, not onelie that which may be said to be reasonable, and in such cases accustomed, but also more largelie.

You ought not to stand vpon things which by force and constraint he hath promised, the which iustlie and honestlie he maie not performe nor accomplish: you had a great deale more gained, to haue taken the said ranfome which was offered vnto you, than to continue the warre, and to giue occasion of all the evils and inconueniences that daily happen thereby thorough christendome. You see the king of England, with whome he hath brotherlie amitie for euer, and also the Venetians, Florentines, and duke of War, and other princes and potentats, following and holding the partie of the said christian king, for that they see he yeldeth to reason, and by reason you will not thereto incline, the vniuersall peace can not be concluded in christendome. The enemies of the faith gaine countries: all Italie is in armes, blood and rapine, and the apostolike see in trouble: so that if on your part you seeke not reindie, and that things do thus continue as they haue begun, it is to be feared that God will be angrie.

And for as much (sir) as to the declarations which the aboue said princes haue offered vnto you, and the presentations which the said christian king hath made vnto you, you haue refused to giue eare, thereby to come to some accord with him, and to content your selfe with a ranfome more than reasonable: also for that

The inconueniences of warre moued to the emperor.

The herald prosecuteth the state of Rome & the pope in lamentable sort.

The herald moueth the emperor with the king of Englands example.

The herald cometh to the vertue of his message.

The king of England receiveth the order of saint Michael.

The French king receiveth the order of the garter.

Wilke and other abrid.

Dearth of cogne in London and elsewhere.

The emperor releaseth the priuileges articles to the French king.

that you will not render unto his god brother, perpetuall alie and confederat, the king of England, that which is his, let the pope at libertie, and leaue I talie in peace and tranquillitie, he hath commanded me to declare, signifie, and notifie unto you, his great græfe and displeasure, with his said god brother the king of England, that they will hold and take you for their enimie, declaring all maner of treaties and couenants heretofore passed betwene them and you, in all that concerneth your profit & utilitie to be nothing, and that for his part he will not obserue nor keepe the same.

What the king of England desireth of the emperor in the French kings behalfe.

Maie he hath resolved by all meanes that he may imagine with his god frends, alies, & confederats, & with all his forces to indamage you, your countries, lands, and bassals by warre, or otherwise, in such sort as he maie deuise, untill the time that you haue restored unto him his children, with honest meanes and couenants touching his ransome, delivered the pope, rendered unto the king of England that you hold of him, and acquitted the summe which you owe him, and suffer his alies and confederats to liue in peace, rest, and tranquillitie, and protesteth before God and all the world, that he doth not wish nor desire the warre, but that it wholie displeaseth him, and is not therefore the cause of the euill that is or maie come thereof, considering that he hath put, and will put himselfe vnto all reason, as he hath offered and signified unto you and to all other christian princes, and yet doth.

The king of England meaning and the French kings for the returne of the emperours subjects out of their countries, and contrariwise.

And of all this he calleth God (who knoweth all things) to witnesse. And for that vnder colour of the publication of the pretended trette of Madrid made, he being yet prisoner in Spaine, diuerse of your subjects, and of them of the king of England, and of his haue carried their merchandises and other goods into the kingdomes, streits, and seignories the one of the other, whereby maie insue great damages, if of them no mention should be made in this present declaration and signification: my soueraine lord and the said king of England be contented that libertie be giuen vnto all subjects being in the said kingdomes, countries, streits, and seignories, to retire and depart from thence with all their goods and merchandises within fortie daies after this intimation made. Prouided that you shall do the like vnto their subjects in all & euerie their merchandises. Given the eleuenth daie of Nouember 1527, & signed Cuien king of armes.

The emperours words to Cuien the French kings herald.

The emperor after the defiance giuen by Cuien, spake in this sort: I do vnderstand that which you haue read from the king your maister, & I do much maruell why he doth desire me, for he being my prisoner by right warre, and I hauing his faith by reason he can not do it. It is vnto me a noueltie to be defied of him, seeing it is six or seuen yeares that he hath warred against me, and yet giuen me no defiance. And sith that by the grace of God I haue defended my selfe from him (as he hath scene, and euerie one else) without that he hath giuen me any warning, or considering the reason and iustification whereon I do rest my selfe, for the which I thinke I haue not otherwise deserved towards God: I hope that at this time now you aduertise me of it, being aduertised I shall defend my selfe the better, in such sort that the king your maister shall do me no hurt: for sith he doth desire me, I am halfe assured.

How the emperor was affectioned for the pope in his captiuitie.

And touching that which you spake of the pope, none hath bene more sorrowfull than I of that which was done, and it was without my knowledge or commandement: and that which hath bene done, was done by vnicelle people, without obedience to any of my captains. And yet I aduertise you, that

the pope long since is set at libertie, and yesterday I had certeine newes of it. And touching the sonnes of your maister, he knoweth that I haue them for pledges; and also my lords his ambassadors know well, that the fault hath not lien in me that they haue not bene delivered. And as for that of the king of England my god brother and vnckle, I beleue if it be so as you do say, that he is not well informed of things passed: and if he were, yet could I not saie as your writing containeth, I desire to send him my reasons for to aduertise him of all the truth. And I beleue when he shall know it, that he will be vnto me as he hath bene.

The emperor somewhat to incurre the displeasure of England.

The heralds message to the emperor.

I neuer denied the monie which I borrowed of him, and I am ready to paie it as by reason & right I am bound: and thanked be God I haue enough to do it. Nevertheless, if he will make warre against me, it will be to my great displeasure, & I cannot but defend my selfe. I praye to God that he giue me no more occasion than I thinke I haue giuen vnto him. And to the rest, for that your writing is great, and the paper sheweth it selfe to be gentle, seeing that they haue written what they would, you shall giue me the writing, whereby more particularlie I maie answer in another paper, wherein shall be nothing but truth. This answer being made by his maiestie with his owne mouth vnto Cuien king of armes, the said Cuien took his cote of armes that he had on his left arme (as before is said) and put it on, and then Clarenceur king of armes of England said vnto his maiestie, not by writing, but by mouth, as followeth.

### The English heralds message delivered by word of mouth.

**S**ir, the king my soueraine lord hath commanded me to say vnto you, that seeing the necessitie of peace in the christian religion, as well by reason of the inforcements manie yeeres past, begun by the great Turke enimie vnto our faith, which by force of armes hath taken awaie from the christians the citie and Ile of Rhodes, one of the principall bulwarks of christendome, and in Hungarie the fortress of Belgrad, and part of the countrie there, as also by heresies and new sects, of late risen in diuerse places of christendome; and likewise knowing the great warres being kindled in all parts, by meanes of which all christendome is in trouble, confusion, and marvellous division, and not long since by your people and ministers and souldiers in your armie, and vnder your captains the holie citie of Rome hath bene sacked and robbed, the person of our holie father the pope taken prisoner, and kept by your people, the cardinals likewise taken and put to ransome, the churches robbed, bishops, priests, and people of religion put to the sword, and so manie other euils, cruelties, and inhumane facts committed by your people, that the aire and the land are infected therewith.

The report of the heralds falleth out to be verifiable by Guiccardines discourse, lib. 18.

And it is verie like, that God is verie greatly stirred and prouoked vnto ire. And to speake after the maner of men, if by amendment it be not pacified, innumerable euils and inconueniences shall happen vnto all christendome. And for that the rest and increasement of the said warre, proceedeth of the contentions and debates betwene you, and the most christened king his god brother, and perpetuall alie: to make an end of which debates, the king my soueraine lord hath sent his ambassadors and others, vnto the most christened king his god brother, with whom he hath done so much, that for the loue that he hath borne him, he hath made vnto you so great offers, and so reasonable, that you cannot, nor ought

The king of England is wounded by French sayers.

The opinion of king of England to pope in France.



du. Reg. 19.

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The emperor  
sawmeth loth  
to incur the  
of Englands  
displeasure.

The herald  
blat an argu-  
ment spawne  
from benefites  
received  
to moue the  
emperor.

The herald of  
England  
hereth the  
emperour  
what is the  
king of Eng=  
lands pient  
determination  
if he offers  
be refused.

The report of  
the herald  
falleth out in-  
justifiable by  
Guicciardines  
discourse,  
lib. 18.

The disposi-  
tion of the  
king of Eng-  
land to the  
pope and the  
French king.

The king of  
England fa-  
voured the  
French king.

Of which offers and conditions he hath likewise advertised you by his ambassadours, praised and besought you for the honour of God, and the wealth of all christendome, for the benefits and pleasures that he hath done vnto you diuerse waies; and that in time of your great need, that it would please you to accept the said offers; and make an end of the said warres, that haue so long endured. Likewise as a churched prince bound by the protection of his pope, and his apostolike, and consequentlie to the deliuerance of his兵innesse (whom you cannot, nor ought to, haue prisoner without great offense) that you would restore his兵innesse vnto a full and entier libertie. Also he hath oftentimes shewed by diuerse obligations, and other meanes, how you are indebted vnto him in diuerse great summes of monie, that he hath giuen and lent you in your necessitie, requiring you to make payment.

¶ **F**all which things you haue made no account from time to time, but deferred it, and held in suspence the ambassadours of the king my soveraigne, without having regard to Goos honour, and the necessitie of all chullenginge, and the reverence that ye ought to haue vnto the holie seate and person of our holie father the pope, the vicar of God on earth, or vnto the pleasures that you haue receiued of him, or vnto your faith and promise that you so oftentimes haue made. And for this cause the king my said soveraigne, by honest reason and iustice constrained, by great and ripe deliberation of his counsell, hoping for a final conclusion, hath caused againe to be presented offers more large and to greater advantage than the others before, to put you in deuoir, and to annoynd and take awaie all occasion to deferre and dissimble to come to treason.

Which offers, and the augmenting of the same, haue bene made and made againe, with all demonstrations and honest reasons that haue bene possible, And in the end there hath bene made vnto you instance for the deliuerie of our holie father, whom you haue restrained or caused to be restrained in place of deliuerie, which is very strange, & against the true estate & dutie of a christian prince. So that the king my soueraigne, & the most christian king his brother, and perpetuall alie, can no longer induce it with their honours and dutie towards God and the church. And seeing you will not condescend to reason, nor accept the said offers being moze than reasonable, nor satisfie the king my said soueraigne of the debts by you due, as you are bound, he hath concluded to deliuer the said most christianised king his good brother & perpetuall alie, & other of his confederats, to doe his endeavour to constrain you by force & might of armes to deliuer our holie father, & likewise the chylizen of France, whom you hold, in pateng you a reasonable ranfome, and to satisfie him of that you owe him.

Therefore the king my soueraigne lord, as a true and constant prince, willing to keepe inuiolable his faith, which he hath promised vnto the said chryistian prince, and other his allies, and not willing to leaue the person of our said holie father the pope in captiuitie, as also will not the said chryistian king: they two doe summon you at this time for all, to accept these last offers, for the deliuerance of the said children of France, and for the wealth of an vniuersall peace, and to deliuer the person of our said holie father, and also to paie spediely and without anie more delay, the debts by you due vnto the king my soueraigne.

And if you refuse these finall offers, and also to deliver the person of our said holie father, and paie the said debtes, as a godd christian prince; and louer of peace is bound to doe; the king my soueraigne, and the said christian king his godd brother, not without great sorrow and displeasure, doe declare to be your enemies, and so hereafter doe hold and repute you for such one, denouncing vnto you waere by sea and land, and desiring you with all their forces,

The defiance  
intimated to  
the emperor  
by the herald  
of England.

10 **H**erewithelsse, considering that there be diuerse  
of your subiects, and great quantitie of their goods  
in the realmes of England and France, and other  
lands & lordships of the said pincines: likewise there  
be diuerse of the subiects of the kings of England  
and France; and of their goods in your kingdomes,  
countries, lands, and lordships, the which may re-  
ceiue aswell of the one part as of the other, great  
and unrecoverable hurts and damages, if without  
advertisements and monition they should be taken  
20 and detained: the kings maiestie my soueraigne, and  
the most christian king of France his good brother  
be willing that libertie be giuen vnto your subiects  
being in their kingdomes, countries, and lordships,  
for to retire and depart with all their goods and mer-  
chandise, within fourtie daies after this intimation,  
so that the like libertie and permission be in like sort  
granted to their subiects. ¶ To this defiance of the  
king at armes of England the emperours maiestie  
did answer in these words.

Libertie granted to the emperors subjects in England and France to return to their owne countries, and the like demanded on the contrary part.

The emperours answer to the  
*English heralds oration.*

**N**ow vnderstand that which you haue de-  
clared, and I cannot thinke that if the  
king of England were thoughtlie ad-  
uertised of things as they haue passed,  
and of the reason to which I haue yielded, he would  
not saie that which you haue said, and therefore mine  
intention is to aduertise him. As to that which you  
spake of the pope, I was neuer consenting to his  
detractiō, which was neuer done by my comman-  
dement : & I giue you to vnderstand, that he is deli-  
uered, and I am sorie for the harmes that were done  
at the time when he was taken, of the which I take  
my selfe not to be in fault, as I haue told the king at  
armes of France, And as to the deliuerance of the  
French kings sons, where means haue bene made  
for their deliuerance, I haue bene readie to giue  
eare thereto, and the fault resteth not in me, so: that  
the peace hath not bene concluded.

But now that you tell me that the king your mas-  
ter will force me to deliuer them, I will answer  
thereto in other sort than hitherto I haue done, and  
I trust to keepe them in such wise, that by force  
I shall not need to deliuer them: for I am not accus-  
tomed to be forced in things which I do. As to the debt  
which the king of England hath lent me, I haue ne-  
uer denied it, neither do I denie it, but am ready to  
60 paye it as right requireth, as I haue caused it to be de-  
clared vnto him, and I my selfe haue shewed no  
lesse to his ambassadors, and deliuered my saien by  
writing, and I cannot beloeue, that for such things  
(which I refuse not to accomplish) he will make war  
against me, and if he will so doe it will grieue me, but  
yet I must defend my selfe: and I praise God that  
the king your master giue me not greater occasion  
to make him war, than I haue giuen him. You shall  
deliuer me in writing, that which you haue said, to  
the which I will answer by writing particularlie.

The emperor's modesty in this point is notable.

This answer made by the emperor to the king of armes Clarenceur, the said Clarenceur took his coat of armes, which he had lieng on his left armie

The English herald is commanded by the emperor to leave his oration behind him in writing.

Guic. pag. 108  
Accord betwene the pope & the emperours agents.

Heauie payments for the pope to discharge.

Guic. pag. 108  
The manner of the popes going out of prison.

arme (as before is said) and put it upon him. The emperor here with commanded him to deliuer by writing into the hands of the lord of Buclans all that he had uttered by word of mouth, as is above expressed. Which Clarenceaur promised to do, so he did afterwards, signed with his owne hand, word for word. Clarenceaur hauing thus done his dutie, incontinentlie withdrew: but before his departure, the lord of Buclans said to him, and also to Cuten, these words ensuing. Behold here this writing in my hand, containing the articles of the composition betwene the emperor and the pope.

¶ That the pope should be no partie against the emperor, neither in the affaires of Millaine, nor in the kingdom of Naples. That he should accorde unto the emperor the crossade in Spaine, and a tenth of the reuenues ecclesiastike through all his dominions. That to assure the obseruation of these things, Citta should remaine in the hands of the emperor, and Citta Clerchia which Andrea Dore had left to him before. That he should assigne ouer to him Citta Castellana, a towne which had refused to receiue the imperials, Pario Perusquo procaro of the like being entred within the rocke by secret commission from the pope, notwithstanding he made semblance of the contrarie. That he should also deliuer ouer to him the rocke of Furlie, and to put into his hands for hostages Hippolito and Alexander his nephues, and till they were come from Parma the emperor to be possessed of the cardinals Pisani, Triulco, and Caddi, whome they led to the reahme of Naples.

Furthermore, that he should make present payment to the lanceknights of three score thousand ducates, and to the Spaniards thirtie & five thousand. That in so doing they should let him come out at libertie with all the cardinals, and they to go out of Rome and out of the castell, alwaies interpreting to libertie when soeuer they should be conueied in safetie to Vmbetto, Spoleto, or Perousa. That within fiftene daies after his going out of Rome he should paie the like quantitie of monie to the lanceknights, and afterwards the residue within three moneths to the Spaniards & lanceknights souldie, according to their shares and portions. Which residue together with the summes paid, amounted to more than three hundred and fiftie thousand ducats.

This is the true copie (said the lord of Buclans) of the capitulation, made touching the deliuerance of the pope, and how he is deliuered, and departed from castell saint Angelo, the tenth of December last past: put it in your relation. The said king of armes answered; We will so do: and so for that time they parted. ¶ Here, because mention is made of the popes deliuerance out of prison, it shall not be amisse to set downe the manner thereof as it is reported by Guicciardine. All things hauing their orderlie expedition, & the resolution set downe, that the tenth of December the Spaniards should accompanie him into a place of surtie, he fearing some variation either for the ill mind which he knew don Hugo bare to him, or for anie other accident that might happen, the night before he stole secretlie out of the castell in the closing of the euening, disguised in the attire of a merchant. Lewis de Consaguo who was in the paie of the emperor, taried for him in the medowes with a strong companie of harquebuziers, and with that gard did accompanie him to Vmbetto, where dismissing almost all his bands of footmen, he was led by the same Lewis euen to Vmbetto, into which citie he entred by night without the companie of anie one cardinall. An example worthy of consideration, and perhaps neuer happened since the church was great: that a pope should in that sort fall from so great a puissance and

reuerence, his eyes to behold the losse and sacke of Rome, his person to be turned ouer into captiuitie, and his whole estate reduced to the disposing of an other, and within few months after, to be restored & established in his former greatnesse. So great towards princes Christian is the authoritie of the pope, and the respect which mortall men doe beare to him.

At the same instant that the heralds were at the emperours court, the emperor called before him the said Cuten king of armes of France, and said to him as followeth. It is reason that you enjoy your priuileges, you ought also to do your dutie; and therefore I praye you deliuer to your master, present to his owne person the which I shall tell you, which is this: that since the libertie of Vmbetto, contrarie to the same dutie of his subjects haue bene taken going about the citie of Vmbetto, and other also going to serue me in Italie, which haue bene detained prisoners, with intreaties, and by force thrust into the galleies; and besides I praye of his subjects the which I might likewise take, you shall aduertise him, that if he deliuer me some mine, I will deliuer his; if not, as he shall intreat mine, I will intreat his; and that he send me answer hereof within fortie daies: if not, I will take the refusal for an answer.

The king of armes Cuten asked if his maiestie ment this touching the merchants. Whereunto the emperor answered: This is beside that which is contained in your writing, touching the merchants, to which point (said he) I will answer by writing. And herewith Cuten making three obeisances, said; Sir I will glasse do it. Then said the emperor, Tell the king your master further; that I beleue that he hath not bene aduertised of that which I told to his ambassadors in Granada, which toucheth him nere. For I told him in such a case so noble a prince, that if he had understood the matter, he would haue made me an answer. We shall do well to know it of his ambassadors. For by that he shall understand, that I haue kept better faith to him in that I haue promised at Madrid than he to me, and I praye you to tell him, and saile not before. Cuten answered, Without doubt sir I will do so: and so making his obeisance he departed.

The emperor appointed John le Alemand the baron of Buclans to see that no displeasure nor evil speech were vsed to the said kings of armes; but that they should be well vsed: which was done to their good contentation. After this, the seauen and twentieth of Januarie, the said kings of armes came to the said lord of Buclans, who by the emperours appointment deliuered an answer unto either of them in writing, accordinglie as the emperor had promised; the copies thereof are set forth at large in the annales of Aquitaine, and so briefenesse here omitted. To conclude, the French king toke such displeasure with the emperours answers made unto his king of armes Cuten, whereby he was charged to do otherwise than by his faith giuen he ought to haue done, that the eight and twentieth daie of March being in the citie of Paris, accompanied with a great number of the princes of his blood, cardinals and other prelates and nobles of his realme, and also the ambassadors of diuerse princes and potentates, he called before him Nicholas Verenot lord of Granuelle, unto whom he said in effect as followeth.

### The French kings oration before an honourable assemblée at Paris.



My lord ambassadors, it hath grieved me, and doth grieve me, that I haue bene constrained to handle you not so courteously and gracionlie as for the god and honour

The emperor's answer to the French herald.

This the emperor's answer to the king of armes.

The heralds receive the emperours answer in writing.

The French king's answer to the emperor.

what inda the French king to die some discourse againe the emperor ambassadoy

The king secretly th emperor's words betwene to Cuten his herald.

The French king's oration before the emperor's ambassadors.

The emperor's answer to the French king's oration.

The emperour  
was wroth  
he French  
craide.

What answered  
the French  
king to this  
line defence  
made against  
the emperours  
ambassadors.

This the emperour  
inferred  
with his  
owne bea-  
lings by word  
of comparison.

The king an-  
swered the  
emperours  
words with  
his own  
language.

The heralds  
receiue the  
emperours an-  
swer in writ-  
ting.

The French  
king said that  
constraint and  
necessite  
made him  
measurable to  
the emperour.

The French  
king  
Guic. pag. 1091

This speech  
of the king  
doth shew  
concerning  
the emperour  
and favour  
of displeasure.

The emperour  
ambassadors  
read the  
French king's  
words sent to  
him.

honourable behauiour, which you haue shewed in doing your dutie being here with me, you haue deserued at my hands, with I must needs saie, ye haue acquit your selfe in euerie behalfe, as well to the honoz of your master, as god contentation of each man else, so that I am assured the fault resteth not in you, whie things haue not come to better end and purpose than they haue done, for the god zeale and affection, which I haue euer proued in you to the advancement of peace and quieting of things, wherein I doubt not but you haue done your due to the full.

But being informed that your master the elect emperour, against all right and law, as well diuine as humane, had commanded to be done vnto my ambassadors, and likewise to the other of the league remaining with him, for the furtherance of things toward a peace, and contrarie to all god customs, which hitherto haue bene obserued betwixt princes, not onelie christians, but also infidels, me thought I could not otherwise do, for the behoufe of mine owne ambassadors, arrested and against reason kept in ward, but to do the same to you, although I had no mind to vse you euill, for the reasons aboue said, for the which, and for the dutie you haue shewed in doing that appertained, I assure you my lord ambassador, that beside that I doubt not but your master will recompense you for the same, ye may be assured that where particularlie in anie thing I may pleasure you, I will do it with as good a will as you can require me.

And to make answer to that which your master by word of mouth hath said vnto Guien and Clarenceaux kings of armes of the king my god brother and perpetuall and best alie, and of me vpon the intimation of the warre which hath bene made by vs, consisting in eight points, I will that each one vnderstand it. First, as to the which he saith he marvelleth that he hauing me a prisoner by iust warre, and hauing also my faith, I should desse him, and that in reason I neither may nor ought to do it; I answer thereto, that if I were his prisoner here, and that he had my faith, he had spoken true: but I know not that the emperour hath euer at anie time had my faith, that may in anie wise auaille him. For first in that warre so euer I haue bene, I know not that I haue either seene him or encountered with him.

When I was prisoner, garded with foure or fift hundred harquebuzers, sick in my bed, and in danger of death, it was an easie matter to constrain me, but not verie honorable to him that should do it: and after that I returned into France, I know not anie that hath had power to compell me to it: and to do it willingly without constraint, it is a thing which I waie moze, than so lightlie to bind my selfe thereto. And because I will not that my honoz come in disputation, although I know well that euerie man of warre knoweth sufficientlie, that a prisoner garded is not bound to anie faith, nor can bind himselfe thereto in anie thing: I do neuertheless send to your master this writing signed with mine owne hand, the which my lord ambassador I priaie you read, and afterwards promise me to deliuer it vnto your master, and not to anie other. And herewith the king caused it to be deliuered to the said ambassador by master John Robertet, one of the secretaries of the estate, and of his chamber.

The ambassador toke the writing in his hand, and after excused himselfe to the king, saing: That as to him, by the letter which his master & soveraigne lord had written vnto him now lastlie, his commission was already expired, and that he had no farther commandement nor instructions from his maiestie, but to take leaue of the king with as much speed as he might, and to returne home. Which he most hum-

blie besought him to permit him to do, without further charge or commission, although he knew that he was at his commandement, and that he might at his pleasure constrain him, as seemed to him god. Wherevnto the king answered; My lord ambassador, with you will not take vpon you to read this writing, I will cause it to be read in this companie, to the end that euerie one may vnderstand and know that I am cleared in that, whereof against truchy he goeth about to accuse me.

Beside that, if you afterwards will not beare it, & deliuer it to him, I will send one of my heralds here present to go in companie with you: for whom you shall procure a good & available safe conduct, that he may passe vnto your master, protesting & demanding, that an act maie be registred before this companie, that if he will not it should come to his knowledge, that I am discharged, in that I do my best to cause him to vnderstand it accordingly as I ought to do, and in such sort as he can not pretend cause of ignorance. After the king had ended these words, he called to him the said Robertet, and commanded him to reade the said writing with a loud voice, which was done word for word.

The French king deliuereth his mind with a courage, as better eni-  
perour.

### The copie of the said writing directed to the emperour.

**F** Francis, by the grace of God, king of France, lord of Genes, &c. To you Charles, by the same grace, chosen emperour of Rome, and king of Spaine. We do you to wit, that being aduertised, that in all the answers that you haue made to our ambassadors and heralds, sent to you for the establishing of peace, in excusing your selfe, without all reason you haue accused vs, saing, that we haue plight you our faith, and that thereupon (besides our promise) we departed out of your hands and power. In defense of our honour, which hereby might be burthened too much against all truth, we thought good to send you this writing; by which we giue you to vnderstand, that notwithstanding that no man being in ward is bound to keepe faith, and that the same might be a sufficient excuse for vs: yet for the satisfieng of all men, and our said honoz (which we mind to keepe, and will keepe, if it please God, vnto the death) that if ye haue charged, or will charge vs, not onelie with our said faith, and deliuerance, but that euer we did anie thing that became not a gentleman that had respect to his honoz; that ye lie fallie in your throat: and as oft as ye saie it, ye lie: and we determine to defend our honoz to the uttermost drop of our blood. Wherefore, seeing ye haue charged vs against all truth, write no moze to vs hereafter: but appoint vs the field, and we will bring you the weapons. Protesting, that if after this declaration ye write into anie place, or vse anie words against our honoz, that the shame of the delaie of the combat shall light on you, seeing that the offering of combat is the end of all writing. Made at our god towne and citie of Paris, the eight and twentieth date of March.

The French kings allega-  
tions in de-  
fence of his  
honoz charged  
with vntut.

The French king giueth the emperour the lie: for  
Guic. pag. 1091

March. In the pere of our Lord, one thousand five hundred twentie and eight, before Easter. Thus signed. Francis.

This Robertet was one of the secretaries to the estate.

After that Robertet had read this writing there in presence of the emperours ambassadors, the king made further replie unto the points contained in the emperours answers to the defiance: and withall to conclude, told the said ambassadoz, that his master the emperour had constrained him by such mes- sage as he had sent to him, to make the answer in truth, which he had made: and further willed him to deliver unto the emperour the writing which he had signed with his hand, and to saie to him, that he took him for so honorable a prince, that considering the matter wherewith he charged him, and the answer that he made, he would not faile but to answer him like a gentleman, and not by writing like an advocate. For if he otherwise do (saie the king) I will answer his chancelloz by an advocate, and a man of his estate, and a more honest man than he.

The emperour answered the French kings letters.

Shortly after, the emperours ambassadors returned home into Spaine in safetie, and well intreated. And upo their returne, the ambassadors of France were set at libertie, and delivered beyond Frontierabie, & so came safelie home into France. Then a French herald, appointed to accompanie the ambassadour Grandeuill, brought the writing of the combat unto the emperour, because Grandeuill refused to medle with it. To the which the emperour five months after, or thereabouts, sent an answer by one of his heralds; who being arrived at Paris, meant upon the sudden to present his letters unto the French king. But the king getting intelligence thereof, the tenth of September, sitting within his great hall of his palace at Paris aforesaid, before the table of marble in a roial seat, addressed and set up for him firtene steps in height, appointed to give audience to the said herald.

What states both native and foreign were present in the French kings hall.

On his right hand sate in chaires the king of Navarre, the duke of Alanson and Berrie, the earle of Foix and Arminache. And on the same side sate also upon a bench, the duke of Vendosme a pere of France, lieutenant generall, and gouernoz of Picardie, don Hercules de Est, eldest sonne to the duke of Ferrar, duke of Chartres and Montargers, who latelie before had married the ladie Kener, a daughter of France, the duke of Albanie regent and gouernoz of Scotland, the duke of Longueuille, great chamberleine of France. And nere to them upon another bench sate the presidents and counsellors of the court of parlement; and behind them manie gentlemen, doctors, and learned men. On the left hand were set in chaires prepared for them, the cardinall Saluarie the popes legat, the cardinall of Bourbon, and duke of Laon, a pere of France, the cardinall of Sens chancelloz of France, the cardinall of Lorain, the archbishop of Harbon, the ambassadoz of the kings of England and Scotland, of the segniorie of Venice, of Millan, of the Cantons, of the Swisses, and of Florence.

who stood on either side of the French kings seate

On an other bench sate the bishop of Transilvania, ambassadoz for the king of Hungarie, the bishop and duke of Angres, one of the peeres of France, the bishop & earle of Poion, an other of the peeres of France, the archbishop of Lion, primate of all France, the archbishop of Burges primate of Aquitaine, the archbishops of Aux and Rouen, the bishops of Paris, Meur, Aizeur, Pascon, Limoges, Abazes, Conserans and Terbe. And behind them sate the masters of the requests, and the counsellors of the great councill. On either side the kings seate stood the earle of Beaumont great master and marshall of France, the lord de Wison admerall of Frances

lieutenant generall, and gouernoz of Burgonie. And behind the same seat were manie knights of the order, that is to wit, the earle of Laual, lieutenant generall and gouernoz of Britaine, the lord of Pontmerancie, the lord Daubignie capitaine of an hundred lances, and of the Scottish gard, the earle of Biennne, Lignite, and Rouille, the lord of Fleurang, marshal of France, the lord of Ruffore, the lord of Cenoilliac great esquier and master of the artillerie of France, Loie monsieur de Clenes, the lord of Hunters, and the earle of Carpte.

Behind them was the earle of Estamps prionoff of Paris, and with him manie gentlemen of the kings chamber: among the which was the earle of Lancarull, the lord of Guien, the son of the earle of Rouille, the son of the lord of Fleurang, the lord de la Rochpot, the lord Donartie great master of the waters and forests, the lord of Lude, the lord of Janlis, the lord de Cillebon, bailie of Rouen, the baron of Chateau Pozant, the lord de la Loue, the count de la Potheaugroing, and the lord of Mertes. And besides these, the masters and officers of the household & gentlemen waiters, with the more part of the two hundred gentlemen or pensioners, as we terme them. At the entrie into the said thronoz tribunall seat, were the capteins of the garbs, and the prionoff of the household. And before the king knelted the others of the chamber upon the one kne: and at the foot of the step that went up to the kings seate were the prionoffs of the merchants and chesiers of the towne of Paris. Beneath in the hall (the gates whereof were still open) there was an infinite number of people of all nations: and in presence of them all, the king made this declaration.

The cause wherefore I haue made this assemblee, is, for that the emperour elect hath sent to me an herald of armes, who (as I coniecture, and as the same herald hath said, and as his safe conduct importeth) hath brought me letters, patents and autentike, concerning the suertie of the field for the combat that should be betwixt the said elected emperour and me. And forasmuch as the said herald, under colour to bring the suertie of the field, may vse certeine flations, dissimulations, or hyppocrisies, to shift off the matter, whereas I desire expedition, and to haue it dispatched out of hand; so that by the same an end of the warres, which haue so long continued, may be had, to the ease and comfort of all chrisendome, to auoid the effusion of blood, and other mischances which come thereof: I haue wished it knowne to all chrisendome, to the end that euerie one may vnderstand the truth, from whence procedeth the mischance and the long continuance thereof.

I haue also caused this assemblee to be made, to shew that I haue not without great cause enterprised such an act; for the right is on my side: and if I should otherwise haue done, mine honoz had bene greatlie blemished. A thing which my lords that are of my blood, and other my subiects would haue taken in euill part. And knowing the cause of the combat, and my right, they will beare with it, as god and lofall subiects ought to do, trusting by Gods helpe to proceed in such sort therein, that it shall plainelie appere if the right be on my side or not: and how, against truth, I haue bene accused for a breaker of my faith, which I would be loth to do, no: at anie time haue meant so to do. The kings my predecessors and ancessors, whose pictures are ingrauen and set here in order within this hall, which in their daies haue successiuelie atchued glorious acts, and greatlie augmented the realme of France, would thinke me unworthie, and not capable to be their successor, if against mine honoz I should suffer my selfe to be charged with such a note,

The French king in presence of all his officers, that he gave faith to as to his content, ergo not the emperour.

The king directly answered the emperour in his declaration.

The king directly answered the first cause of this assemblee at honorable possession.

The field, that is, a place where they may fight in safety in these be- fore indiffe- rent iudges

Quic. pag. 10

Dom. 1527.

Reg. 19.

noire by the emperor, and should not defend my person and honoꝝ in the manner and forme accustomed.

And herewith he declared the whole case as it stood. First, how being taken at Pavia by fortune of war, he neuer gaue his faith to anie of his enemies, & consenting to be led into Spaine, caused his owne gallies to be made ready to conueie him thither, where at his arrivall, he was committed to ward within the castell of Spadill, garded with a great number of barquebuziers & others. Which unconteous dealing found in the emperor, so much grieved him, that he fell sicke, and late in danger of death: Whereupon the emperor comming to visit him after his recovery of health, an accord was made betwixt the deputies of the emperor and the ambassadours of the ladie his mother then regent of France: which accord was so unreasonable, that no pince being in libertie would haue consented thereto, nor for his deliverance haue promised so great a ranfome. Which trette yet they constrained him (as he said) to sweare to performe, being prisoner, against the protestation which he diuerse times had made, yea as yet being sicke, and in danger of reciduation; and so contentlie of death.

After this, he was conueied forth on his iourne homewards, still garded & not set at libertie. And it was told him, that after he came into France, it was conuenient that he should giue his faith; for that it was knowne well enough, that what he did or promised in Spaine, it nothing anulled. And further he remembered not that the emperor had told him at anie time, that if he performed not the contents of the treatie, he would hold him for a breaker of his faith, & though he had, he was not in his libertie to make anie answer. Two things therefore said he, in this case are to be considered. One, that the trette was violently wrong out from them that could not bind his person, and the which (as to the residue) had bene accomplished by his mother, deliuering his sonnes in hollage. The other thing was his pretended faith, on which they can make a ground, sith he was not set at libertie. And herewith he shewed manie reasons, to proue that his enemies could not pretend in right that they had his faith.

Further he said, that in matter of combat there was the assailant, which ought to giue suertie of the field, and the defendant the weapons. Herewith also he caused a letter to be read, which the emperor had writtten to maister John de Calumont president of Bourdeaux, the said kings ambassadour in the court of the said emperor: the tenor of which letter imported, that the emperor put the said ambassadour in remembrance of speech which he had uttered to the said ambassadour in Granada, repeating the same in substance as followeth. That the king his maister had done naughtilie in not keeping his faith which he had of him, according to the treatie of Spadill: and if the king would saie the contrarie, I will (said the emperor) mainteine the quarrell with my bodie against his. And these be the same words that I spake to the king your maister in Spadill, that I would hold him for a lewd and haughtie man, if he brake the faith which I had of him, &c.

When after the said letter had bene read, he caused also his answer made by way of a cartell to be read, the tenor whereof ye haue heard before. That done, he continued his tale, in declaring what order he had obserued to procure the emperor to the combat, without all shifting delaties: so as if the herald now come from the emperor would vse anie talke, other than to deliuer him an authentike writing of suertie of the field, and not obserue the contents of his saie conduct, he meant not to giue him audience. And

herewithon was the herald called to come in, and declare his message. Who apparelled in his cote of armes, made his apperance before the king there sitting, accompanied (as ye haue heard) into whose presence the king said.

Herald, dost thou bring the suertie of the field, such one as thy maister, being the assailant, ought to deliuer vnto the defendant, being such a personage as I am? The herald herewith said: Sir, make it please you to giue me licence to doe mine office: Then said the king: Giue me the pattent of the field, and saie what thou wilt. The herald beginning his tale, The sacred. Tith (said the king) shew me the pattent of the field, for I hold thy maister for so noble a pince, that he hath not sent thee without the suertie of the field, sith I haue demanded it; and thou knowest that thy saie conduct, conteineth no lesse but that thou shouldst bring it. The herald answered, that he trusted he had brought that which might content his maiestie.

The king replied & said: Herald, giue me the pattent of the field, giue it me: and if it be sufficient, I will receiue it, and after saie what thou wilt. The herald said he had in commandement not to deliuer it, except he might declare that which he had first to saie. The king said: Thy maister can not giue lawes to vs in France. To conclude he told the herald, that he peraduenture might speake things that his maister would not anouch, and that he had not to deale with him, but with his maister. The herald then required that he might haue licence to depart: which the king granted. And withall the king commanded that it might be registred what had passed in this behalfe, for a testimonie that the fault rested not in him in that he receiued not the pattent. The herald likewise for his discharge, required a copie in writing of that which had passed, and the same was granted.

Thus far haue I ouerpasse the common bounds of my purpose, in speaking so largelie of this matter of combat, because of the rarenes thereof, changing betwixt two so mightie princes, although it came not to the effect of triall. And now to returne to that which folloved further upon the defiance, denounced to the emperor by the two kings of armes, Gutes and Clarenceur. Ye shall vnderstand, that the lords and nobilitie, to the number of seuen hundred in whose presence it was giuen, toke it so officiously, that drawing forth their swords, they swore that the same should be reuenged: for other wise they protested, that the infamie would rebound to them and their heires for ever. Herewith the warre was proclaimed through all Spaine with banners displayed, in which were painted a red sword, with a burning cresset against the French king and his partakers, but not mentioning the king of England by expresse name. But it was recited in the proclamation, that the king of England had menaced and defied the emperor in the French kings quarrell.

Then were the English merchants in Spaine attached, and their goods put in safetie, till it might be knowne how the emperours subiects were ordered in England. Then likewise were all the ships of the emperours subiects here arrested: and in semblable manner all the Englishmen and their goods and ships were arrested by the ladie regent in the low countries. The common people in England much lamented, that warre should arise betwixt the emperor and the king of England, speciallie because the emperours dominions had holpen and releued them with graine in time of their necessitie & want. But chesellie this matter touched merchants which haunted the emperours dominions. Yet at length were those of the low countries set at libertie, and their goods to them deliuered, in fauour of intercoure of

Ar r r f.

The French kings talke and communication to the emperours ambassadour betwixt indignation.

The herald requirith libertie to depart.

1528

The emperor defied by the kings of England and France.

English merchants attached in Spaine.



merchandize. But forsomuch as the Spaniards were still deteined, the ladie regent also deteined the ships and goods of the English merchants though she set their persons at libertie.

The incmoditie rising of lacke of interest course for transche.

By this meanes the trade of merchandize was in manner fore-let here in England, and namelie the clothes laie on their hands, whereby the common-wealth suffered great decaie, and great numbers of spinners, carders, tuckers, and such other that lived by clothworking, remained idle, to their great impoverishment. And as this warre was displeasing to the Englishmen, so was it as much or more displeasing to the townes and people of the low countries, & in especiall to the townes of Antuerpe & Barrois, where the marts are kept. So that at length there came ambassadours from the ladie regent, the which associating themselves with don Hugo de Spendoza ambassadour for the emperour, came to the king at Richmond the twentieth and ninth of March, and there moved their sute so effectually, that an abstinence of warre was granted, till time that a further communication might be had: and upon this point letters were sent into Spaine, France, and Flanders, and so this matter continued untill answers were brought from thence againe.

An abstinence of war granted upon sute made to the king of England.

The emperours ambassadours intreated not so earnestly to moue the king to haue peace with their master, but the French ambassadours solicited the king as earnestly to enter into the warre against him, and suerly they had the cardinall on their side. But yet the king wisely considering with other of his counsell, what damage should insue thereby unto his subjects, and specially to the merchants and clothiers, would not consent so easilie to the purpose of the Frenchmen, though he had twentieth thousand pounds sterling out of France, of yearelie pension, to continue friend & alie to the French king. But he protested euer that he would see the reime of France defended to his power, and studie no lesse to haue a peace concluded, which might be as honourable to the French king as to himselfe, and beneficiall unto their people, of whom by warres, might be made both slaughter and bloudshed, which are companions inseparable of battell; as the poet well saith:

*Hinc breuiter diua moris aperta via est.*

On the two and twentieth of Februarie the king created at Windso: sir Piers Butler of Ireland, erle of Osserie, & also a Dutch craite of Arnew chaled a French craite by the Thames from Margate to the Tower wharfe, and there as they fought sir Edmund Wallingham lieutenant of the Tower perceluting them, called his men together, and entering the ships took both the captains. The kings counsell took by the matter betwixt them, for the Fleming chalenged the Frenchman as a lawfull prize. An abstinence of the warre was taken in the beginning of this yeare betwixt Flanders, and the countries of Picardie on this side the river of Some to begin the first of Maie & indure till the last of Februarie. By means of this truce all the Englishmen might lawfullie passe into the low countries, but not into Spaine: which sore grieved the merchants that haunted those parties. It was further agreed, that if no generall peace could be had, during the time of this truce: then all the merchants should haue respite two moneths after to passe into their owne countries with their wares and merchandizes in safetie.

A truce and the benefits insuing from the same.

The sweating sicknesse, whereof died both courtiers and others.

In the end of Maie began in the cite of London the disease called the sweating sicknesse, which afterwards infected all places of the realme, and slew manie within five or six houres after they sickened. This sicknesse, for the manner of the taking of the patients, was an occasion of remembryng that great sweat which raged in the reigne of this kings grand-

father; and hapilie men caused the same remedie then used to be reuiued. By reason of this sicknesse, the tearme was adiourned, and the circuit of the assises also. There died diuerse in the court of this sicknesse, as sir Francis Poins, which had bene ambassadour in Spaine, and diuerse others. The king for a space remoued almost euerie date till he came to Tintinhargar, a place of the abbay of saint Albons, and there he with the queene, and a small compaignie about them, remained till the sicknesse was past. In this great mortalitie died sir William Compton knight, and William Carew esquier, which were of the kings private chamber.

A prisoner brake from the sessions hall at Newgate when the sessions was done, which prisoner was brought doونه out of Newgate in a basket, he seemed so weake: but now in the end of the sessions he brake thorough the people unto the Greie friers church, and there was kept sir or seauen daies per the thiriffes could speake with him, and then because he would not abjure and aske a crowner, with violence they took him thence, and cast him againe in prison, but the law serued not to hang him.

We heare heard how the people talked a little before the cardinals going ouer into France the last yeare, that the king was told by doctor Longland bishop of Lincoln and others, that his marriage with queene Katharine could not be good nor lawfull. The truth is, that whether this doubt was first moued by the cardinall, or by the said Longland, being the kings confessor, the king was not onelie brought in doubt, whether it was a lawfull marriage or no; but also determined to haue the case examined, cleared, and adiudged by learning, law, and sufficient authority. The cardinall verelie was put in most blame for this scruple now cast into the kings conscience, for the hate he bare to the emperour, because he would not grant to him the archbishopricke of Toledo, for the which he was a suer. And therefore he did not onlie procure the king of England to ioin in friendship with the French king, but also sought a diuorse betwixt the king and the queene, that the king might haue had in marriage the duchesse of Alanson, sister unto the French king; and (as some haue thought) he travelled in that matter with the French king at Amiens, but the duchesse would not giue eare thereunto.

But howsoeuer it came about, that the king was thus troubled in conscience concerning his marriage, this followed, that like a wise & sage prince, to haue the doubt cleared, he called together the best learned of the realme, which were of seuerall opinions. Wherefore he thought to know the truth by indifferent iudges, least peraduenture the Spaniards, and other also in fauour of the queene would saie, that his owne subjects were not indifferent iudges in this behalfe. And therefore he wrote his cause to Rome, and also sent to all the vniuersities in Italie and France, and to the great clearkes of all christendome, to know their opinions, and desired the court of Rome to send into his realme a legat, which should be indifferent, and of a great and profound iudgement, to heare the cause debated. At whose request the whole consistorie of the college of Rome sent thither Laurence Campeius, a preest cardinall, a man of great wit and experience, which was sent hither before in the tenth yeare of this king, as we haue heard, and with him was ioined in commission the cardinall of Poixke and legat of England.

This cardinall came to London in October, and did intimate both to the king & queene the cause of his coming: which being knowne, great talke was had thereof. The archbishop of Cantuarburie sent for the famous doctors of both the vniuersities to Lambeth,

The queene chafeth lawfully for his part.

Abt. Fl. ex. 1. pag. 99. A prisoner brake from the sessions hall at Newgate.

Polydor. Doctor Shaphard. 152 Doctor Shaphard out his writs.

Anno Reg. Edw. Hall.

Abt. Fl. ex. 1. pag. 95. The man the session were perswaded of account by place.

Polydor.

Edw. Hall.

The king is desirous to be refused by the opinions of the learned touching his marriage.

The king queene came into the ci.

Quene Katharine mountable pi-bite spe in pisen the court.

The matter touching the kings marriage debated.

both, and there were euerie daie disputations and communings of this matter. And because the king meant nothing but vprightlie therein, and knew well that the quene was somewhat wedded to hir owne opinion, and wished that she should do nothing without counsell, he had hir chose the best clearks of his realme to be of hir counsell, and licenced them to do the best on hir part that they could, according to the truth. When the elected William Warham archbishop of Canturburie, and Nicholas Westbischop of Ely, doctors of the lawes; and John Fisher bishop of Rochester, and Henrie Standish bishop of Saint Asaph, doctors of diuinitie, and manie other doctors and well learned men, which for suertie like men of great learning defended hir cause, as farre as learning might mainteine and hold it vp.

This yere was sir James Spenser maio: of London, in whose time the watch in London on whidsummer night was laid downe. About this time the king receiued into fauour doctor Stephan Cardiner, whose seruice he vsed in matters of great secrecie and weight, admitting him in the roome of doctor Pace, the which being continuallie abroad in ambassages, and the same oftentimes not much necessarie, by the cardinals appointment, at length he took such greife there with, that he fell out of his right wits. The place where the cardinals should sit to heare the cause of matrimonie betwixt the king and the quene, was ordeined to be at the Blacke friers in London, where in the great hall was preparation made of seats, tables, and other furniture, according to such a solemne session and roiall apparance. The court was platted in tables and benches in manner of a confessorie, one seat raised higher for the iudges to sit in. When as it were in the midst of the said iudges aloft above them thre degrees high, was a cloth of estate hanged, with a chaire roiall vnder the same, wherein sat the king; and besides him, some distance from him sat the quene, and vnder the iudges sat the scribes and other officers: the chiefe scribe was doctor Stewens, and the caller of the court was one Cooke of Winchester.

Then before the king and the iudges within the court sat the archbishop of Canturburie Warham, and all the other bishops. Then stood at both ends within the counsellors learned in the spirituall lawes, as well the kings as the quenes. The doctors of law for the king (whose names yee haue heard before) had their conuenient roimes. Thus was the court furnished. The iudges commanded silence whilst their commission was read, both to the court and to the people assembled. That done the scribes commanded the crier to call the king by the name of king Henrie of England, come into the court, &c. With that the king answered and said, Here. Then called he the quene by the name of Katharine quene of England come into the court, &c. Who made no answer, but rose out of hir chaire.

And because she could not come to the king directly, for the distance seuered betwene them, she went about by the court, and came to the king, kneeling downe at his feet, to whom she said in effect as followeth: Sir (quoth she) I desire you to doe me iustice and right, and take some pittie vpon me, for I am a poore woman, and a stranger, borne out of your dominion, hauing here no indifferent counsell, & lesse assurance of friendship. Alas sir, what haue I offended you, or what occasion of displeasure haue I met with you, intending thus to put me from you after this sort: I take God to my iudge, I haue bene to you a true & humble wife, euer conformable to your will and pleasure, that neuer contraried or gaine said any thing thereof, and being alwaies contented with all things wherein you had any delight, whether little or

much, without grudge or displeasure, I loued for your sake all them whom you loued, whether they were my friends or enemies.

I haue bene your wife these twentie yeres and moze, & you haue had by me diuerse children. If there be anie iust cause that you can alleage against me, either of dishonour, or matter lawfull to put me from you; I am content to depart to my shame and rebuke; and if there be none, then I praye you to let me haue iustice at your hand. The king your father was in his time of excellent wit, and the king of Spaine my father Ferdinando was reckoned one of the wisest princes that reigned in Spaine manie yeres before. It is not to be doubted, but that they had gathered as wise counsellors vnto them of euerie realme, as to their wisdoms they thought meet, who deemed the marriage betwene you and me good and lawfull, &c. Therefore, I humbly desire you to spare me, until I may know what counsell my friends in Spaine will aduertise me to take, and if you will not, then your pleasure be fulfilled. With that she arose vp, making a lowe curtelle to the king, and departed from thence.

The king being aduertised that she was ready to go out of the house, commanded the crier to call her againe, who called her by these wordes: Katharine quene of England, come into the court. With that (quoth maister Griffith) Madame, you be called againe. On (quoth she) it maketh no matter, I will not tarrie, go on your waies. And thus she departed, without anie further answer at that time, or anie other, and neuer would appeare after in anie court. The king perceiuing she was departed, said these wordes in effect: For as much (quoth he) as the quene is gone, I will in hir absence declare to you all, that she hath bene to me as true, as obedient, and as conformable a wife, as I would wish or desire. She hath all the vertuous qualities that ought to be in a woman of hir dignitie, or in anie other of a baser estate, she is also surelie a noble woman borne, hir conditions will well declare the same.

With that quoth Wolsey the cardinall: Sir, I most humbly require your highnesse, to declare before all this audience, whether I haue bene the chiefe and first mouer of this matter vnto your maiestie or no, for I am greatly suspected herein. My lord cardinall (quoth the king) I can well excuse you in this matter, marrie (quoth he) you haue bene rather against me in the tempting hereof, than a letter forward or mouer of the same. The speciall cause that moued me vnto this matter, was a certaine scrupulositie that picked my conscience, vpon certeine wordes spoken at a time when it was, by the bishop of Baion the French ambassado: who had bene hither sent, vpon the debating of a marriage to be concluded betwene our daughter the ladie Marie, and the duke of Orleans, second son to the king of France.

Vpon the resolution and determination whereof, he desired respite to aduertise the king his maister thereof, whether our daughter Marie should be legitimate in respect of this my marriage with this woman, being sometimes my brothers wife. Which wordes once conceiued within the secret bottom of my conscience, ingendered such a scrupulous doubt, that my conscience was incontinentlie accombed, vexed, and disquieted; whereby I thought my selfe to be greatlie in danger of Gods indignation. Which appeared to be (as me seemed) the rather, for that he sent vs no issue male: and all such issues male as my said wife had by me, died incontinent after they came into the world, so that I doubted the great displeasure of God in that behalfe.

Thus my conscience being tossed in the waues of a scrupulous mind, and partlie in despaire to haue

The quene  
indistinctly the  
marriage.

The quene  
departing out  
of the court is  
called againe.

The cardinall  
requireth to  
haue that de-  
clared which  
was well en-  
ough known.

The king  
confesteth that  
the king of  
conscience  
made him  
mislike this  
marriage.

Sir William  
Compton.

Abr. Fl. ex 15  
pag 919.  
A prisoner  
brake from the  
sessions house  
Register of  
Greifours.

Doctor of  
lawe  
Lincolne.

Why the car-  
dinall was  
suspected to be  
against the  
marriage.

Polydor.

Edw. Hall.

The king is  
desirous to be  
solved by  
the opinions  
of the learned  
in this mar-  
riage.

cardinall  
impetuous  
into  
England.

the matter  
aching the  
mar-  
riage debated.

The state of  
the question.

The king  
submittech  
himselfe to the  
censure of  
the laene of  
diuorfe.

The queene  
accuseth car-  
dinal wolfe.

She appeleth  
to the pope.

The king  
misstrusteth  
the legats of  
forkeing de-  
laies.

The present  
marriage whie  
thought vnlawfull.

anie other issue than I had alreddie by this ladie now my wife, it behoued me further to consider the state of this realme, and the danger it stood in for lacke of a prince to succede me, I thought it good in releafe of the weightie burthen of my weake conscience, & also the quiet estate of this worlthe relme, to attempt the law therin, whether I may lawfullie take another wife more lawfullie, by whome God may send me more issue, in case this my first copulation was not good, without anie carnall concupiscence, and not for anie displeasure or mistaking of the queenes person and age, with whome I would be as well contented to continue, if our marriage may stand with the lawes of God, as with anie woman aliuie.

In this point consisteth all this doubt that we go about now to trie, by the learning, wisdome, and iudgement of you our prelates and pastors of all this our realme and dominions now here assembled for that purpose; to whose conscience, & learning I haue committed the charge and iudgement: according to the which I will (God willing) be right well content to submit my selfe, and for my part obeie the same. Wherein, after that I perceived my conscience to doubtfull, I moued it in confession to you my lord of Lincolne then ghostlie father. And for so much as then you your selfe were in some doubt, you moued me to aske the counsell of all these my lords: whereupon I moued you my lord of Canturburie, first to haue your licence, in as much as you were metropolitane, to put this matter in question, and so I did of all you my lords: to which you granted vnder your seales, here to be shewed. That is truth, quoth the archbishop of Canturburie. After that the king rose vp, and the court was adioyned vntill another daie.

Here is to be noted, that the queene in presence of the whole court most graueouslie accused the cardinal of vntruth, deceit, wickednesse, & malice, which had some dissention betwixt hir and the king his husband; and therefore openlie protested, that she did bitterlie abhorre, refuse, and forsake such a iudge, as was not onelie a most malicious enemie to hir, but also a manifest aduersarie to all right and iustice, and therewith did she appeale vnto the pope, committing hir whole cause to be iudged of him. But notwithstanding this appaile, the legats sat weekelie, and euerie daie were arguments brought in on both parts, and praieses alleaged for the vnderstanding of the case, and still they assaied if they could by anie means procure the queene to call backe hir appeale, which she bitterlie refused to do. The king would gladdie haue had an end in the matter, but when the legats draue time, and determined vpon no certeine point, he conceiued a suspition, that this was done of purpose, that their doings might draw to none effect or conclusion.

The next court daie, the cardinals sat againe, at which time the counsell on both sides were there ready to answer. The kings counsell alleaged the matrimonie not to be lawfull at the beginning, because of the carnall copulation had betwene prince Arthur and the queene. This matter was verie beementlie touched on that side, and to proue it, they alleaged manie reasons and similitudes of truth: and being answered negatiuelie againe on the other side, it seemed that all their former allegations were doubtfull to be tried, and that no man knew the truth. And thus this court passed from sessions to sessions, and daie to daie, till at certeine of their sessions the king sent the two cardinals to the queene (who was then in Wyndesore) to perswade with hir by their wisdoms, and to aduise hir to surrender the whole matter into the kings hands by hir owne content & will, which should be much better to hir honour, than to stand to the triall of law, and thereby to be condem-

ned, which should seme much to hir dishonour.

The cardinals being in the queenes chamber of presence, the gentleman usher aduertised the queene that the cardinals were come to speake with hir. With that the rose vp, & with a sheine of white thred about hir necke, came into hir chamber of presence, where the cardinals were attending. At whose coming, quoth she, What is your pleasure with me? It please your grace, quoth cardinal Wolfe, to go in to your priuie chamber, we will shew you the cause of our coming. My lord, quoth she, if yee haue anie thing to saie, speake it openlie before all these folke, for I feare nothing that yee can saie against me, but that I would all the worlde should heare and see it, and therefore speake your mind. Then began the cardinal to speake to hir in Latine. Saie god my lord (quoth she) speake to me in English.

Forsooth, quoth the cardinal, god madame, if it please you, we come both to know your mind how you are disposed to do in this matter betwene the king and you, and also to declare secretlie our opinions and counsell vnto you: which we do onelie for verie zeale and obedience we beare vnto your grace. My lord, quoth she, I thanke you for your good will, but to make you answer in your request I cannot so suddenlie, for I was set among my maids at worke, thinking full little of anie such matter, wherein there needeth a longer deliberation, and a better head than mine to make answer: for I need counsell in this case which toucheth me so nere, & for anie counsell or frendship that I can find in England, they are not for my profit. What thinke you my lords, will anie Englishman counsell me, or be frend to me against the kings pleasure that is his subiect? Saie forsooth. And as for my counsell in whom I will put my trust, they be not here, they be in Spaine in my owne countrie.

And my lords, I am a poore woman, lacking wit, to answer to anie such noble persons of wisdome as you be, in so weightie a matter, therefore I praie you be good to me poore woman, destitute of frends here in a forren region, and your counsell also I will be glad to heare. And therewith she toke the cardinal by the hand, and led him into hir priuie chamber with the other cardinal, where they tarried a season talking with the queene. Which communication ended, they departed to the king, making to him relation of hir talke. Thus this case went forward from court to court, till it came to iudgement, so that euerie man expected that iudgement would be giuen the next day. At which daie the king came thither, and set him downe in a chaire within a doore, in the end of the gallerie (which opened directlie against the iudgement seat) to heare the iudgement giuen, at which time all their proceedings were red in Latine.

That done, the kings counsell at the barre called for iudgement. With that (quoth cardinal Campeius) I will not giue iudgement till I haue made relation to the pope of all our proceedings, whose counsell and commandement in this case I will obserue: the case is verie doubtfull, and also the partie defendant will make no answer here, but doth rather appeale from vs, supposing that we be not indifferent. Therefore I will adiourne this court for this time, according to the order of the court of Rome. And with that the court was dissolved, and no more done. This protrading of the conclusion of the matter, king Henrie toke verie displeasantie. Then cardinal Campeius toke his leaue of the king and nobilitie, and returned towards Rome.

Whilste these things were thus in hand, the cardinal of Forke was aduised that the king had set his affection vpon a young gentlewoman named Anne, the daughter of sir Thomas Wolle, vicount Rochford, which did wait vpon the queene. This was a great

The secret  
working and  
dissimulation  
of cardinal  
wolfe.

The king co-  
sisteth dis-  
pleasure a-  
gainst the  
cardinal.

Articles exhi-  
bited against  
the cardinal.

The cardinal  
is faced in a  
pse-  
muntre.

Abt. Fl. ex I.S.  
pag. 966, 967.

The cardinal  
is loth to part  
from the great  
seale.

The king &  
queenes ma-  
iester commit-  
ted to iudgement.

Cardinal  
Campius  
refuseth to  
giue iudge-  
ment.

The cardinal  
discharged of  
the great seale.

The cardinal  
collects all his  
officers to  
accounts.

The kings  
affection and  
goodwill to-  
wards Anne  
lady Roch-  
ford.

m. 1529.

An. Reg. 21.

Queene Katharine and the cardinall haue communication in the priue chamber.

The secret keeping and communication of cardinall Wolsey.

The king's countenance and pleasure against the cardinall.

Edw. Hall.

Cardinall Wolsey's countenance against the cardinall.

The queene refuseth to make sudden answer to so weightie a matter as the diuorſe.

The cardinall's countenance in a premonition.

Alc. Fl. ex. l. 5. p. 968. 967.

The cardinall's countenance in the great scale.

The king's countenance in the great scale.

Cardinall Campasius refuseth to give iudgement.

The cardinall's countenance in the great scale.

The cardinall's countenance in the great scale.

The king's affection and goodwill to the lady Anne Bullen.

great griefe vnto the cardinall, as he that perceiued aforehand, that the king would marie the said gentlewoman, if the diuorſe toke place. Therefore he began with all diligence to diſappoint that match, which by reason of the miſliking that he had to the woman, he iudged ought to be auoided more than preſent death. While the matter ſtood in this ſtate, and that the cauſe of the queene was to be heard and iudged at Rome, by reason of the appeale which by hir was put in: the cardinall requirde the pope by letters and ſecret meſſengers, that in anie wiſe he ſhould defer the iudgement of the diuorſe, till he might frame the kings mind to his purpoſe.

Howbeit he went about nothing ſo ſecretlie, but that the ſame came to the kings knowledge, who toke ſo high diſpleaſure with ſuch his cloaked diſſimulation, that he determined to abaſe his degre, ſith as an vnthankfull perſon he forgot himſelfe and his dutie towards him that had ſo highlie aduanced him to all honoz and dignitie. When the nobles of the realme perceiued the cardinall to be in diſpleaſure, they began to accuſe him of ſuch offences as they knew might be proued againſt him, and thereof they made a booke containing certeine articles, to which diuerſe of the kings counsell ſet their hands. The king vnderſtanding moze plainlie by thoſe articles, the great pride, preſumption, and couctouſneſſe of the cardinall, was ſoze moued againſt him; but yet kept his purpoſe ſecret for a while. Shortlie after, a parlement was called to begin at Weſtmiſter the third of Nouember next ſiſſuing.

In the meane time the king, being informed that all thoſe things that the cardinall had done by his power legantine within this realme, were in the caſe of the premonition and prouiſion, cauſed his attorneie Chriſtopher Hales to ſue out a writ of premonition againſt him, in the which he licenced him to make his attorneie. And further, the ſeuententh of Nouember the king ſent the two dukes of Norfolke and Suffolke to the cardinals place at Weſtmiſter, who (went as they were commanded) and finding the cardinall there, they declared that the kings pleaſure was that he ſhould ſurrender by the great ſeale into their hands, and to depart ſimplie vnto Ather, which was an houſe ſituated nigh vnto Hampton court, belonging to the biſhoprike of Wincheſter. The cardinall demanded of them their commiſſion that gaue them ſuch authoritie, who answered againe, that they were ſufficient commiſſioners, and had authoritie to doe no leſſe by the kings mouth. Notwithſtanding, he would in no wiſe agree in that behalfe, without further knowledge of their authoritie, ſaieng; that the great ſeale was deliuered him by the kings perſon, to introy the miniſtration thereof, with the ſeale of the chancelor for the terme of his life. Whereof for his ſuertie he had the kings letters patents.

This matter was greatlie debated betwene them with manie great words, in ſo much that the dukes were ſaine to depart againe without their purpoſe, and rode to Windſore to the king, and made report accordingly; but the next daie they returned againe, bringing with them the kings letters. When the cardinall deliuered vnto them the great ſeale, and was content to depart ſimplie, taking with him nothing but onlie certeine prouiſion for his houſe: and after long talke betwene him and the dukes, they departed with the great ſeale of England, and brought the ſame to the king. When the cardinall called all his officers before him, and toke account of them for all ſuch ſtuffe, whereof they had charge. And in his gallerie were ſet diuerſe tables, whereupon laie a great number of goodlie rich ſtuffe, as whole peces of ſilke of all colours, velvet, ſattin, damaske, taſſata, gro-

graine, and other things. Alſo, there laie a thouſand peces of fine Holland cloth.

There was laid on euerie table, bookes reporting the contents of the ſame, and ſo was there inuentories of all things in order againſt the kings coming. He cauſed to be hanged the walles of the gallerie on the one ſide with cloth of gold, cloth of tiſſue, cloth of ſiluer, and rich cloth of booken of diuerſe colours. On the other ſide were hanged the richeſt ſute of coapes of his owne prouiſion made for his colleges of Oxford and Ipſwich, that euer were ſcene in England. Then had he two chambers adjoining to the gallerie, the one moſt commonlie called the gilt chamber, and the other the counsell chamber, where in were ſet by two broad and long tables vpon treſſes, whereupon was ſet ſuch a number of plate of all ſorts, as was almoſt incredible.

In the gilt chamber were ſet out vpon the table nothing but gilt plate, and vpon a cupbord and in a window was ſet no plate but gold, verie rich: and in the counsell chamber was all white and parcell gilt plate, and vnder the table in baſkets was all old broken ſiluer plate, and bookes ſet by them purpoſing euerie kind of plate, and euerie parcell, with the contents of the ounces thereof. Thus were all things prepared, giuing charge of all the ſaid ſtuffe, with all other remaining in euerie office, to be deliuered to the king, to make answer to their charge: for the order was ſuch, that euerie officer was charged with the receipt of the ſtuffe belonging to his office by indenture. To ſir William Calcoigne, being his treaſurer, he gaue the charge of the deliuerie of the ſaid goods, and therewithall, with his traine of gentlemen and peomen, he toke his barge at the priue ſtaires, and ſo went by water vnto Putnicie, where when he was arriued, he toke his mule, and euerie man toke their horſes, and rode ſtreight to Ather, where he and his familie continued the ſpace of three or foure weekes, without either beds, ſheets, table cloths, or diſhes to eat their meat in, or where with to buie any: the cardinall was forced to horow of the biſhop of Carleill, plate and diſhes, &c.]

After this, in the kings bench his matter for the premonition, being called vpon, two attorneis, which he had authoriſed by his warrant ſigned with his owne hand, confeſſed the action, and ſo had iudgement to forfeit all his lands, tenements, goods, and cattels, and to be out of the kings proteccion: but the king of his clemencie ſent to him a ſufficient proteccion, and left to him the biſhoprikes of Poike and Wincheſter, with plate and ſtuffe conuenient for his degre. The biſhoprike of Dureſme was giuen to doctor Tunſtall biſhop of London, and the abbacie of ſaint Albons to the prior of Poike. Alſo the biſhoprike of London being now void, was beſtowed on doctor Stokeſlie, then ambadaſſour to the vniuerſities beyond the ſea for the kings marriage.

The ladie Margaret duches of Saroy aunt to the emperour, and the ladie Lois dutcheſſe of Angoleſme mother to the French king, met at Cambreie in the beginning of the moneth of June, to treat of a peace, where were preſent doctor Tunſtall biſhop of London, and ſir Thomas More then chancelor of the duchie of Lancaſter, commiſſioners for the king of England. At length through diligence of the ſaid ladies a peace was concluded betwixt the emperour, the pope, and the kings of England and France. All theſe met there in the beginning of Iulie, accompanied with diuerſe great princes and counceilers, on euerie part. And after long debating on both ſides, there was a good concluſion taken the ſift daie of Auguſt. In the which was concluded, that the treatie of Madrid ſhould ſtand in his full ſtrength and vertue, ſauing the third and fourth, and the eleuenth and four-

The cardinall of York goeth to Ather, and hath his plentie turned into penurie.

John Scate, and Edmund Jennie.

The cardinall condemned in a premonition.

The biſhoprike of Dureſme giuen to doctor Tunſtall.

The duchefſe of Saoy, and the duchefſe of Angoleſme meet about a treatie of peace.

Edw. Hall. in H. 8. fo. cxxxv.

Read more  
hereof in  
Quic. pag. 1145.  
& deinceps.

French articles, which touch the duchie of Burgognie, and other lordships.

1 Item, it was agreed, that the French king should haue his children againe, paing to the emperor two millions of crownes of gold, whereof he should paie at the deliuering of the children, twelue hundred thousand crownes.

2 Item, that the French king should acquit the emperor against the king of England, of fourescore and ten thousand crowns, which the emperor owght to the king of England, and the king of England to deliuer all such bonds and gages as he had of the emperours.

3 Item, as touching the remnant, which was five hundred and ten thousand crownes, the emperor should haue five and twentie thousand crownes rent yearly, for which he should haue the lands of the duchesse of Wandosme, lieng in Flanders and Brabant bound.

4 Item, that Flanders and diuerse other countries, should not behold in chiefe, nor haue resort to the crowne of France.

5 Item, that the realme of Naples, the duchie of Milan, and the countie of Ast, should for cuer remaine to the emperor.

6 Item, that the French king should withdraue all such souldiours as he had, out of Italie.

7 Item, that the ladie Cleane should be brought into France, with the French kings children, and in time conuenient should be married to the French king.

8 Item, that the French king should aid the emperor with twelue gallies to go into Italie.

9 Item, that all prisoners on both parties should be acquitted.

10 Item, that the French king should not aid Robert de la March, against the bishop of Luke.

11 Item, that all the goods moucable and vnmouable, of Charles duke of Burbon, should be restored to his heires, they paing to lord Henrie, marquisse of Dapernete, and earle of Passaw, lord chamberleine to the emperor, ten thousand ducats, which he lent to the said duke of Burbon.

12 Item, that John earle of Panshieu, should be remitted to all such goods, as were earle Kene his fathers.

13 Item, the lord Laurence de Goswood, great master to the emperor, should be restored to the lordships of Chalmont, & Monteuille, which he bought of the duke of Burbon, to haue his monie againe.

14 Item, Philip de Chalon prince of Orange and viceroy of Naples, to be restored to all his lands in Burgognie.

15 Item, that the duchesse of Wandosme, and Lois earle of Hauers, should haue all such right and actions, as they should haue had before the warre began.

In the emperours countries, when all things were writen, sealed, and finished, there was a solemne masse song in the cathedrall church of Cambzeie, the two ladies ambassadors of the king of England, sitting in great estate: and after masse the peace was proclaimed betwene the three princes, and *Te Deum* song, and monie cast to the people, and great fires made through the citie. The same night the French king came into Cambzeie, well and noble accompanied, and saluted the ladies, and to them made diuerse bankets: and then all persons departed into their countie, glad of this concord. This peace was called the womens peace, for because that notwithstanding this conclusion, yet neither the emperor trusted the French king, nor he neither trusted nor loued him, and their subjects were in the same case. This proclamation was proclaimed solemnelie by heralds with trumpets in the citie of London, which

The womens  
peace.

proclamation much reioiced the English merchants, repairing into Flanders, Brabant, Zealand, and other the emperours dominions. For during the wars, merchants were euill handled on both parties, which caused them to be desirous of peace. On the foure & twentieth of Nouember, was sir Thomas More made lord chancelor, & the next day led to the Chancery by the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and there swoorne.

At the daie appointed the parlement began, on which daie the king came by water to his place of Whitehall, and there he and his nobles put on their robes of parlement, and so came to the Blache friers church, where a masse of the Holie-ghost was solemnelie song by the kings chappell: and after the masse, the king with all the lords of parlement and commons, which were summoned to appeare at that daie, came into the parlement chamber, where the king sate in his throne or se at roiall: and sir Thomas More his chancelor, standing on the right hand of the king behind the barre, made an eloquent oration.

In this oration he declared, that like as a good shepheard, which not alonelic keepeth and attendeth well his shepe, but also foreseeeth and prouideth for all things which either may be hurtfull or noisome to his flocke, or maie preserue and defend the same against all perils that may chance to come: so the king which was the shepheard, ruler and gouernour of his realme, bigilantlie foreseeing things to come, considered how diuers labors before this time were made, not by long continuance of time and mutation of things, verie insufficient and vnperfect: and also by the fraile condition of man, diuerse new enenities were sprung amongst the people, for the which no law was yet made to reforme the same. Which was the verie cause whie at that time the king had summoned his high court of parlement. And he resembled the king to a shepheard or hearde man for this cause: for if a prince be compared to his riches, he is but a rich man; if a prince be compared to his honour, he is but an honourable man: but compare him to the multitude of his people, and the number of his flocke, then he is a ruler, a gouernour of might & puissance, so that his people maketh him a prince, as of the multitude of shepe cometh the name of a shepheard. And as you see that amongst a great sort of shepe some be rotten & faultie, which the good shepheard sendeth from the good shepe: so the great wonder which is of late fallen (as you all know) so craftie, so scabbedlie, yea and so vnrulie iugled with the king, that all men must needes ghesse and thinke, that he thought in himselfe that he had no wit to perceiue his craftie doing; or else that he presumed that the king would not see nor know his fraudulent iugling and attempts. But he was deceived: for his graces sight was so quicke and penetrable, that he saw him, yea and saw through him, both within and without, so that all things to him was open, and according to his desert he hath had a gentle correction.

Which small punishment the king will not to be an example to other offenders, but clearelie declareth, that whoeuer hereafter shall make like attempt, or commit like offense, shall not escape with like punishment. And because you of the common house be a grosse multitude, and can not speake all at one time: therefore the kings pleasure is, that you shall resort to the nether house, & there amongst your selues, according to the old and ancient custome, to chouse an able person to be your common mouth and speaker: and after your election so made, to aduertise his grace thereof, which will declare to you his pleasure, what day he will haue him present in this place. After this done, the commons resorted to the nether house.

Edw. Hall  
His brother  
An oration  
made in the  
audience of  
the parlement  
by sir Thomas  
More

Oration  
made by the  
speaker of the  
parlement.

The commo  
of the lower  
house com-  
plaine against  
the clergy.

wherein the  
parson of the  
king is pro-  
perlic requir  
a ruler.



Reg. 21.

house, and they chose for their speaker Thomas Audleie chiquier, and attourneie of the duchie of Lancaster: and the same daie was the parlement adioyned to Westminster.

On the first daie of the same moneth, the king came to the parlement chamber, and all the lords in their robes. And there the commons of the nether house presented their speaker, which there made an eloquent oration, which consisted in two points. The first point was, that he much praised the king for his equitie and iustice, mixed with mercie and pitie, so that none offense was forgotten and left unpunished, nor in the punishment the extremitie: no; the rigor of the law cruellie extended: which should be a cause to bide all men from doing like offenses, & also a comfort to offenders to confesse their crime and offense, and an occasion of amendment and reconciliation. The second point was, that he disabled himselfe both for lacke of wit, learning, and discretion to so high an office, beseeching the king to cause his commands to resort eiesones to their common house, and there to chose an other speaker for that parlement.

To this the king by the mouth of the lord chancellor answered; that where he disabled himselfe in wit and learning, his owne orate oration there made testified the contrarie. And as touching his discretion and other qualities, the king himselfe had well knowen him and his doings since he was in his service, to be both wise and discret: and so for an able man he accepted him, and for the speaker he him admitted. When the commons were assembled in the nether house, they began to commune of their griefes, wherewith the spirituality had before time grievously oppressed them, both contrarie to the law of the realme, and contrarie to all right: and in speciallie they were foremoued with six great causes.

The first for the excessive fines, which the ordinaries took for probats of testaments, in somuch that sir Henrie Guilford knight of the garter, and controller of the kings house, declared in the open parlement on his fidelitie, that he and others being executors to sir William Compton knight, paid for the probat of his will to the cardinall and the archbishop of Canturburie a thousand markes sterling. After this declaration were shewed to manie extortions done by ordinaries for probats of willes, that it were too much to rehearse.

The second was the great polling and extortionation, which the spirituall men used in taking of corps, presents, or mortuaries. For the children of the defunct should all die for hunger, and go a begging, rather than they would of charitie giue to them the sallowe cow which the dead man owght, if he had but one lie one; such was the charitie then.

The third cause was, that priests being suruisors, stewards and officers to bishops, abbats, and other spirituall heads, had and occupied farmes, granges, and grasing in euerie countrie, so that the poore husbandmen could haue nothing but of them; and yet for that they should paie deerie.

The fourth cause was, that abbats, priors, and spirituall men kept tan-houses, and bought and sold wool, cloth, and all maner of merchandise, as other temporall merchants did.

The fifth cause was, because that spirituall persons promoted to great benefices, and hauing their livings of their flocke, were lieng in the court in lords houses, and took all of the parishioners, and nothing spent on them at all: so that for lacke of residence both the poore of the parish lacked refreshing, and vniuersallie all the parishioners lacked preaching and true instruction of Gods word, to the great perill of their soules.

The first cause was, to see one priest little learned, to haue ten or twelue benefices, & to be resident upon none; and to know manie well learned scholars in the brinnerities, which were able to preach & teach, to haue neither benefice nor exhibition.

These things before this time might in no wise be touched, nor yet talked of by anie man, except he would be made an heretike, or lese all that he had. For the bishops were chancellors, and had all the rule about the king, so that no man durst once presume to attempt anie thing contrarie to their profit or commoditie. But now, when God had illuminated the eyes of the king, and that their subtle doings were once elpied; then men began charitably to desire a reformation: and so at this parlement men began to shew their grudges. Whereupon the burgeses of the parlement appointed such as were learned in the law, being of the common house, to draw one bill of the probats of testaments, another for mortuaries, and the third for non residence, pluralities, and taking of farmes by spirituall men. The learned men took much paines, and first set forth the bill of mortuaries; which passed the common house, and was sent up to the lords. To this bill the spirituall lords made a faire face, saying; that suerlie priests and curats took more than they should, and therefore it were well done to take some reasonable order: thus they spake, because it touched them little.

But within two daies after was sent up the bill concerning probats of testaments; at the which the archbishop of Canturburie in especiall, and all other bishops in generall both frowned and grunted, for that touched their profit. In somuch as doctor John Asther bishop of Rochester said openly in the parlement chamber these words: My lords, you see daily what billes come hither from the common house, and all is to the destruction of the church. For Gods sake see what a realme the kingdome of Boheme was; and when the church went downe, then fell the glorie of the kingdome: now with the commons is nothing but downe with the church; and all this me seemeth is for lacke of faith onlie. When these words were reported to the commons of the nether house, that the bishop should saie, that all their doings were for lacke of faith, they took the matter grievously, for they imagined that the bishop esteemed them as heretikes, and so by his slanderous words would haue perswaded the temporall lords, to haue restrained their consent from the said two billes, which they before had passed, as you haue heard before.

Wherefore the commons, after long debate, determined to send the speaker of the parlement to the kings highnesse, with a grievous complaint against the bishop of Rochester. And so on a daie, when the king was at leasure, Thomas Audleie speaker for the commons, and thirtie of the chiefe of the common house, came to the kings presence in his palace at Westminster, which before was called Porke place; and there verie eloquentlie declared what a dishonour to the king and the realme it was, to saie, that they which were elected for the wisest men of all the shires, cities, and boroughs, within the realme of England, should be declared, in so noble and open presence, to lacke faith: which was equivalent to saie, that they were infidels, and no christians, as ill as Turkes, or Saracens, so that what paine or studie neuer they took for the common wealth, or what acts or lawes fouer they made or stablished, should be taken as lawes made by Painims and heathen people, and not worthy to be kept by christian men. Wherefore he most humbly besought the kings highnesse to call the said bishop before him, and to cause him to speake more discretlie of such a number as was in the common house.

The bishops sicke hard against these billes.

The saying of John Asther bishop of Rochester.

A complaint made to the king against the bishop of Rochester.

tr Thomas  
more lord  
and other.

W. Hall in  
his booke  
of the  
reign of  
the  
parlement  
for  
the  
year 1521.

Parlement  
by the  
power of the  
parlement.

The commons  
of the  
nether house  
presented  
their speaker.

herein the  
reason of the  
king is pro-  
vided requir-  
ed.

And

The bishops  
excuse to the  
kings ma-  
iestie.

Hard hold be-  
tweene the  
lords spiritu-  
all and tem-  
porall about  
the probats of  
testaments and  
mortuaries.

The loane of  
monie released  
to the king,  
which he  
borrowed in  
anno reg. 15.

The matter  
of testaments  
and mortua-  
ries mooved  
by the  
king.

The king was not well contented with the sa-  
ying of the bishop, yet he gentlie answered the spea-  
ker, that he would send for the bishop, and send them  
word what answer he made, and so they departed a-  
gaine. After this the king sent for the archbishop of  
Canturburie and six other bishops, and for the bishop  
of Rochester also, and there declared to him the  
grudge of the commons; to the which the bishop an-  
swered, that he meant the doings of the Bohemians  
was for lacke of faith, and not the doings of them  
that were in the common house. Which saying was  
confirmed by the bishops being present, who had  
him in great reputation: and so by that onelie say-  
ing the king accepted his excuse, and thereof sent  
word to the commons by sir William Fitz Will-  
iams knight, treasurer of his household; which blind  
excuse pleased the commons nothing at all. After  
diuerse assemblies were kept betwene certaine of  
the lords, and certaine of the commons, for the billes  
of probats of testaments, and the mortuaries; the  
temporallie laid to the spiritualtie their owne lawes  
and constitutions; and the spiritualtie soze defended  
them by prescription & vsage, to whom this answer  
was made by a gentleman of Grete inne: The v-  
sage hath euer bene of theues to rob on Shroters  
bill, ergo is it lawfull?

With this answer the spiritual men were soze of-  
fended, because their doings were called robberies.  
But the temporall men stood still by their sayings,  
inso much that the said gentleman said to the archbi-  
shop of Canturburie, that both the exaction of pro-  
bats of testaments, and the taking of mortuaries,  
as they were vsed, were open robberie and theft. Af-  
ter long disputation, the temporall lords began to  
leane to the commons: but for all that the billes re-  
mained vnconcluded for a while. In the meane sea-  
son, there was a bill assented to by the lords, and sent  
downe to the commons: the effect whereof was,  
that the whole realme by the said act did release to the  
king, all such summes of monie as he had borrowed  
of them at the loane, in the fiftenth yeare of his  
reigne (as you haue heard before.) This bill was soze  
argued in the common house, but the most part of  
the commons were the kings seruants, and the other  
were so laboured to by other, that the bill was assen-  
ted vnto.

When this release of the loane was knowen to  
the commons of the realme, Lord so they grudged &  
spake ill of the whole parlement. For almost euerie  
man counted it his debt, and reckoned suerlie of the  
paiment of the same. And therefore some made their  
willes of the same, and some other did set it ouer to  
other for debt, and so manie men had losse by it, which  
caused them soze to murmur, but there was no reme-  
die. The king like a good and discret prince, seeing  
that his commons in the parlement house had relea-  
sed the loane, intending somewhat to requite the  
same, granted to them a generall pardon of all of-  
fences; certaine great offenses and debts onelie ex-  
cepted: also he aided them for the redresse of their  
griefes against the spiritualtie, and caused two new  
billes to be made indifferentlie, both for the probats  
of testaments and mortuaries; which billes were so  
reasonable, that the spiritual lords assented to them  
all, though they were soze against there mindes, & in  
speciall the probats of testaments soze displeased the  
bishops, and the mortuaries soze displeased the pa-  
sons and vicars.

After these acts thus agreed, the commons made  
another act for pluralities of benefices, non resi-  
dence, being selling and taking of farmes by spiri-  
tuall persons. Which act so displeased the spiritualtie,  
that the priests raised on the commons of the com-  
mon house, and called them heretikes and schisma-

tikes, for the which diuerse priests were punished.  
This act was soze debated aboue in the parlement  
chamber, and the lords spiritual would in no wise  
consent. Wherefore the king perceiuing the grudge  
of his commons, caused eight lords and eight of his  
commons to meet in the Star chamber at an after  
none, and there was soze debating of the cause, in  
so much that the temporall lords of the upper house,  
which were there, took part with the commons, a-  
gainst the spiritual lords; and by force of reason cau-  
sed them to assent to the bill with a little qualificeng.  
Which bill the next daie was wholie agreed to in the  
lords house, to the great reioicing of the laie people,  
and to the great displeasure of the spiritual persons.  
During this parlement was brought downe to the  
commons the booke of articles, which the lords had  
put to the king against the cardinal, the chiefe wher-  
of were these.

1 First, that he without the kings assent had pro-  
cured to be a legat, by reason whereof he took awaie  
the right of all bishops and spiritual persons.

2 Item, in all writings which he wrote to Rome,  
or anie other foreyn prince, he wrote *Ego rex meus*,  
I and my king: as who would saie, that the king  
were his seruant.

3 Item, that he hath slandered the church of Eng-  
land in the court of Rome. For his suggestion to be  
legat was to reforme the church of England, which  
(as he wrote) was *Facta in reprobam sensum*.

4 Item, he without the kings assent carried the  
kings great seale with him into flanders, when he  
was sent ambassado; to the emperour.

5 Item, he without the kings assent, sent a com-  
mission to sir Gregorie de Cassado, knight, to con-  
clude a league betwene the king & the duke of Fer-  
rar, without the kings knowledge.

6 Item, that he hauing the French pokes pre-  
sented to come and breath on the king.

7 Item, that he caused the cardinals hat to be put  
on the kings coine.

8 Item, that he would not suffer the kings clerke  
of the market to sit at saint Albons.

9 Item, that he had sent innumerable substance  
to Rome, for the obtaining of his dignities, to the  
great impoverishment of the realme.

These articles, with manie more, read in the com-  
mon house, and signed with the cardinals hand, was  
confessed by him. And also there was shewed a writ-  
ting sealed with his seale, by the which he gaue to the  
king all his moueables and vnmoueables. On the  
date of the Conception of our ladie, the king at  
Pozke place at Westminster, in the parlement  
time, created the vicount Rochford erle of Wilshire,  
and the vicount Fitz Water was created erle of  
Suffer, and the lord Hastings was created erle of  
Huntington. When, all things were concluded in  
the parlement house, the king came to the parlement  
chamber the 17 daie of December, and there put his  
rosall assent to all things done by the lords and com-  
mons, and so proroged his court of parlement till the  
next yeare. After the parlement was thus ended, the  
king removed to Greenewich, and there kept his  
Christmasse with the queene in great triumph: with  
great plentie of viands, and diuerse disguisings and  
enterludes, to the great reioicing of his people.]

The king, which all this while, since the doubt was  
moued touching his marriage, abstained from the  
queenes bed, was now aduertised by his ambassa-  
dors, whom he had sent to diuerse vniuersities for the  
aboluing of his doubt, that the said vniuersities  
were agreed, and clereslie concluded, that the one  
brother might not by Gods law marrie the other bro-  
thers wife, carnallie knowen by the first marriage,  
& that neither the pope nor the court of Rome could  
in

Special  
summer  
dispute  
marriage

All against  
the cleargie  
both head  
and taile.

Stricken with  
bites against  
the cardinal  
of York.

Am-  
bient  
out o  
land  
this  
matt  
marr

The  
court  
to the  
king

The  
will  
be  
fr  
to  
the

Dom. 1529.

Anno. Reg. 22.

A special  
argument of the  
marriage.Articles which  
were bitter against  
the cardinal  
of York.Creation of  
at earles at  
York place.The emper-  
ours answer  
to the ambaf-  
sadors.The earle of  
Wiltshire am-  
bassador to the  
French king,  
others sent  
to other pla-  
ces.

in any wise dispense with the same. For ye must understand, that amongst other things alleged for dispense of the marriage to be lawfull, evidence was given of certaine words, which prince Arthur spake the morrow after he was first married to the queene, whereby it was gathered, that he knew his carnallie the night then passed. The words were these, as we find them in the chronicle of master Edward Hall.

In the morning after he was risen from the bed, in which he had layne with hir all night, he called for drinke, which he before time was not accustomed to do. At which thing, one of his chamberleines marvellling, requiered the cause of his drougt. To whom he answered merittie, sateng; I haue this night bene in the middest of Spaine, which is a hot region, and that iournee maketh me so drie: and if thou haddest bene vnder that hot climat, thou wouldest haue bene drier than I. Againe, it was alleged, that after the death of prince Arthur, the king was deferred from the title and creation of prince of Wales almost halfe a yeare, which thing could not haue bene doubted, if he had not bene carnallie known. Also the king caused a bull to be purchased, in the which were these words *relaxo an cogniam*, that is, and peradventure carnallie known: which words were not in the first bull granted by pope Iulie at his second marriage to the king, which second bull with that clause was onelic purchased to dispense with the second matrimonie, although there were carnall copulation before, which bull needed not to haue bene purchased, if there had bene no carnall copulation, for then the first bull had bene sufficient. To conclude, when these & other matters were laid forth to proue that which she denied, the carnall copulation betwixt hir and prince Arthur, his counsellors left that matter, and fell to persuasions of naturall reason. And lastlie, when nothing else would serue, they stood stiffe in the appeale to the pope, and in the dispensation purchased from the court of Rome, so that the matter was thus shifted off, and no end likelie to be had therein.

The king therefore understanding now that the emperor and the pope were appointed to meet at the citie of Bononie *alias* Bologna, where the emperor should be crowned, sent thither in ambassage from him the earle of Wiltshire, doctor Stokesleie, elected bishop of London, and his almoner doctor Edward Lee, to declare both unto the pope and emperor, the law of God, the determinations of vniuersities in the case of his marriage, and to require the pope to do iustice according to truth, and also to shew to the emperor, that the king did moue this matter onelic for discharge of his conscience, and not for any other respect of pleasure or displeasure earthlie. These ambassadours comming to Bononie were honorablie receiued, and first doing their message to the pope, had answer of him, that he would heare the matter disputed when he came to Rome, and according to right he would do iustice.

The emperor answered, that he in no wise would be against the lawes of God, & if the court of Rome would iudge that the matrimonie was not good, he could be content: but he solicited both the pope and cardinals, to stand by the dispensation, which he thought to be of force enough to proue the marriage lawfull. With these answers the ambassadours departed and returned homeward, till they came on this side the mountaine, and then receiued letters from the king, which appointed the earle of Wiltshire to go in ambassage to the French king which then lay at Bourdeaux, making gift for monie for redeming of his children: and the bishop of London, was appointed to go to Padua, and other vniuersities in Italie, to know their full resolutions and determinate

opinions in the kings case of matrimonie: and the kings almoner was commanded to returne home into England, and so he did.

¶ You haue heard before how the cardinal was attainted in the premunire, and how he was put out of the office of the chancelor, & laie at Ather. In this Lent season the king by the aduise of his counsell licensed him to go into his diocesse of Yorke, & gaue him commandement to keepe him in his diocesse, and not to returne southward without the kings speciall licence in writting. So he made great provision to go northward, and a parcelled his seruants newlie, and bought manie costlie things for his household: and so he might well enough, for he had of the kings gentleness the bishopricks of Yorke and Winchester, which were no small things. But at this time diuerse of his seruants departed from him to the kings seruice, and in especiall Thomas Crumwell one of his chiefe counsell, and chiefe doer for him in the suppression of abbeies. After that all things necessarie for his iournee were prepared, he toke his waie northward till he came to Southwell, which is in his diocesse, and there he continued this yeare, euer grudging at his fall, as you shall heare hereafter. But the lands which he had giuen to his colleges in Oxford and Ipswich, were now come to the kings hands, by his atteindor in the premunire: and yet the king of his gentleness and for fauour that he bare to good learning, erected againe the college in Oxford, and where it was named the cardinals college, he called it the kings college, & indouled it with faire possessions, and put in new statutes and ordinances. And for because the college of Ipswich was thought to be nothing profitable, therefore he left that dissolved.

In this yeare the emperor gaue to the lord master of saint Iohnes of Ierusalem, and his brethren the Island of Malta lieng betwene Sicill and Barbarie, there to imploye themselves vpon Chyfts enemies, which lord master had no place sure to inhabit there, since he was put fro the Rhodes by the Turke that besieged Vienna, but missed of his expectation. For the chyftians defended the same so valiantlie against the said Turke and his power, that he lost manie of his men by slaughter; manie also miscarried by sicknesse and cold: so that they perished in all to the number of fourescore thousand men, as one of his bassats did afterwarde confesse, which was to him a great displeasure; and in especiallie because he neuer besieged citie before, but either it was yielded or taken. In the time of this siege a metrician did make these two verses in memorie of the same:

*Cesar in Italiam quo venit Carolus anno,  
Cincha est ripheis nostra Vienna Getis.*

In the beginning of this yeare was the hanting and reading of the new testament in English translated by Tindall, Joye, and others, forbidden by the king with the aduise of his counsell, and namelie the bishops, which affirmed that the same was not trulie translated; and that therein were prologs and prefaces sounding to heresie, with vncharitable railing against bishops and the cleargie. The king therefore commanded the bishops, that they calling to them the best learned men of the vniuersities, should cause a new translation to be made, that the people without danger might read the same for their better instruction in the lawes of God, and his holie word. Diuerse persons that were detected to vse reading of the new testament, and other booke in English set forth by Tindall, and such other as were fled the realme, were punished by order taken against them by sir Thomas More then lord chancelor, who held greatlie against such booke, but still the number daily increased.

¶ In this yeare in Spaie, the bishop of London caused

Abr. Flem. ex  
Edw. Hall. in  
H. 8. fol. cxcj.  
cxcij.

1530  
The cardinal  
licensed to re-  
paire into  
Yorke shire.

Thomas  
Crumwell  
advanced to  
the kings  
seruice.

The kings  
college in Ox-  
ford other wise  
called Chyfts  
church.

The number  
of the Turkes  
that died at  
the siege of  
Vienna.

Anno. Reg. 22.  
The new tes-  
tament trans-  
lated into  
English.

Edw. Hall in  
H. 8. fol. Cxcij.

The cardinals  
flamens  
burned.

The wild  
with spoile the  
earle of Kil-  
dares coun-  
trie, &c.

The executi-  
on of the trea-  
tie accorded  
vpon at Cam-  
bridge.

The deliue-  
rance of the  
French kings  
children.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S.  
pag. 968, 969.

Cardinall  
wolfe re-  
moueth to  
Richmond.

caused all his new testaments which he had bought with manie other bookes, to be brought into Pauls churchyard in London, and there were openlie burned. In the end of this yeare, the wild Irishmen, knowing the earle of Kildare to be in England, entered his land, and spoiled and burnt his countrie, with diuerse other countries. And the eric of Osserie being the kings deputie made little resistance, for lacke of power. Therefore the king sent the earle of Kildare into Ireland, & with him sir William Skevington knight, master of the kings ordinance, and diuerse gunners with him, which so politikelie ordered themselves, that their enemies were glad to offer amends, and to treat for truce: & so sir William Skevington the next yeare returned into England, leauing there the earle of Kildare for the kings deputie.

Now I will returne to the execution of the treatie of Cambridge, in the which it was agreed, that the ladie Cleane, and the French kings children should be deliuered when the ransom appointed was paid as you haue heard in the last yeare. Therefore the French king gathered monie of his subiects with all speed, and when the monie was readie, he sent the great master of France called Annas de Permonancie and diuerse other nobles to Balon with the monie, and to receive the ladie and the children. And thither came to them the great constable of Castile and monsieur Prat for the emperor, & there the crowns were weighed and touched: and that fault sooner the Spaniards found in them they would not receiue a great number of them, and so they carried the children backe from Fontarbie into Spaine. Thus the great master of France and his companie late still at Balon, without hauing his purpose performed, from March till the end of June, and longer had lien if the king of England had not sent sir Francis Bryan to Balon to warrant the paiement: wherevpon the daie of deliuerance was appointed to be on saint Peters daie in June.

At which daie the great master, with one and thirtie mulets laden with the crownes came to the one side of the riuer of Audate, which riuer departeth Spaine and France, and there taried till the first daie of Iulie: on which daie the ladie Cleane, and the children were put in two great boates, hauing onelie twelue gentlemen of Spaine with them: and in like manner the great master with two great boats, in the which the monie was, and twelue gentlemen with him. All these boats met at a bridge made in the middell of the riuer. The constable of Spaine and his twelue gentlemen met with the great master of France and his twelue gentlemen on the bridge: and after a little salutation, the Frenchmen entered into the two boats where the ladie and the two children were; and the Spaniards into the two boats where the monie was, and then ech part hasted to land. Thus were the French kings wife and children deliuered into his hands, for which deliuerance was great ioy and triumph made in France: and also in Iulie were fiers made in London and diuerse other places for the same consideration and cause.]

Now will we leaue France, and returne to England, renewing the remembrance of cardinall Wolfe, who after great lute made to the king, was licenced to remoue from Ather to Richmond, which place he had a little before repaired with great costs, for the king made an exchange thereof with him for Hampton court. The cardinall hauing licence of the king to repaire to Richmond, made hast thither, and lodged there in the lodge of the great parke, which was a verie prettie house, there he laie untill the beginning of Lent. Then he remoued into the charterhouse of Richmond, where he laie in a lodging which

doctor Collet made for himselfe, untill he remoued northward, which was in the passion weeke after, and euerie daie he resorted to the charterhouse there, and would sit with one of the most ancient fathers, who perswaded him to despise the vaine glorie of the world.

Then prepared the cardinall for his iournie into the north, and sent to London for liuerie clothes for his seruants, and so rode from Richmond to Huntingdon, from thence to a place called the Kie, the next daie to Kalfone, where he lodged in the priorie; the next daie to Huntingdon, and there lodged in the abbey; the next daie to Peterborough, and there lodged in the abbey, where he abode all the next weeke, & there he kept his Easter, his traine was in number an hundred and threescore persons. Upon Maundie thursdaie he made his maundie, there hauing nine and fiftie poore men, whose feet he washed, and gaue euerie one twelue pence in monie, thre els of good canuas, a paire of shoes, a cast of red herrings, and thre white herrings, and one of them had two shillings.

On thursdaie next after Easter, he remoued to master Fitz Williams, sometime a merchant-tailor of London, and then of the kings counsell; the next weeke he remoued to Stamford, the next daie to Grantham, the next daie to Peterburke, and lodged in the castell that night and the next daie also: from thence he rode to Southwell, where he continued most part of all that summer, untill the latter end of graue time, and then he rode to Scrobie, where he continued untill Michaelmasse, and then to Calowd castell within seven miles of Poole, wherof we will speake moze hereafter. On the firste of Maie, a man was hanged in chaires in Finsburie field, for murdering doctor Miles vicar of saint Edmes. The fourth and fift of Nouember was a great wind, & great that blew downe manie houses and trees, after which wind followed so high a tide, that it drowned the marshes on Ester side and Kent, with the Ile of Thanet, and other places, destroying much cattell. The nineteenth of September, in the cite of London, a proclamation was made for the restraining of the popes authoritie in England, as followeth.

A proclamation published in England in the behalfe of the kings prerogatiue roiall against the pope.

The kings highnes streitlie chargeth and commandeth, that no maner of person, of what estate, degree, or condition soeuer he or they be of, doe purchase or attempt to purchase from the court of Rome or elsewhere, nor vse & put in execution, diuulge, or publish any thing hertofore within this yeare passed purchased, or to be purchased hereafter, contemning mater preiudiciall to the high authoritie, iurisdiction, and prerogatiue roiall of this his said realme, or to the let, hinderance, or impeachment of his graces noble & vertuous intended purposes in the premises, vpon paine of incurring his highnesse indignation, and imprisonment, and further punishment of their bodies for their so doing at his graces pleasure, to the dreadfull example of all other.

Some iudged, that this proclamation was made, because the queene (as was said) had purchased a new bull for ratification of hir marriage. Others thought that it was made, because the cardinall had purchased

The cardinall  
prepared his  
iournie into the north

Abr. Fl. ex  
I. S. pag. 970.  
The cardinall  
at his manor  
of Calowd  
happily &  
dreadfull  
house.

The cardinall  
knoweth not  
that he was  
to be arrested  
of treason.

Vicar of St  
Edmes

A great  
wind,

Prognostic-  
tions of the  
cardinals ru-  
ine of fall.

Doctor Wo-  
lfe head  
broke.

what was  
said in the  
cardinal  
maner.

m. 1530

The cardinall  
repareth  
his counte-  
nto the night

purchased a bull to curthe the king, if he would not  
refoze him to his old dignities, and suffer him to  
cozeat the spiritualtie, the king not to meddle with  
the same. In ded manie coniectured, that the cardinall  
grudging at his fall from so high dignities, stie-  
ked not to write things founding to the kings re-  
proch, both to the pope, and other princes; so that ma-  
nie opprobrious words were spoken to doctor Do-  
ward kierre the kings orator at Rome, and that it  
was said to him, that for the cardinals sake the king  
should haue the twofold speed in the sute of his mari-  
monie.

Ab. Fl. ex  
12 pag. 770.  
The cardinall  
at this maner  
of Caluod  
togeth  
a countess  
house.

Cardinall Wolseie lieng at Caluod, held there  
an honourable and plentiful house for all comers,  
and also built & repaired the castell, which was great-  
lie in decay, hauing artificers and labourers aboue  
thye hundred persons baillie in wages. At length  
being thereunto perswaded by the doctors of the  
church of Pozeke, he determined to be installed there  
at Pozeke minster, the next monday after Alhal-  
lowes daie, against which time due preparation was  
made for the same, but not in such sumptuous wise,  
as his predecessors before him had used. For whereas  
the cardinall was not abashed to send to the king, re-  
quiring him to lend him the mitre and pall which he  
was wont to weare when he sang masse in ante so-  
lemne assemble: the king vpon sight of his letters,  
could not but maruell at the proud presumptuousnes  
of the man, saying: What a thing is this, that pride  
shuld thus reigne in a person that is quite vnder foot.

The cardinall  
knoweth not  
that he was  
arrested  
at Caluod.

The daie being once knowne vnto the worship-  
full gentlemen of the countrie, and other, as abbatts,  
and priors, and notice of his installation, they sent  
in such prouision of vittells, that it is almost incredi-  
ble, all which was vnknewne to the cardinall, for as  
much as he was presented and disappointed of his  
purpose, by the reason that he was arrested of high  
treason, as ye shall hereafter heare. So that most  
part of this former prouision that I speake of, was  
sent vnto Pozeke the same daie of his arrest, and  
the next daie following: for his arrest was kept as  
close as could be. The order of his arrest was thus. It  
was appointed by the king & counsell, that sir Walter  
Walsh knight, one of the kings priue chamber,  
shoulde be sent downe with a commission into the  
north vnto the earle of Northumberland (who was  
sometime brought vp in house with the cardinall) and  
they twaine being iointlie in commission to arrest  
the cardinall of high treason, maister Walsh toke  
his horse at the court gate, about none, vpon Alhal-  
lowes daie, toward the earle of Northumberland.

Heire of Sh.  
Gives him

I great  
doubt,

Signifi-  
cations of the  
cardinals tu-  
mourell,

And now haue I occasion to declare what hap-  
pened about the same time, which peradventure sig-  
nified the troubles following to the cardinall. The  
cardinall sitting at dinner vpon Alhalowes daie,  
hauing at his bozds end diuerse chapleins sitting at  
dinner, ye shall vnderstand that the cardinals great  
crosse stood in a corner at the tables end, leaning a-  
gainst the hanging, and when the bozds end was ta-  
ken vp, and a conuentent time for the chapleins to  
arise, one doctor Augustine a Venecian, and physici-  
an to the cardinall, rising from the table with the o-  
ther, hauing vpon him a great golowne of boisterous  
veluet, ouerthrew the crosse, which trailing downe a-  
long the tappet, with the point of one of the crosses,  
broke doctor Bonars head that the blood ran downe,  
the companie there standing greatlie astonied with  
the chance.

Doctor Bo-  
nars head  
broke.

The cardinall perceiuing the same, demanded  
what the matter meant of their sudden amaze: And  
they shewed him of the fall of his crosse vpon doctor  
Bonars head. Whay it (quoth he) dratone anie blood?  
Pea forsooth my lord (quoth they.) With that he cast  
his eyes aside, & shaking his head, said *Deus mihi opem*, &

that was  
the cause of  
his perill.

therewith saying grace, rose from the table, & went  
to his chamber. Now marke the signification how  
the cardinall expounded this matter at Domsret af-  
ter his fall. First, ye shall vnderstand, that the crosse  
which he bare as archbishop of Pozeke, signified him-  
selfe; and Augustine the physician who ouerthrew the  
crosse, was onelie he that accused the cardinall,  
whereby his enemies caught an occasion to ouer-  
throw him: it fell vpon doctor Bonars head, who was  
maister of the cardinals faculties and spirituall iu-  
risdictions, and was then dammed by the ouerthrow  
of the crosse: yea, and more ouer, drawing blood of  
him, betokened death, which shortly after did insue.

How the car-  
dinall expoun-  
ded the fall of  
his crosse.

About the time of this mischance, the same verie  
daie and season, maister Walsh toke his horse at the  
court as nigh as could be iudged. Now the appoin-  
ted time drew nere of his installation, and sitting at  
dinner vpon the fridaye next before the monday on  
the which daie he intended to be installed at Pozeke,  
the earle of Northumberland and maister Walsh,  
with a great companie of gentlemen of the earles  
house, & of the countrie, whome he had gathered to-  
gether in the kings name, came to the hall at Caluod,  
the officers being at dinner, and the cardinall not  
fullie dined, being then in his fruits. The first thing  
that the earle did after he had set order in the hall, he  
commanded the porter at the gates to deliuer him  
the keyes thereof. Who would in no wise obeye his  
commandement, though he were roughlie threate-  
ned, and shrewdly commanded in the kings name to  
make deliuerie of them to one of the earles ser-  
uants.

The earle of  
Northumber-  
land arresteth  
the cardinall.

Sir (quoth he) seeing that ye do but intend to set  
one of your seruants in my place to keepe the gates,  
I know no seruant that ye haue but I am as able  
as he to do it, and keepe the gates to your purpose  
(whatsoener it be) also the keyes were deliuered me  
by my lord and maister, wherefore I praye you to par-  
don me, for whatsoeuer ye shall command me to do  
in the ministracion of mine office, I shall do it with  
a good will. With that (quoth the earle) hold him a  
booke (& commanding him to laie his hand thereon:)  
Thou shalt sweare (quoth he) that thou shalt well and  
trulie keepe the gates to the kings vse, and to do all  
such things as we shall command: and that ye shall  
let passe neither in nor out at these gates, but such as  
ye be commanded by vs. And with this oth he recei-  
ued the keyes at the earles hands.

The porter  
deliuereth the  
keyes to the  
earle.

Of all these doings knew the cardinall nothing, for  
they stopped the staires, so that none went vp to the  
cardinals chamber, and they that came downe could  
no more go vp againe. At the last one escaped, who  
shewed the cardinall that the earle was in the hall.  
Whereat the cardinall maruelled, and would not be-  
leue him, but commanded a gentleman to bring  
him the truth, who going downe the staires, saw the  
earle of Northumberland, and returned, and said it  
was verie he. Then (quoth the cardinall) I am forie  
that we haue dined, for I feare our officers be not  
prouided of anie store of god fish, to make him some  
honorable chere, let the table stand (quoth he.) With  
that he rose vp, and going downe the staires, he en-  
countered the earle coming vp with all his suite.  
And as soone as the cardinall espied the earle, he put  
off his cap, and said, My lord ye be most hartlie wel-  
come, and so embraced each other.

The cardinall  
maruelleth at  
the earles sur-  
den coming.

Then the cardinall toke the earle by the hand, and  
had him vp into the chamber, whome followed all the  
number of the earles seruants. From thence he led  
him into his bed-chamber, and they being there all a-  
lone, the earle said vnto the cardinall with a soft  
voice, laing his hand vpon his arme: My lord I ar-  
rest you of high treason. With which words the car-  
dinall being maruellouslie astonied, standing both  
still

The action of  
arrest which  
the cardinall  
takeh in ill  
part.



Will a good space. At last (quoth the cardinal) What authoritie haue you to arrest me? Forsooth my lord (quoth the erle) I haue a commission so to do. Where is your commission (quoth he) that I may see it? Praise sir that you may not (said the erle.) Well then (quoth the cardinal) I will not obeye your rest. But as they were debating this matter betwene them in the chamber, as busie was maister Walsh in arresting doctor Augustine at the doore of the palace, saieing vnto him, Go in traitor or I shall make thee.

The cardinal  
desireth to see  
the commissi-  
on of the arch.

At the last maister Walsh being entred the cardinals chamber, began to plucke off his hood, and after kneeled downe to the cardinal. Vnto whom the cardinal said, Come hither gentleman & let me speake with you: Sir, here my lord of Northumberland hath arrested me, but by whose authoritie he sheweth not, if ye be ioined with him I praise you shew me. Indeed my lord (quoth maister Walsh) he sheweth you the truth. Well then (quoth the cardinal) I praise you let me see it. Sir I beseech you (quoth maister Walsh) hold vs excused: there is annexed to our commission certeine instructions, which you may not see. Well (quoth the cardinal) I trow ye are one of the kings priuie chamber, your name is Walsh, I am content to yeld to you, but not to my lord of Northumberland without I see his commission: the worst in the kings priuie chamber is sufficient to arrest the greatest pce of the realme by the kings commandement, without anye commission, therefore put your commission and authoritie in execution, spare not, I will obeye the kings will; I take God to iudge, I neuer offended the king in word nor deed.

The cardinal  
committed to  
the custodie of  
the earls gen-  
tlemen.

Then the earle called into the chamber diuerse gentlemen of his owne seruants, and after they had taken the cardinals keyes from him, they put him in custodie of the earles gentlemen, and then they went about the house to set all things in an order. Then sent they doctor Augustine awaie to London with as much speed as they could, who was bound vnto the howse like a traitor. But it was sundae toward night per the cardinal was conueied from Calwood, who lodged that night in the abbeye of Pomfret. The next daie he remoued toward Doncaster, and was there lodged at the Blacke friers. The next daie he was remoued to Sheffield parke, where the earle of Shrewsburie with his table, and a traine of gentlemen and gentlewomen receiued him with much honour. Then departed all the great number of gentlemen that conducted him thither.

The cardinal  
honourable  
receiued and  
serued at the  
earle of  
Shrewsbu-  
ries house.

The cardinal being thus with the earle of Shrewsburie, continued there eightene daies after, vpon whome the earle appointed diuerse gentlemen to attend continuallie, to see that he should lacke nothing, being serued in his owne chamber as honorable as he had bene in his owne house, and once euerie daie the earle would repaire to him and commune with him. After the cardinal had thus remained with the earle of Shrewsburie about a fortnight, it came to passe at a certeine time as he sat at dinner in his owne chamber, hauing at his boyds end a messe of gentlemen and chapleins to keepe him companie, toward the end of his dinner, when he was come to eating his fruits, his colour was perceiued often to change, whereby he was iudged not to be in good health.

The cardinal  
sickneth sit-  
ting at the  
table.

Wherevpon one of his gentlemen said, Sir, me seemes you are not well at ease. To whom he answered with lowd voice, Forsooth no more I am, for I am (quoth he) taken suddenlie with a thing about my stomack, that lieth there along as cold as a whetstone, which is no more but wind, I praise you go to the apothecarie, & inquire of him if he haue anye thing that will breake wind vpwart. Then went he to the earle

and shewed him what estate the cardinal was in, and what he desired. With that, the earle caused the apothecarie to be called before him, & demanded of him if he had anye thing that would breake wind vpwart in a manahobie. And he answered he had such gære. Then (quoth the earle) fetch me some. Then the apothecarie fetched a white confession in a faire paper, & shewed it to the earle; who commanded one to giue the assaie thereof before him, and then the same to be brought to the cardinal, who receiued it by all at once into his mouth.

But immediatlie after suerlie, he auoided much wind vpwart: So (quoth he) ye may see that it was but wind, and now I am well eased, I thanke God, and so rose from the table, and went to his prayers. And that done, there came vnto him such a loosenesse, that it caused him to go to the stalle. And not long after the earle of Shrewsburie came into the gallerie to him, with whome the cardinal met: and then sitting downe vpon a bench, the earle asked him how he did, and he most lamentable answered him, and thanked him for his good intertainment. Sir (quoth the earle) if ye remember, ye haue often wished to come before the king, to make your answer; and I haue written to the king in that behalf, making him priuie of your lamentation that ye inwardlie haue receiued for his displeasure, who accepteth all your doings therein, as friends be accustomed to do in such cases: therefore I would aduise you to plucke by your hart, and be not agast of your eninies, I doubt not but this your tourne to his highnesse shall be much to your advancement.

The cardinal  
saileth into a  
stee that cut  
him his life.

The king hath sent for you that worthy knight maister Kingston, and with him foure and twentie of your old seruants, now of the gard, to the intent ye may safely come to his maiestie. Sir (quoth the cardinal) I trow maister Kingston is constable of the Tower. Yea, what of that (quoth the erle) I assure you he is elected by the king for one of your friends. Well (quoth the cardinal, as God will, so be it, I am subiect to fortune, being a true man, ready to accept such chances as shall follow, and there an end; I praise you where is maister Kingston. Quoth the earle, I will send for him. I praise you so do (quoth the cardinal) at whose message he came. And as soone as the cardinal espied him, he made hast to encounter him, and at his comming he kneeled to him, and saluted him in the kings behalf, whome the cardinal bare-headed offered to take vp, and said: I praise you stand by, kneele not to me, I am but a wretched reple with miserie, not esteeming my selfe but as a vile abject, bitterlie cast awaie, without desert, as God knoweth.

Sir William  
Kingston is  
sent to fetch  
by the card-  
nall before the  
king.

The earl  
strimmet  
his own  
experience  
supplicke  
he can  
iure.

Then said maister Kingston with humble reuerence: Sir, the king hath him commended vnto you. I thanke his highnesse quoth the cardinal, I trust he be in health. Yea (quoth maister Kingston) and he commanded me to saie to you, that you should assure your selfe that he beareth you as much good will as euer he did, and willet you to be of good chere. And where report hath bene made, that ye should commit against him certeine heinous crimes, which he thinks to be vnture, yet he can do no lesse than send for you to your triall, & to take your iourne to him at your owne pleasure, commanding me to be attendant vpon you. Therefore sir I praise you, when it shall be your owne pleasure to take your iourne, I shall be ready to giue attendance. Maister Kingston (quoth he) I thanke you for your newes, and sir, if I were as lustie as I haue bene but of late, I would ride with you in post, but I am diseased with a flur that maketh me verie weake, but I shall with all speed make me ready to ride with you to me: retu.

Talks he  
toward the  
earl William  
& the cardinal.

Shew  
vicari  
death  
card

Can  
vide  
1531

The cardinal  
extremely  
with

with the laske, the which caused him continually to go to the skole all that night, in so much that he had that night fittie strokes: therefore in consideration of his infirmite, they caused him to tarrie all that day: and the next daie he took his iourne with master Kingston, and them of the gard, till he came to an house of the earle of Shrewesburie called Hardwike hall, where he late all night verie euill at ease. The next daie he rode to Nottingham, and there lodged that night moze sicke: and the next daie he rode to Leicester abbeie, and by the waie towared so sicke that he was almost fallen from his mule; so that it was night before he came to the abbeie of Leicester, where at his comming in at the gates, the abbat with all his convent met him with diuers torches light, whom they honozable receiued and welcomed.

So whom the cardinall said: Father abbat, I am come hither to lay my bones among you, riding so still untill he came to the staires of the chamber, where he alighted from his mule, and master Kingston let him vp the staires, and as sone as he was in his chamber he went to bed. This was on the saturday at night, and then increased he sicker and sicker, untill mondaie, that all men thought he would haue died: so on tuesday saint Andrewees euen, master Kingston came to him and bad him god morrow, for it was about six of the clocke, and asked him how he did: Sir (quoth he) I tarrie but the pleasure of God, to render vp my poore soule into his hands. Pat so sir (quoth master Kingston) with the grace of God, yee shall liue and doe verie well, if yee will be of god there. Nay in god soth master Kingston, my disease is such, that I can not liue: for I haue had some experience in physike.

Thus it is, I haue a fior with a continuall feuer, the nature whereof is, that if there be no alteration of the same within eight daies, either must insue excoitation of the intralles, or transie, or else present death, and the best of them is death, and (as I suppose) this is the eight daie, & if yee see no alteration in me, there is no remedie, saue (though I may liue a daie or twaine after) but death must insue. Sir (quoth master Kingston) you be in much penituenes, doubting that thing, that in god faith yee need not. Well, well, master Kingston (quoth the cardinall) I see the matter how it is framed: but if I had serued God as diligentlie as I haue done the king, he would not haue giuen me ouer in my greie haire: but it is the iust reward that I must receiue for the diligent paines and studie that I haue had to doe him seruite, not regarding my seruite to God, but onelie to satisfie his pleasure.

I praye you haue me most humble commended unto his roiall maiestie, & beseech him in my behalfe to call to his princelie remembrance all matters proceeding betwene him & me from the beginning of the world, and the progresse of the same, &c. Master Kingston fare well, I can no moze saie, but I wish all things to haue good successe, my time draweth on fast. And euen with that he began to draw his spech at length, & his tong to falle, his eyes being set, whose sight failed him. Then they did put him in remembrance of Christ his passion, & caused the peomen of the gard to stand by to see him die, and to witnesse of his wordes at his departure: & incontinent the clocke stroke eight, and then he gaue vp the ghost, and departed this present life: which caused some to call to remembrance how he said the daie before, that at eight of the clocke they should lose their master.

Here is the end and fall of pride and arrogancie of men exalted by fortune to dignitie: for in his time he was the hautiest man in all his proceedings a line, hauing moze respect to the honoz of his person, than he had to his spirituall profession, wher in should

be shewed all meekenes, humilitie, and charitie. [An example (saith Guicciardin, who handleth this storie effectually, and sheweth the cause of this cardinals ruine) in our daies worthie of memorie, touching the power which fortune and ennie hath in the courts of princes.] He died in Leicester abbeie, & in the church of the same abbeie was buried. Such is the suertie of mans brittle state, doubtfull in birth, & no lesse feeble in life, which is as vncertaine, as death most certaine, and the meanes thereof manifold, which as in number they exceed; so in hangingenelle they passe: all degrees of ages & diuersities of seres being subiect to the same. In consideration whereof, it was notable said by one that wrote a whole volume of infirmities, diseases, and passions incident to children:

*A primis vita diuersos humine morbos  
Perpetimur, diuis affumique malis:  
Donec in octavam redeat qui vixit ab ortu,  
Antea quam discat vivere, vita cadit.*

Sebast. Astes-  
nius.

This cardinall (as Edmund Campian in his historie of Ireland describeth him) was a man undoubtedly borne to honoz: I thinke (saith he) some princes bastard, no butchers sonne, exceeding wise, faire spoken, high minded, full of reuenge, bitious of his bodie, loffie to his enemies, were they neuer so big, to those that accepted and sought his friendship wonderfull courteous, a ripe scholeman, thall to affections, brought a bed with flatterie, insatiable to get, and moze princelie in bestowing, as appeareth by his two colleges at Ipswich and Drenford, the one ouerthrowne with his fall, the other unfinished, and yet as it lieth for an house of students, considering all the appurtenances incomparable thorough Christendome, whereof Henrie the eight is now called founder, because he let it stand. He held and intioed at once the bishopricke of Dorke, Duresme, & Winchester, the dignities of lord cardinall, legat, & chancellor, the abbeie of saint Albons, diuerse priories, sundrie fat benefices in commendam, a great preferer of his seruants, an advancer of learning, stout in euerie quarell, neuer happie till this his ouerthrow. Wherein he shewed such moderation, and ended so perfectlie, that the houre of his death did him moze honoz, than all the pompe of his life passed. Thus far Campian. Here it is necessarie to adde that notable discourse, which I find in Iohn Stow, concerning the state of the cardinall, both in the yeares of his youth, and in his settled age: with his sudden comming vp from pferment to pferment; till he was aduanced to that step of honoz, which making him insolent, brought him to confusion.

This Thomas Wolseie was a poore mans sonne of Ipswich, in the countie of Suffolke, & there borne, and being but a child, verie apt to be learned, by the meanes of his parents he was conueied to the vniuersitie of Drenford, where he shortly prospered so in learning, as he was made bachelior of art, when he passed not fittene yeares of age, and was called most commonlie thorough the vniuersitie the boie bachelior. Thus prospering in learning, he was made fellow of Pawdeline college, and afterward appointed to be scholemaster of Pawdelin schole, at which time the lord marquesse Dorset had three of his sonnes there at schole, committing vnto him as well their education as their instruction. It pleased the said lord marquesse against a Christmas season to send as well for the scholemaster, as for his children home to his house for their recreation, in that pleasant and honozable feast.

Then being there, the lord their father, perceiving them to be right well imployed in learning for their time, he hauing a benefice in his gift, being at that time void, gaue the same to the scholemaster in reward of his diligence at his departure after Christmas.

The description of cardinals  
will wolseie,  
set downe by  
Edmund  
Campian.

Abr. Fl. ex l. 3.  
pag. 904, 905,  
&c.  
The ascen-  
ding of Thoma-  
mas wolseie,  
Bachelior of  
art at fittene  
yeares old.

Scholemas-  
ter to the  
marquesse  
Dorsets  
children.

The cardinall  
falleth into a  
flur that cost  
him his life.

Mr William  
Kingston is  
sent to fetch  
up the cardin-  
all before the  
king.

The cardinall  
dismayed by  
his owne ex-  
perience in  
physike that  
he can not  
live.

The cardinall  
wondereth how  
little the iust  
meritment of  
God.

Wherewith in-  
duction of  
death in the  
cardinall.

Example of  
pride and ar-  
rogancie.

Mr Wolke had  
twice the said  
Mr William &  
the cardinall.

The cardinall  
extremely  
sith



The certine  
berie expre-  
and ready in  
his ambal-  
lage.

The cardinal  
pudently to  
have upon a  
crosse and  
bearing ope-  
nion of his  
unconquie-  
red and the  
king's favor.

His returne  
into England  
after his amb-  
ballage dis-  
charged.

The king  
marvelleth at  
the cardinal's  
speeche re-  
turne.

The cardinal  
saith upon  
the mea-  
asures of all  
things as  
fours.

He before  
pag. 822.

Thomas  
wolfe deane  
of Lincoln.  
Thomas  
wolfe the  
king's almon-  
ner.

Thomas  
wolfe bi-  
shop of Wor-  
cestre.

Thomas  
wolfe of the  
prince coun-  
cell unto  
Henrie the  
eighth.

to be the expositour to the king in all their proce-  
dings, in whome the king receiued such a leaning  
fantasie, for that he was most earnest and readiest of  
all the counsell to aduance the kings will and plea-  
sure: the king therefore esteemed him so highly, that  
all the other counsellors were put from the great fa-  
uor that they before were in, insomuch that the king  
committed all his will vnto his disposition, which the  
almoner perceiuing, tooke vpon him therefore to dis-  
charge the king of the weightie and trouble some bur-  
sinesse, perswading the king that he should not need  
to spare any time of his pleasure for any businesse  
that should happen in the counsell.

And whereas the other counsellors would diuerse  
times perswade the king to haue sometime recourse  
into the counsell chamber, there to heare what was  
done; the almoner would perswade him to the con-  
trarie, which delighted him much: and thus the almo-  
ner ruled all them that were before him, such did his  
politic and wit bring to passe. Who was now in high  
favor: but master almoner. And who ruled all vnder  
the king, but master almoner: Thus he persecuted in  
favor, vntill at last in came presents, gifts, and re-  
wards so plentifullie, that he lacked nothing that  
might either please his fantasie, or enrich his coffers.

And thus proceeding in fortunes blissfulnesse, it  
chanced the warres betwene the realmes of Eng-  
land and France to be open, insomuch as the king  
was fullie perswaded in his most roiall person to  
trauaise his forren enemies with a puissant armie;  
wherefore it was necessarie that this roiall enter-  
prize should be speedilie provided and furnished, in e-  
uerie degree of things apt & conuenient for the same,  
for the expedition wherof the king thought no mans  
wit to meet for politic and painefull traueile, as was  
his almoner, to whome therefore he committed his  
whole trust therein, and he tooke vpon him the whole  
charge of all the businesse, and brought all things to  
good passe in a decent order, as all manner of vittells,  
provisions, and other necessities conuenient for so  
noble a voyage and armie.

All things being by him perfected, the king ad-  
uanced to his roiall enterprize, passed the seas, and  
marched forward in good order of battell, vntill he  
came to the strong towne of Teruine, to the which  
he laid his siege, and assailed it verie strongly conti-  
nuallie with such vehement assaults, that within  
short space it was yielded vnto his maiestie, vnto the  
which place the emperor Maximilian repaired vnto  
the king with a great armie like a mightie prince, ta-  
king of the king his graces wages: which is a rare  
thing, and but seldom seene, an emperor to fight  
vnder a kings banner.

Thus after the king had obtained this puissant fort  
and taken the possession thereof, and set all things  
there in due order, for the defense and preservation  
thereof to his vse, he departed thence, and marched  
toward the citie of Torneie, and there laid his siege  
in like manner, to the which he gaue so fierce & sharpe  
assault, that they were constrained of fine force to  
render the towne vnto his victorious maiestie: at  
which time the king gaue the almoner the bishopricke  
of the same see, towards his paines and diligence su-  
stained in that iournie. Now when the king had esta-  
blished all things agreeable to his will and pleasure,  
and furnished the same with noble capteines & men  
of warre for the safeguard of the towne, he returned  
againe into England, taking with him diuerse no-  
ble personages of France being prisoners, as the  
duke of Longue, and vicount Clarimont, with o-  
ther which were taken there in a skirmish.

After whose returne, immediatlie the see of Lin-  
colne fell void, by the death of doctour Smith late bi-  
shop there, the which benefice his grace gaue to his

almoner, late bishop of Torneie elect, who was not  
negligent to take possession thereof, and made all the  
speed he could for his consecration: the solemnization  
whereof ended, he found meanes that he gat the pos-  
session of all his predecessors goods into his hands.  
It was not long after that doctour Wenzlike archbi-  
shop of Pozke died at Rome, being there the kings  
ambassador, vnto the which see the king immediatlie  
presented his late and new bishop of Lincoln; so  
that he had thre bishopricks in his hands in one pere  
giuen him.

Then prepared he for his translation from the see  
of Lincoln, vnto the see of Pozke, after which solemn-  
ization done, he being then an archbishop *Primas*  
*Anglie*, thought himselfe sufficient to compare with  
Canturburie, and thereupon erected his crosse in the  
court, and euerie other place, as well within the pre-  
dict and iurisdiction of Canturburie, as in any o-  
ther place. And forsomuch as Canturburie claimeth  
a superiortie ouer Pozke, as ouer all other bishop-  
ricks within England, and for that cause claimeth as  
a knowledge of an ancient obedience of Pozke, to  
abate the aduancing of his crosse, in presence of  
the crosse of Canturburie; notwithstanding, the  
archbishop of Pozke nothing minding to desist from  
bearing thereof, in maner as I said before, cau-  
sed his crosse to be aduanced, as well in the pre-  
sence of Canturburie as elsewhere. Wherefore Can-  
turburie being moued therewith, gaue vnto Pozke  
a certine cheque for his presumption, by reason  
whereof, there ingendered some grudge betwene  
Pozke and Canturburie; Pozke intending to pro-  
uide some such meanes, that he would be rather su-  
perior in dignitie to Canturburie, than to be either  
obedient or equall to him. Wherefore he obtained to  
be made priest cardinal, and *Legatus de latere*: vnto  
whome the pope sent a cardinals hat with certine  
buls for his authoritie in that behalfe. Yet you shall  
vnderstand, that the pope sent him this worthie hat  
of dignitie, as a ietwell of his honor and authoritie,  
the which was conueied in a varlets budget, who se-  
med to all men to be but a person of small estima-  
tion.

Wherefore Pozke being aduertised of the basenes  
of this messenger, & of the peoples opinion, thought  
it meete for his honor, that this ietwell should not be  
conueied by so simple a person, and therefore caused  
him to be stopped by the wate immediatlie after his  
arrivall in England, where he was newlie furnished  
in all manner of apparell, with all kind of costlie silks,  
which seemed decent for such an high ambassador, and  
that done, he was incountered vpon Blackheath,  
and there receiued with a great assemble of prelates,  
and lustie gallant gentlemen, and from thence con-  
ducted thorough London with great triumph. Then  
was great and speedie preparation made in West-  
minster abbey, for the confirmation and acceptance  
of this high order and dignitie, the which was execu-  
ted by all the bishops and abbats about or nigh Lon-  
don, with their rich miters and copes, and other orna-  
ments, which was done in so soleinne wise, as had  
not bene seene the like, vntill it had bene at the co-  
ronation of a mightie prince or king. Obtaining this  
dignitie, he thought himselfe meet to beare rule a-  
mong the temporall power, & among the spiritual  
iurisdiction: wherefore, remembryng as well the taunts  
sustained of Canturburie, as hauing respect to the ad-  
uancement of worldlie honor & promotion, he found  
the meanes with the king, that he was made lord  
chancellor of England, and Canturburie which was  
chancellor dismissed, who had continued in that come  
long since before the deceasse of Henrie the seventh.  
Now being in possession of the chancellorship, & car-  
indued with the promotions of the archbishop, & car-  
dinal.

Thomas  
wolfe bi-  
shop of Lin-  
colne.

See pag. 835.

Thomas  
wolfe arch-  
bishop of  
Pozke.

Note the  
pride of wol-  
fete and his  
ambition.

The two  
archbishops  
at strife for  
the preroga-  
tive.

Thomas  
wolfe car-  
dinal, see  
pag. 837.

The cardinal  
in all his ac-  
tions standeth  
vpon his re-  
putation.

Thomas  
wolfe lord  
chancellor ar-  
rogateth all  
that he may  
to himselfe by  
virtue of his  
promotions.

dinall *De Latere*, hauing power to correct Canturburie, and all other bishops and spirituall persons, to assemble his conuocation when he would assigne, he took vpon him the correction of matters in all their iurisdiccions, and visited all the spirituall houses, hauing in euerie diocesse all maner of spirituall ministers, as commissaries, scribes, apparatoz, and all other officers to furnish his courts, and presented by pzeuention whome he pleased vnto all benefices throughout all this realme.

And to the aduancing further of his legantine iurisdiction and honor, he had masters of his faculties, masters *Ceremoniarum*, and such other, to the glorifying of his dignitie. Then had he his two great crosses of silver, the one of his archbishoprike, the other of his legacie, borne before him whither soeuer he went or rode, by two of the tallest priests that he could get within the realme. And to increase his gaines, he had also the bishoprike of Durham, and the abbete of saint Albons in commendation. And after, when doctor For bishop of Winchester died, he surrendered Durham into the kings hands, and toke to him Winchester. Then had he in his hand (as it were in farme) the bishoprikes of Bath, Worcester, & Hereford, so for much as the incumbents of them were strangers, and made their abode continually beyond the seas in their owne countries, or else at Rome, from whence they were sent in legation to this realme vnto the king, and for their reward at their departure, king Henrie the seuenth gaue them those bishoprikes.

But they being strangers, thought it more meet for the assurance to suffer the cardinall to haue their benefices for a conuenient sum of monie paid them yearelie, where they remained, than either to be troubled with the charges of the same, or to be yearelie burthened with the conueiance of their reuenues vnto them: so that all the spirituall livings and presentations of these bishoprikes were sulte in his disposition, to prefer whom he liked. He had also a great number daillie attending vpon him, both of noblemen & worthie gentlemen, with no small number of the tallest yeomen that he could get in all the realme, in so much that well was that nobleman and gentleman, that could preferre a tall yeoman to his seruice.

He shall vnderstand, that he had in his hall continually three bozds, kept with three severall principall officers, that is to saie, a steward which was alwaies a priest; a treasurer a knight; and a comptroller an esquier; also a cofferer being a doctor; three marshals; three yeomen vishers in the hall, besides two gromes, and almoners. Then in the hall kitchin, two clerks of the kitchin; a cleark the comptroller; a surueior of the dressto; a cleark of the spicerie, the which together kept also a continuall messe in the hall. Also in his hall kitchin he had of master cooks two, and of other cooks, labozers and children of the kitchin, twelue persons; foure yeomen of the scullerie, and foure yeomen of the silver scullerie; two yeomen of the pastrie, with two other pastlers vnder the yeomen.

Then in his priuie kitchin a master coke, who went daillie in velvet or in sattin, with a chaine of gold, with two other yeomen and a grome: in the scalding house, a yeoman and two gromes: in the pantrie two persons: in the butterie two yeomen, two gromes, and two pages: and in the yewrie likewise: in the cellar three yeomen, and three pages: in his chandrie two: in the wasarie two: in the wardrobe of beds, the master of the wardrobe, and ten other persons: in the landrie, a yeoman, a grome, thirtie pages, two yeomen purueioz, & one grome: in the bake-house, a yeoman and two gromes: in

the wood-yard a yeoman, and a grome: in the barne one: in the garden a yeoman and two gromes: porters at the gate, two yeomen, and two gromes: a yeoman of his barge: and a maister of his horse: a cleark of the stable, a yeoman of the same: the sadler: the ferrier: a yeoman of his chariot: a sumpter man: a yeoman of his stirrop: a muleter: thirtene gromes of his stable, euerie of them kept foure geldings.

In the almozie a yeoman and a grome: in his chapell he had a deane, a great divine, and a man of excellent learning: a subdeane: a repeater of the quire: a gospeller: a pissler: of singing priests ten: a maister of the children: seculars of the chapell, singing men twelue: singing children ten, with one servant to await vpon the children: in the reuererie a yeoman, and two gromes, ouer and besides diuerse retainers that came thither at principall feasts, for the furniture of his chapell, it passeth my capacitie to declare the number of costlie ornaments and rich jewels that were to be occupied in the same continually: there hath bene scene in procession, about the hall, foure and fortie verie rich coapes of one sute two, besides the rich crosses and candlesticks, and other ornaments to the furniture of the same.

He had two crossebearers, and two pillerbearers in his great chamber: and in his priuie chamber these persons: first the chiefe chamberleine, and vicechamberleine: of gentlemen vishers, besides one in his priuie chamber, he had twelue daillie waiters; and of gentlemen waiters in his priuie chamber he had six, and of lordes nine or ten, who had each of them two men allowed them to attend vpon them, except the earle of Darbie, who had allowed five men: then had he of gentlemen, of cupbearers, caruers, and sewers, both of the priuie chamber, and of the great chamber, with gentlemen daillie waiters there, fortie persons: of yeomen vishers six: of gromes in his chamber eight: of yeomen in his chamber five and fortie daillie: he had also almes men sometime more

There was attending on his bozrd of doctors and chapleins, besides them of his chapell, thirtene daillie: a cleark of his closet: secretaries two: and two clerks of his signet: and foure counsellors learned in the law. And for so much as it was necessarie to haue diuerse officers of the Chancerie to attend vpon him, that is to saie, the clerke of the crowne: a riding cleark: a cleark of the hamper: and a chafer of the war: then a cleark of the checke, aswell vpon the chapleins, as of the yeoman of his chamber: he had also foure footmen which were garnished in rich running coats, when soeuer he rode in anye tourneie: then had he an herald of armes: and a sergeant of armes: a physician: an apothecarie: foure minstrels: a keeper of his tents: an armorier: an instructo of his wards: two yeomen of the wardrobe of his robes: and a keeper of his chamber continually in the court: he had also in his house the surueior of Porke, and a cleark of the greene cloth.

All these were daillie attending, downe lieng and vpyng, and at meales: he kept in his great chamber a continuall bozrd for the chamberers and gentlemen officers, hauing with them a messe of the young lordes, and another of gentlemen. Besides all these, there was neuer an officer, gentleman, or worthie person, but he was allowed in the house, some three, some two, and all other one at the least, which grew to a great number of persons. Thus farre out of the checker roll, besides other officers, seruants, retainers, and suters, that most commonlie dined in the hall. After that he was thus furnished, he was sent thence in ambassage to the emperor Charles the first, for diuerse urgent causes touching the kings maiestie,

Thomas wolseye bishop of Winchester, he had also three other bishopricks in his hands as it were in farme.

what kind of persons he retained in his seruice.

The order of the cardinals house, and first of his hall.

The hall kitchin.

The priuie kitchin.  
The scalding house.  
The pantrie.  
The butterie.  
The yewrie.  
The cellar.  
The chandrie  
Wasarie, &c.

Thomas wolseye chapell and such as bare office there.

The furniture of his chapell.

Officers of the great chamber.  
Thomas wolseye in his priuie chamber.

Attendants on his bozrd.

Officers of the Chancerie

His footmen.

His herald of armes & other officers.

Thomas wolseye trait ambassador to the emperor Charles.

The emperor's mountance horse and worthie person.

The man his gown, willow hall daillie the terms time.

His own parrill of lin and sumptuous stuffe.

The two and ma his doge boyme him.



An. Reg. 23.

maitie, it was thought, that so noble a prince (the cardinal) was most meet to be sent: wherefore being ready to take upon him the charge thereof, he was furnished in all degrees and purposes, most like a great prince.

For first he proceeded forth furnished like a cardinal: his gentlemen being verie manie in number, were clothed in luerie coats of crimson veluet of the best, with chaines of gold about their necks, and his peomen and meane officers in coats of fine scarlet, garded with blacke veluet an hand broad. Thus furnished, he was twice sent into Flanders to the emperor then lieng in Bruges, whome he did most highlie intertaine, discharging all his charges and his mens. There was no house within the towne of Bruges, wherein anie gentleman of the cardinals was lodged, or had recourse, but that the owners were commanded by the emperours officers, that they, upon paine of their liues, should take no monie for anie thing that the cardinals seruants did take of anie kind of vittels, no although they were disposed to make anie costlie bankets.

Commanding furthermore their said hostes, to see that they lacked no such things as they honestlie required for their honestie and pleasure. Also the emperours officers euerie night went through the towne from house to house, whereas anie English gentlemen did repast or lodge, and serued their liueries for all night, which was done in this maner. First, the officers brought into the house a cask of fine manchet, and of siluer two great pots with white wine, and sugar to the weight of a pound: white lights and yelow lights of wax: a boll of siluer with a goblet to drinke in, and euerie night a staffe torch: this was the order of the liueries euerie night. And in the morning, when the same officers came to fetch awaie their stuffe, then would they account with the hostes for the gentlemen's costs spent in the daie before. Thus the emperor intertained the cardinal and all his traine for the time of his ambassage there. And that done, he returned into England with great triumph.

Now of his order in going to Westminster hall daile in the tearme. First per he came out of his private chamber, he heard seruice in his closet, and there said his seruice with his chapleine; then going againe to his private chamber, he would demand if his seruants were in a readinesse, and furnished his chamber of presence, and waiting chamber. Being thereof then aduertised, he came out of his private chamber about eight of the clocke, appareled all in red, that is to say, his upper garment either of fine scarlet, or else fine crimsin taffata, but most comonlie of fine crimsin sattin ingrained, his pillion of fine scarlet, with a necke set in the inner side with blacke veluet, and a tippet of sables about his necke, holding in his hand an orange, whereof the substance within was taken out, and filled up againe with the part of a sponge, wherein was vineger and other confections against the pestilent aires, the which he most commonlie held to his nose when he came among anie people, or else that he was pestered with manie fumes.

Before him was borne first the broad seale of England, and his cardinals hat, by a lord, or some gentleman of worship, right solemnlie: as sone as he was once entered into his chamber of presence, his two great crosses were there attending to be borne before him: then cried the gentlemen vsiers, going before him bare headed, and said: On before my lords and maisters, or before, make waie for my lords grace. Thus went he downe through the hall with a sergant of armes before him, bearing a great mace of siluer, and two gentlemen carlieng two great pillars of siluer. And when he came at the

hall doze, there was his mule, being trapped all in crimsin veluet, with a saddle of the same stuffe, & gilt stirrups. Then was there attending upon him when he was mounted, his two crosse-bearers: & his pillar-bearers in like case upon great horses, trapped all in fine scarlet. Then marched he forward with a traine of noble men and gentlemen, having his footmen foure in number about him, bearing each of them a gilt pollax in their hands.

Thus passed he forth untill he came to Westminister hall doze, and there lighted, and went by after this maner into the Chancerie, or into the Starre-chamber: howbeit, most commonlie he would go into the Chancerie, and staie a while at a barre made for him beneath the Chancerie on the right hand, and there commune sometime with the iudges, and some time with other persons: and that done, he would repaire into the Chancerie, and sitting there untill eleuen of the clocke, hearing of sutes, and determining of other matters, from thence he would diuers times go into the Starre-chamber, as occasion serued. There he neither spared high nor low, but iudged euerie state according to his merits and deserts.

He used also euerie sundaie to resort to the court, then being for the most part of all the yeare at Crénewich, with his former triumphs, taking his barge at his obone staires, furnished with peomen standing upon the bails, and his gentlemen being within about him, and landed againe at the three cranes in the Wintrie: and from thence he rode upon his mule with his crosse, his pillars, his hat and broad seale carried afore him on horsebacke through Thames street, untill he came to Billingsgate, and there took his barge againe, and so was rowed to Crénewich, where he was receiued of the lords and chiefe officers of the kings house, as the treasurer, comptroller and others, and so conueied unto the kings chamber. When the court was wonderfullie furnished with noblemen and gentlemen: and after dinner among the lords, having some consultation with the king or with the counsell, he would depart homeward with the like triumph.

Thus in great honour, triumph, and glorie, he reigned a long season, ruling all things within the realme appertaining unto the king. His house was resorted to with noblemen and gentlemen, feasting and banquetting ambassadors diuerse times, and all other right noble. And when it pleased the king for his recreation to repaire to the cardinals house (as he did diuerse times in the yeare) there wanted no preparations or furniture: bankets were set forth with maskes and immumeries, in so gorgeous a sort and costlie maner, that it was an heauen to behold. There wanted no dames or damosels meet or apt to dance with the maskers, or to garnish the place for the time: then was there all kind of musike and harmony, with fine voices both of men and children.

On a time the king came suddenlie thither in a maske with a dozen maskers all in garments like shepheards, made of fine cloth of gold, and crimsin sattin pained, & caps of the same, with visards of good physnomie, their haire & beards either of fine gold-wire silke, or blacke silke, having sixteen torch-bearers, besides their drums and other persons with visards, all clothed in sattin of the same color. And before his entring into the hall, he came by water to the water gate without anie noise, where were laid diuerse chambers and guns charged with shot, and at his landing they were shot off, which made such a rumble in the aire, that it was like thunder: it made all the noblemen, gentlemen, ladies, and gentlewomen, to muse what it should meane, comming so suddenly, they sitting quiet at a solempne banquet, after this sort.

His behauior in the court of Chancerie & Starre-chamber

His order of going to and coming from the court.

The cardinals house like a princes court for all kind of壮uery & sumptuousness.

A maske and banquet, the king in person present at the cardinals house.

Dom. 1530.

Thomas Wolsey's chapel and such as bare office there.

The furniture of his chappell.

Officers of Thomas Wolsey in his private chamber.

Attendants on his barge.

Officers of the Chancerie.

His footmen. His herald at armes & other officers.

Thomas Wolsey's ambassador to the emperor Charles.

The emperor's manner of going to and coming from the court.

The manner of his going to Westminster hall daile in the tearme time.

His owne apparel of crimsin and other sumptuous stuffe.

The tokens and marks of his dignities borne before him.

The cardinals  
nals stalle  
sitting at ta-  
ble like a  
prince.

First ye shall vnderstand, that the tables were set in the chamber of presence lust couered, & the lord cardinall sitting vnder the cloth of estate, there hauing all his seruice alone: and then was there set a table with a noble man, or a gentleman and a gentlewoman throughout all the tables in the chamber on the one side, which were made and ioined as it were but one table, all which order and deuise was done by the lord Sandes then lord chamberleine to the king and by sir Henrie Gilford comptrolloz of the kings maiesties house. Then immediatlie after the great chamberleine, and the said comptrolloz, sent to lōke what it should meane (as though they knew nothing of the matter) who looking out of the windowes into the Thames, returned againe and shewed him, that it seemed they were noblemen and strangers that arrived at his bridge, comming as ambassadours from some forren prince.

The cardinall  
knew not that  
the king was  
in the number.

With that (quothe the cardinall) I desire you, because you can speake French, to take the paines to go into the hall, there to receiue them according to their estates, and to conduct them into this chamber, where they shall see vs, and all these noble personages being more at our banquet, desiring them to sit downe with vs, and to take part of our fare. Then went he incontinent downe into the hall, whereas they receiued them with twentie new torches, and conueied them vp into the chamber, with such a noise of drums and flutes, as seldome had bene heard the like. At their entring into the chamber two and two together, they went directlie before the cardinall, where he sat and saluted him reuerentlie.

The cardinall  
reuerentlie sal-  
uted of the  
maskers.

To whom the lord chamberleine for them said: Sir, for as much as they be strangers, and can not speake English, they haue desired me to declare vnto you, that they hauing vnderstanding of this your triumphant banquet, where was assembled such a number of excellent dames, they could do no lesse vnder support of your grace, but to repaire hither, to view as well their incomparable beautie, as for to accompanie them at mūn-chance, and then to danse with them: and sir, they require of your grace licence to accomplish the said cause of their coming. To whom the cardinall said he was verie well content they should so do. Then went the maskers, and first saluted all the dames, and returned to the most worshipful, and there opened their great cup of gold filled with crownes and other peeces of gold, to whome they set certaine peeces of gold to cast at.

The cardinall  
plaieeth at dice.

Thus perusing all the ladies and gentlewomen, to some they lost, and of some they wone: and marking after this maner all the ladies, they returned to the cardinall with great reuerence, potvizing downe all their gold so left in their cup, which was about two hundred crownes: At all (quothe the cardinall) and so cast the dice and wan them, whereat was made a great noise and ioy. Then quothe the cardinall to the lord chamberleine, I praye you (quothe he) that you would shew them, that me seemeth there should be a nobleman amongst them, who is more meet to occupie this seat and place than I am, to whome I would most gladly surrender the same according to my dutie, if I knew him.

He suspecteth  
that the king  
is present and  
abateeth his  
estate.

Then spake the lord chamberleine to them in French, and they rounding him in the eare, the lord chamberleine said to my lord cardinall: Sir (quothe he) they confesse, that among them there is such a noble personage, whome, if your grace can appoint him out from the rest, he is content to disclose himselfe, and to accept your place. With that the cardinall taking good aduise among them, at the last (quothe he) me seemeth the gentleman with the blacke beard, should be even he: and with that he arose out of his chaire, and offered the same to the gentleman in the

blacke beard with his cap in his hand. The person to whom he offered the chaire was sir Edward Penill a comelle knight, that much more resembled the kings person in that make than any other.

The king perceiuing the cardinall so detoured, could not so beare laughing, but pulled downe his visar and master Penill saw, and dashed out such a pleasant countenance and there, that all the noble estates there assembled, perceiving the king to be there among them, reioiced verie much. The cardinall estons desired his highnesse to take the place of estate. To whom the king answered, that he would go first and shift his apparell, and so departed into my lord cardinals chamber, and there new appareled him: in which time the dishes of the banquet were cleane taken vp, and the tables spread againe with new cleane perfumed cloths, euery man and woman sitting still, untill the king with all his maskers came aming them againe all new appareled.

Then the king took his seat vnder the cloth of estate, commanding euery person to sit still as they did before: in came a new banquet before the king, and to all the rest throughout all the tables, wherein were serued two hundred diuerse dishes, of costlie deuises and subtilties. Thus passed they forth the night with banquetting, dancing, and other triumphs, to the great comfort of the king, and pleasant regard of the nobilitie there assembled. And thus spent this cardinall his time from date to date, and yeare to yeare, in such wealth, ioy, triumph, and glorie, hauing alwaies on his side the kings especiall fauour, untill fortune enuied his prosperitie, and ouerthrew all the foundations of his glorie, which as they were laid vpon sand, so they shooke and slipt astate, whereby ensued the ruine of his estate, euen to the verie losse of his life, which (as a man of a guiltie conscience, and fearing capitall punishment due by law for his vndutifull demeanour against his soueraigne) Edward Hall saith (vpon report) he partly procured, willingly taking so great a quantitie of a strong purgation, as nature was therewith oppressed, and vnable to digest the same: so that in fine he gaue vp the ghost, and was buried in Leicester abbeye: of whome to saie more I will surceasse, concluding on this with a description which I find of him not impertinent for this place, sith wholie concerning his person.

This cardinall (as you may perceiue in this storie) was of a great stomach, for he compted himselfe quall with princes, & by craftie suggestion gat into his hands innumerable treasure: he forced little on simonie, and was not pittifull, and stood affectionate in his owne opinion: in open presence he would lie and saie vntruth, and was double both in speech and meaning: he would promise much & performe little: he was vicious of his bodie, & gaue the clergie euill example: he hated soze the citie of London & feared it: it was told him that he should die in the waie toward London, wherefore he feared least the commons of the citie would arise in riotous maner and so slay him, yet for all that he died in the waie toward London, carrieng more with him out of the world than he brought into it; namely a winding sheete, besides other necessaries thought meet for a dead man, as christian comelinesse required. This ruine of the cardinall was not so much as once dreamp vpon, when I. Leland the famous antiquarie wrote this welwishing octatichon vnto the said Wolseie (being then in the flower of his glorie, and the pearle of his pride) as hereafter followeth.

*Sic tuus Henricus, regum qui gloria florens,  
Perpetuo studio te colat, ornet, amet:  
Sic pia coniungat proceres concordia magnos,  
Et iusto belli fulmine Turcas ruiat:*

Ad Tho. W. de  
selegi archie-  
piscopum  
Hurocanum.

St.

The king be-  
maria and  
and is de-  
ued.

The king be-  
maria and  
and is de-  
ued.

The king be-  
maria and  
and is de-  
ued.

The king be-  
maria and  
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The king be-  
maria and  
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The king be-  
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The king be-  
maria and  
and is de-  
ued.

The king be-  
maria and  
and is de-  
ued.

m. 1530.

He taketh his  
noble emul-  
ed.

The king dis-  
turbeth his  
ace and to be  
it pleasant.

Reg. 23.

The king and  
came kept a  
Chesham  
at Cranwich

A new banquet  
upon the table  
of 200  
thys.

The cleargie  
in danger of a  
premunire.

The offer of  
the cleargie  
to the king.

The king  
did name  
the same head.

1531

b. Fl. ex  
dw. Hal.  
lxxxviii.  
The descrip-  
on of the  
ordnall.

Thom. Aud-  
the speaker for  
the commons.

The sentence  
of the kings  
was answer.

d Tho. Wol-  
segu archie-  
scopum  
arcanum.

*Sic vastus operum tantorum denigmoles*  
*Ab solus summo templa dicata Deo*  
*Sis bonus & felix miles! entola Cambric*  
*Dicere merito & fulgum mea*  
After the cardinall was dead, the king remanent  
from Hampton court to Crantenwich, where he with  
queene Katharine kept a solemne Christmasse, and  
on the Twelke night he sat in the hall at his estate,  
whereas were diuerse enterludes, rich masks and  
disports, and after that a great banquet. Now after  
Christmas he came to his manour of Westminster,  
which before was called Poike place: so after that  
the cardinall was atainted in the premunire, was  
gone northward, he made a feoffment of the same  
place to the king, and the chapter of the cathedrall  
church of Poike by their writing confirmed the  
same feoffment, when the king changed the name  
and called it the high shannoze of Westminster, and  
no more Poike place.

The whole cleargie of England was supposed  
and maintained the power legantine of the cardin-  
nall, therefore the kings learned counsellors said plaine-  
ly that they were all in the premunire: the spirituall  
lords were called by pycesse into the kings house  
to answer, but before their date of appearance they  
in their conuocation concluded an humble submissi-  
on in writing, and offered the king a hundred thou-  
sand pounds to be their good lord, & also to give them  
a pardon of all offences touching the premunire by  
act of parlement, the which offer with much labour  
was accepted, and their pardon promised. In this  
submission the cleargie called the king supreme  
head of the church of England, which thing they ne-  
uer confessed before, whereupon manie things fol-  
lowed after, as you shall heare.

When the parlement was begun the first date of  
Januarie, the pardon of the spirituall persons was  
signed with the kings hand, and sent to the lords,  
which in time convenient assented to the bill, and sent  
it to the commons in the lower house. Now when it  
was read, diuers stoward persons would in no wise  
assent to it except all men were pardoned, saying  
that all men which had any thing to do with the car-  
dinall were in the same case. The wisser sort answer-  
ed, that they would not compell the king to give  
them his pardon, & beside that it was uncharitable  
done of them to hurt the cleargie, and do themselves  
no good: therefore they aduised them to consent to  
the bill, and after to sue to the king for their pardon,  
which counsell was not followed, but they determi-  
ned first to send the speaker to the king: per they  
would assent to the bill.

Whereupon Thomas Audlete speaker for the  
commons, with a convenient number of the com-  
mon house, came to the kings presence, and there elo-  
quentlie declared to the king, how the commons  
fore lamented and bewailed their chance, to thinke or  
imagine themselves to be out of his gracions fauor,  
because that he had gracionlie given his pardon of  
the premunire to his spirituall subjects and not to  
them: wherefore they most humbly besought his  
grace of his accustomed goodnesse and clemencie to  
include them in the same pardon. The king wiselie  
answered that he was their pynce and soueraine  
lord, and that they ought not to restraine him of his  
libertie, nor to compell him to shew his mercie: for it  
was at his pleasure to vse the extremitie of his lawes  
or mitigate and pardon the same: wherefore sith they  
denied to assent to the pardon of the spirituall per-  
sons, which pardon (he said) he might give without  
their assent by his great seale, he would be well adui-  
sed per he pardoned them, because he would not be  
noted to be compelled to it.

With this answer the speaker and the commons

departed verie solowfull and pensue, and some light  
persons said that Thomas Cummwell, which was  
newlie come to the fauour of the king, had disclosed  
the secrets of the commons, which thing caused the  
king to be so extreame. The king like a good pynce  
considered how solowfull his commons were of the  
answer that he made them, and thought that they  
were not quiet: wherefore of his owne motion he  
caused a pardon of the premunire to be drawne, and  
signed it with his hand, and sent it to the common  
house by Chastellor, which his attorneie, which bill  
was sone assented to. When the commons louinglie  
thanked the king, and much praised his wit, that he  
had denied it to them when they unworthilie deman-  
ded it, and had boundfullie granted it when he per-  
ceiued that they sorrowed and lamented.

While the parlement sat, on the thirtieth date of  
March at Westminster, there came into the common  
house the lord chancelor, and diuerse lords of the spi-  
rituallie and temporallie, to the number of twelue,  
and there the lord chancelor said: You of this wor-  
shipfull house (I am sure) be not so ignorant, but you  
know well, that the king our soueraine lord hath  
married his brothers wife, for he was both weped  
and bedded with his brother pynce Arthur, and there-  
fore you may herlie saie that he hath married his  
brothers wife, & this marriage be good or no manie  
clerkes do doubt. Wherefore the king like a ver-  
tuos pynce willing to be satisfied in his conscience,  
& also for the better of his realme, hath with great  
deliberation consulted with profound clerkes, & hath  
sent my lord of London here present, to the chiefe v-  
niuersities of all chrestendome, to know their opini-  
on and iudgement in that behalfe. And although  
that the vniuersities of Cambridge and Oxford had  
bene sufficient to discusse the cause, yet because they  
be in his realme, and to avoid all suspicion of parcial-  
tie he hath sent into the realme of France, Italie,  
the popes dominions and Venecians, to haue their  
iudgement in that behalfe, which haue concluded,  
written, and sealed their determinations according  
as you shall heare read: When Sir Brian Luke took  
out of a booke certeine writings sealed, and read them  
word by word as after in such translated out of La-  
tine into the English tong.

Determinations of diuerse vniuer-  
sities touching the unlawfulnessse of the  
kings marriage, and first the deter-  
mination of the vniuersite of  
Orelance.

As long since there were put forth to vs  
the college of doctors, regents of the vni-  
uersitie of Orelance, these two questions  
that folloio. The first, whether it be lawfull  
by the law of God for the brother to take to wife  
that woman whom his brother hath left: The second,  
if this be forbidden by the law of God, whether this  
prohibition of the law of God may be remitted by  
the pope his dispensation: The foresaid college  
of doctors regents, according to our custome and v-  
sage came manie times together, and did sit diuerse  
times upon the discussing of these foresaid doubts  
and questions, and did examine and weigh as much  
as we might diuerse and manie places, both of the  
old testament and the new, and also the interpretors  
and declarers both of the law of God and the canon  
law.

After we had weighed & considered all things er-  
actlie, with god leisure and deliberation we haue all  
determined and concluded, that these foresaid mar-  
riages cannot be attempted, nor enterprised, except a  
man do wrong, and plaine contrarie to the law of  
God;

The kings  
voluntarie  
inclination to  
pardon the  
premunire.

Touching the  
kings mari-  
age.

Samuel Ed-  
mund Bon-  
ner.

God: yea and that although it be done by pardon and sufferance of the pope. And in witnesse of this conclusion and determination, we haue caused this present publike writing to be signed by the scribe of our said vniuersitie, and to be strengthened & fortified with the seale of the same. Enacted in the chappell of our ladie, the annuntiation, or the good tidings that the had of Christes comming in Oyleance, the ycare of our Lord 1529, the 5. date of Aprill.

### The determination of the facultie of decrees of the vniuersitie of Paris.

Lawiers of  
Paris.

**I**n the name of the Lord so be it. There was put forth before vs the deane and college of the right counsellfull facultie of decrees of the vniuersitie of Paris, this question: Whether that the pope might dispense, that the brother might marrie the wife that his brother hath left, if marriage betwene his brother now dead and his wife were once consummate: The deane and college of the said facultie after manie disputations and reasons made of both sides vpon this matter, and after great and long turning and searching of booke, both of the law of God, and the popes law, and of the law ciuill, we counsell and saie that the pope hath no power to dispense in this foresaid case. In witnesse whereof we haue caused this present writing to be strengthened with the seale of our facultie and with the signe of our scribe or chiefe bedle. Deuen in the congregation or assemble at saint John Lateranense in Paris the second daie of Maie 1530.

### The determination of ciuilians and canonists of the vniuersitie of Aniou.

Aniou.

**N**ot long time since there were proposed vnto vs the rector and doctours regents in law canon and ciuill of the vniuersitie of Aniou, these two questions here following, that is to wit: Whether it is vnlawfull by the law of God & the law of nature for a man to marrie the wife of his brother, that is departed without children, so that the marriage was consummate: And againe, whether it is lawfull for the pope to dispense with such marriage: The foresaid rector and doctours haue according to our custome and vsage manie times communed together, and sitten to dispute these questions, and to find out the certaintie of them. And after that we had discussed and examined manie and diuerse places, as well of the law of God as of the law of man, which seemed to pertain to the same purpose, and after we had brought reasons for both parties, and examined them: all things faithfullie and after good conscience considered, and vpon sufficient deliberation and aduise-ment taken, we define and determine that neither by the law of God nor of nature, it is permitted for any christian man, no not euen with the authoritie of the se apostolike, or with anie dispensation granted by the pope, to marrie the wife that his brother hath left, although his brother be departed without children, after that the marriage is once finished and consummate. And for witness of the foresaid things, we haue commanded the scribe of our said vniuersitie to signe this present publike instrument, and it to be fortified with the great seale of our vniuersitie. Enacted in the church of saint Peter in Aniou, the ycare of our Lord 1530, the 7 daie of Maie.

### The determination of the facultie of diuinitie in the vniuersitie of Paris.

Paris.

**T**he deane and the facultie of the holie diuinitie of the vniuersitie of Paris, to all them to whom

this present writing shall come, wissheth safetie in our sauour Iesu Christ, which is the verie true safetie. Where of late there is risen a great controuersie of great difficultie, vpon the marriage betwene the most noble Henrie the eight king of England, defender of the faith, and lord of Ireland, &c: and the noble ladie Katharine queene of England, daughter to the catholike king: Ferdinand, which marriage was not onelie contract betwene him and his former husband, but also consummate and finished by carnall intermedling.

This question also was proposed to vs to discusse and examine according to iustice and truth, that is to saie: Whether to marrie him that one brother dead without children hath left, being so prohibited by the law of God and nature, that it can not be lawfull by the popes dispensation, that any christian man should marrie the wife that his brother hath left: The foresaid deane and facultie calling to our remembrance, how vertuous, and how holie a thing, and how agreeable to our profession, vnto our dutie of loue and charitie: it is for vs to shew the waie of iustice and right, of vertue and honestie, to them which desire to lead and passe ouer their life in the law of our Lord with pure and quiet conscience: could not but be readie to satisfie so honest and iust requests: wherevpon after our old wont, we came together vpon our oth in the church of S. Spaturine, and there for the same cause had a solempne masse with deuout praier to the Holie-ghost.

And also we toke an oth, euerie man to deliuer and to studie vpon the foresaid question, as should be to the pleasure of God & according to conscience. And after diuerse & manie sessions or sittings, which were had and continued in the church of saint Spaturine, and also in the college called Sorbon, from the eight daie of June to the second daie of Iulie: when we had searched and examined thorough and thorough, with as much diligence as we could, and with such reuerence and religion or conscience as becommeth in such a matter, both the booke of holie scripture, and also the most approved interpreters of the same: finalie the generall and synodall councils, decrees and constitutions of the sacre and holie church, which by long custome hath bene received and approbate.

The foresaid deane and facultie, disputing vpon the foresaid question, and making answer to the same, and that after the iudgement and full consent of the most part of the said facultie, haue concluded and determined, that the foresaid marriage with the brothers wife, departing without children, be so forbidden both by the law of God & of nature, that the pope hath no power to dispense with such marriages, whether they be contract or to be contract. And for credence, beléeve, and witnesse of this our assertion and determination, we haue caused the seale of our facultie, with our notaries signe, to be put vnto this present writing. Dated in our generall congregation that we keepe by an oth at saint Spaturines, the ycare of our Lord 1530, the second daie of Iulie.

### The determination of the vniuersitie of Burges in Berrie or Biturs.

**W**ith the deane and facultie of diuinitie in the vniuersitie of Burges (because we will do according to the example of S. Paule doctour of the gentiles, which doth likewise) will begin our writing with praier for all the beloued of God, among whom you most deare readers, vnto whom we write, be called: grace, peace, and quietnesse of conscience come to you from God the father, and from our Lord Iesu Christ. While we were gathered together

Canon

Dom. 1531.

An. Reg. 23.

together all into one place (in the octaves of Whit-  
suntide) both in bodie and mind, and were sitting in  
the house of the said deane, there was a question put  
to vs againe, which had bene proposed to vs often-  
times before, being no small question, which was  
this: Whether the brother taking the wife of his bro-  
ther now dead, and the marriage once consummate  
and perfect, doth a thing vnlawfull or no?

At the last when we had sought for the truth of the  
thing, and had perceiued and found it out by much la-  
bour and studie of euerie one of vs by himselfe, and  
by much and often turning of holie booke, euerie  
one of vs not corrupt, whereby we might the lesse o-  
beie the truth, began as the holie ghost did put in his  
mind, to giue euerie man one arbitrement and sen-  
tence, which was this. I haue well perceiued in ve-  
rie truth, without regard or respect of anie person,  
that those persons which be rehearsed in the 18 chap-  
ter of the Leuiticall law, be forbidden by the verie  
law of nature to contract matrimonie togither, and  
that this law can in no wise be released by anie au-  
thoritie of anie man, by the which there is made an  
abominable discouering of his brothers foulness.  
And this is the signe of our common bedell or nota-  
rie, and the seale of our foresaid facultie put vnto  
this present writing the 10 daie of June, in the yeare  
of our Lord 1530. And because the foot of our wri-  
ting shall be of one forme and fashion with the head,  
as we began with prayer, so let vs end after the ex-  
ample of S. Paule that we spake of before, and saie,  
the grace and fauour of our Lord Iesu Christ, the cha-  
ritie and loue of God and the communication of the  
holie ghost be with you all, Amen.

#### The determination of the diuines in the popes vniuersitie of Bononie.

**G**OD best and mightiest taught first the old law  
and testament with his owne mouth, to forme  
and fashion according to loue and charitie the ma-  
ners and life of men. And secondarily the same God  
did take afterwards manhood vpon him for to be the  
redemer of man, and so made the new law or new  
testament, not onlie to forme and fashion accord-  
ing to loue and charitie the life and maners of men, but  
also to take awaie and to declare doubts, the which  
did arise in manie cases, which when they be once  
clerelie determined, shall helpe greatly to perfect  
vertue and goodnesse, that is to saie, to perfect loue  
and charitie.

Wherefore we thought it euermore, that it should  
be our part to followe these most holie doctrines and  
lawes of our father of heauen, and that we lightened  
by the light of God aboue & of the holie ghost, should  
giue our sentence and iudgement in high and doubt-  
full matters, after that we haue once leasurelie and  
sufficientlie taken aduiselement vpon the cause, and  
haue clerelie searched out and opened the thing by  
many reasons and writings of holie fathers, as well  
for the one part as for the other, doing nothing (as  
here as we can) rashlie or without deliberation.  
Wherefore where certeine great and noble men did  
instantlie desire vs, that we would with all dili-  
gence possible looke for this case that after insuech, &  
afterwards to giue our iudgement vpon the same,  
according to most equitie, right, and conscience, sic-  
king onlie to the truth.

All the doctors of diuinitie of this vniuersitie,  
when we had euerie one by himselfe examined the  
matter at home in our houses, came all togither in-  
to one place, and there treated vpon it manie daies  
with as much cunning and learning as we could, we  
anon looked on the case togither, we examined it to-  
gither, we compared all things togither, we handling

euerie thing by it selfe, did trie them euen as you  
would saie by line and rule, we brought forth all ma-  
ner of reasons which we thought could be brought  
for the contrarie part, and afterward solved them,  
yea euen the reasons of the most reuerend father car-  
dinal Caietane, yea and moreover the Deuterono-  
mie dispensation of stirring vp the brothers seed, and  
tho:tie all other manner of reasons and opinions of  
the contrarie part, as manie as seemed to belong to  
this purpose.

And this question that was asked of vs, was  
this: Whether it was forbidden onlie by the ordi-  
nance of the church, or else by the law of God, that a  
man might not marrie the wife left of his brother de-  
parted without children? And if it were comman-  
ded by both the lawes not to be done, whether the  
pope may dispense with anie man to make such ma-  
riage? The which question now that we haue exami-  
ned both by our selfe secretlie, and also openlie as  
diligentlie and exactlie as we could possible, and dis-  
cussed it after the best manner that our wits would  
serue: we determine, giue iudgement, and saie, and  
as trillie as we can we witnesse, and without anie  
doubt dostedfastlie hold, that this marriage should  
be horrible, accursed, and to be cried out vpon, and  
vnterlie abhominable not onlie for a christian man,  
but for an infidell, vnfaithfull or heathen.

And that it is prohibited vnder grieuous paines  
and punishments by the law of God, of nature, and  
of man, and that the pope, though that he almost may  
do all things, vnto whome Christ did giue the keyes  
of the kingdome of heauen, hath no power to giue a  
dispensation to anie man for to contract such mar-  
riage for anie manner of cause, consideration or sugge-  
stion: and all we be readie at all times & in all pla-  
ces to defend & mainteine the truth of this our con-  
clusion. In witnesse whereof we haue made this pre-  
sent writing, and haue fortified the same both with  
the seale of our vniuersitie, and also with the seale  
of our college of doctors of diuinitie, and haue sub-  
scribed & signed it with our generall and accustomed  
subscription in the cathedrall church of Bononie, the  
tenth daie of June, the yeare of our Lord 1530.

#### The determination of the facultie of diuinitie in the vniuersitie of Padua in Italie.

**T**hey that haue written for the maintenance of  
the catholike faith, affirme that God (best and  
mightiest) did giue the precepts & commandements  
of the old law with his owne mouth, to be an exam-  
ple for vs, wherein we might see how we should or-  
der our life and maners, and this God had done be-  
fore he became man: and after that he had put vpon  
him our manhood, & was become redemer or buier  
of mankind, he made the new law or testament,  
and of his mere liberalitie did giue it vs, not onlie  
for the cause aforesaid; but also to take awaie and de-  
clare all manner of doubts and questions that might  
arise, the which once opened and declared, that their  
verie true meaning is, to the intent that thereby we  
might be made perfectlie god, which be greatlie  
fruitfull vnto vs and wholesome.

And seeing that this was the mind of God in ma-  
king these lawes, it hath bene our intent, and euer-  
more shall be, as it becometh christian men, to fol-  
low these most solemnne ordinances of the most high  
workemaster God, & the helpe of his light, that is  
aboue the capacitie of nature, to offer our iudgment  
in all manner of doubts and hard questions. After we  
had once considered the thing after the best manner,  
and had by sufficient leasure made it cleare by manie  
evident reasons of both parties, and by manie au-  
thorities

Borges.



thorities of the fathers of the church, determining nothing (as nere as we can) rashlye or without convenient deliberation. Seeing therefore that certeine great orators or ambassadoys did humblye require and praye vs, that we would vouchsafe to search out, with all the diligence we could this case following, and afterwards to giue our sentence vpon the same, plainelie and simplye looking onelie on the truth.

After the doctors of diuinitie of this vniuersitie came togither, and after that we had euerie man examined the thing particularlie in our owne houses, and had beaten it with all learning and cunning that we were able: anon when we were togither, we considered, craniued, and weied all things by themselves, and brought in all maner of reasons, which we thought might by anie meanes be made to the contrarie, and without all colour or cloke did sholie and clerie dissolue them and take them awate. And amongst all, the dispensation by the law of Deuteronomie, of stirring by the brothers seed, and all maner other reasons and determinations to the contrarie, that seemed to vs to pertaine anie thing to that purpose, we vterlye confuted and dispatched them.

The question that is put vnto vs is this: Whether to marrie the wife of our brother departed without children, is forbidden onelie by the law of the church, or by the law of God also? And if it be forbidden by both these laws, whether the pope make dispense with anie man for such matrimonie or no? Which question now that we haue discussed it, and as farre as we could, haue made it clere, both by natlie euerie man by himselfe, and after all togither openlie, we saie, iudge, decree, witnesse, and for a truth affirme, that such marriage is no marriage; yea and that it is abhorred and cursed of euerie christian man, and to be abhominable as a grieuous sinne; and that it is as cleere as can be forbidden vnder most cruell penalties by the lawes of nature, of God, and of man; and that the pope, vnto whome the keyes of the kingdome of heauen be committed by Christ the sonne of God, hath no power to dispense by the right of law for anie cause, suggestion, or excuse, that anie such matrimonie should be contracted.

For these things which be forbidden by the law of God, be not vnderneath his power, but aboue it; nor he is not the vicar of God as concerning these things, but onelie in such things as God hath not determined himselfe in his law; but hath left them to the determination and ordinance of man. And to mainteine the truth of this our sentence and conclusion, and for the most certeine and vndoubted defense of the same, we all of one mind and accord shall at all times and in euerie place be readie. In witnesse whereof we haue made this writing, and haue authorized it with the accustomed seale of our vniuersitie and also of our college of diuines. Dated at Padua in the church of the heremites of saint Augustine the first daie of Julie, in the yere of our Lord 1530.

### The determination of the vniuersitie of Tholose.

Tholose.

There was treated in our vniuersitie of Tholose a verie hard question: Whether it be lawfull for the brother to marrie hir which had bene wife to his brother now departed, & that without children: Where was besides this an other thing that troubled vs verie sore; Whether, if the pope which hath the cure of Christs flocke, would by his dispensation (as men call it) suffer this, that then at the least wile it might be lawfull? The rector of the vniuersitie called to counsell all the doctors regents, that were at that time at Tholose for to shew thei minds on this que-

stion, and that not once, but twise: for he iudged that counsell giuing ought not to be hasted nor done by on head, and that we had need of time and space to do anie thing conuenientlie and as it ought to be.

At the last there came togither into one place all the best learned and cunningest doctors, both of holie diuinitie, and also doctors that were best learned in both lawes; yea, and finallye as manie as had anie experience in anie matter, and were able to do anie thing either by iudgement and discretion, or by eloquence or their excellent wits; and there did sweare that they would obeie the sacred and holie counsels, and would followe the decrees of the fathers, which no man that hath anie god conscience will violat or breake. And so euerie man said his mind, & the matter was debated and reasoned diffuselie and at large for both parts.

In conclusion, we fell so fast to this point, that this was the sentence and determination that our vniuersitie, with one voice of all, did determine and conclude with most pure and clere conscience, and defiled with no maner of leuen of corruption: That it is lawfull for no man, neither by the law of God, nor by the law of nature, to take hir to wife that his brother hath left: and seeing that it maie not be done by the law of God nor of nature, we answered all, that the pope can lose no man from that law, nor dispense with him. And as for that thing can not be contrarie to our sentence and verbid, that the brother in old time was compelled by the law of Deuteronomie to marrie the brothers wife departed without issue. For this law was but a shadow and a figure of things to come, which vanished awate as sone as euer the light and truth of the gospel appeared. And because these things be thus, we haue given our sentence after this forme aboue, and haue commanded the same to be signed by our notarie which is our secretarie, and to be fortified and authorized by the putting to of our authentickall seale of our vniuersitie aforesaid, at Tholose the calends of first daie of October, the yere of our Lord 1530.

After these determinations were read, there were shewed aboue an hundred books byaton by doctors of strange regions, which all agreed the kings marriage to be vnlawfull, which were not read, for the daie was spent. Then the chancelor said: Now you of this common house maie report in your countries what you haue seene and heard, & then all men shall openlie perceiue, that the king hath not attempted this matter of will and pleasure, as some strangers report, but onlie for the discharge of his conscience and suertie of the succession of his realme: this is the cause of our repaire hither to you, and now will we depart.

When these determinations were published, all wise men in the realme much abhorred that marriage: but women, and such as were more willfull than wise or learned, spake against the determination, and said that the vniuersities were corrupt and infected so to do, which is not to be thought. The king himselfe sore lamented his chance, and made no maner of mirth nor pastime as he was wont to do. He dined and resorted to the quene as he was accustomed, and diminished nothing of hir estate, and much loued and cherished their daughter the ladie Marie: but in no wise he would not come to hir bed. When Easter began to draw nere, the parlement for that time ended, and was proroged till the last daie of March, in the next yere. In the parlement aforesaid was an act made, that whosoever did poison any person, should be boiled in hot water to the death: which act was made, because one Richard Kose, in the parlement time had poisoned diuerse persons at the bishop

Ano Reg. 23.

the king.

proclamation for marriage.

An act of parliament.

Manuscript. Take to D. Catherine.

shop of Rochester's place, which Richard, according to the same act, was boyled in Smithfield the teneber wednesdaie following, to the terrible example of all other.

1531. Reg. 23.

The charge sent  
to the quene  
the 21. iij.

When the vniuersitie aforesaid, and a great number of clearks and well learned men had determined the kings marriage to be vnlawfull, detestable, and against Gods law (as you haue heard) the king willing the quene to haue knowledge of the same, sent to his diuerse lordes of the counsell, the last daie of Maie, being the wednesdaie in Whitsun weeke: the which lordes, in his chamber at Greenwich, declared to him all the determinations (as you haue heard) and asked him whether he would (for the quietnesse of the kings conscience) put the matter to foure prelates, and foure temporall lordes of this realme, or abide by his appeal: the quene answered: The king my father which concluded my marriage, I am sure, was not so ignorant but he asked counsell of clearks and well learned men before he married me the second time: for if he had had any doubt in my marriage, he would not haue disbursed so great a treasure as he did, then all the doctors in a manner agreed my marriage to be good, inasmuch that the pope himselfe, which knew best what was to be done, did both dispense and ratifie the second marriage, against whose doings I maruell that any person will speake or write.

And as to the determination of the vniuersitie, I am a woman, and lacke wit and learning to answer to them, but to God I commit the iudgement of that, whether they haue done iustlie or partiallie: for this I am sure, that neither the kings father, nor my father would haue condescended to our marriage, if it had bene declared to be vnlawfull. And where you saie that I should put the cause to eight persons of this realme for quietnesse of the kings conscience, I pray God send his grace a quiet conscience. And this shall be your answer: that I saie I am his lawfull wife, and to him lawfullie married, and by the order of holie church I was to him espoused as his true wife (although I was not so worthie) and in that point I will abide till the court of Rome, which was please to the beginning, haue made thereof a determination and final ending. With this answer the lordes departed to the king, which was sozie to heare of his lawfull opinion, and in especiall that the more trusted in the popes law, than in keeping the precepts of God.]

A proclamation  
in the name  
of the king  
and  
quene.

Forasmuch as merchant strangers, bringing their wares into the realme, did receiue readie monie for them, and euer deliuered the same monie to other merchants by exchange, not employing it vpon the commodities of the realme, a proclamation was set forth and made, that no person should make any exchange, contrarie to the meaning of a statute ordained in the time of king Richard the second: by reason whereof, clothes and other commodites of this realme shortly after were well sold, till they fell to exchange againe, and that this proclamation was forgotten. After Whitsuntide, the king & the quene removed to Windsor, and there continued till the fourteenth of Iulie, on the which daie the king removed to Woodstocke, and left the quene at Windsor, where she remained a while, & after removed to the Poore, and from thence to Stamford, whither the king sent to his diuerse lordes, to aduise him to be conformable to the law of God, shewing sundrie reasons to persuaade him to their purpose, and one among the rest used for that present this communication, as I find it left in writing, in the behaue of the king.

¶ Adam, the kings highnesse hath commanded vs repairing vnto you, on his highnesse behalfe to

shew vnto you thus much, that his maiestie hauing heretofore sent vnto you a great number of his counsellors and learned men, to declare what great iniuries and wrongs by your procurement and solicitation were and yet be done vnto his maiestie and this his realme, in citing his highnesse in his owne person, or by his proxy to appeare at Rome, to make answer to your sute, contrarie to the determination of all lawes, as not onelie the famous vniuersities of christendome, as Paris and Orléans, but also as the most part of the learned men here or elsewhere in that facultie affirme, and as maister deane learned in that facultie can and will testifie vnto you, on his conscience, if it shall please you to heare him, and contrarie also to his estate roiall, and to the priuileges and prerogatiues of this his graces realme.

His highnesse perceiuing your grace not to regard their aduertisements in right and iustice, but still to perseuere and continue, and rather increase your iniurious procurements and solicitations in that behalfe, is not a little græued & displeased with your continuance and prosecution of this iniurie and manifest wrong towards his maiestie, and this his graces realme. The continuance of which your vnkind dealing hath compelled his highnesse not onelie to abstaine from the sight of you, but also to forbear to receiue any of your tokens, which do nothing else but renew and refresh his displeasure, inforcing him also to an indignation, to see tokens offered and sent by him, who continueth in prosecuting of so notable an iniurie and manifest wrong towards his maiestie, & this his realme, perceiuing also what boldnesse other outward princes might take to misintreat his highnesse, when they should vnderstand how his maiestie suffereth himselfe to be wronged by his pretended subject, and so notable wrong to be done to this his realme.

And vpon this cause and ground, like as the kings highnesse these certeine moneths past, hath disceuered your grace from his presence, so he intendeth yet to continue, and hath commanded vs to shew you, that his pleasure is ye shall be at your libertie, (as ye shall thinke most commodious) repaire to either of these three places, his manour of Woking, his manour of Stamford, or the monastrie of Wilham, and there to continue without further molesting of his highnesse with your sutes or requests to the contrary, as wherewith ye shall not preuaile; but more and more molesting and troubling his highnesse, procure his further displeasure towards you.

And though percase the pope shall best, as perceiuing now the matter of right he will, yet the kings highnesse cannot digest in his stomach this iniurie done, not to be amended or reformed at your graces procurement, but your grace rather saing and instanting the contrarie. And this is the charge, madam, which the kings highnesse hath committed vnto vs, to be spoken vnto you on his highnesse behalfe. And to saie to you as of my selfe, concerning the iniurie of the kings cause, as I haue heretofore said, I shall now repeat and rehearse againe vnto your grace; which is, that your grace being knowne by prince Arthur, ye be not lawfull wife to the kings highnesse our soveraigne lord in my conscience. This speech ended, others of the companie used their persuasorie talke to the quene: whose words notwithstanding did so little moue her, that the king himselfe in his first opinion, that she was his true and lawfull wife, and from the same would not by any means be removed.]

The priests of London being called afore the bishop that would haue had them contributaries to the payment of the hundred thousand pounds, granted to the king for his pardon of the premunice, kept such a stir

The quene  
standeth stille  
in her opinion  
concerning  
the contrarie  
of his  
marriage.

in breaking into the chapter house (where the bishops sat) all at once, and striking and buffeting the bishops servants which gave them evil language, that the bishop was faine to give them his blessing, and suffer them to depart in quiet for that time. But after, upon complaint made to the lord chancellor, diverse of them and of their partakers were arrested, and committed to prison, to the number of sixtene priests, and five laie men, some to the Tower, and some to the Fleet, and to other places, where they remained long after. ¶ Thomas Bilneie, bachellor of law, was burnt at Norwich the nineteenth of August, and the fourth of December sir Rics Griffin was beheaded at the Tower hill, and his man named John Hetwos was drawn to Tiburne, and there hanged and quartered.

The five and twentieth of Maie, betwene London and Grauesend, were taken two great fishes called whorlepoles, male and female. ¶ In this season, there was in the realme much preaching, one learned man holding against another, namelie in the matter of the kings marriage. After Christmas, the parlement began to sit againe, in the which the commons found themselves soe greued with the crueltie of ordinaries, that called inche before them *ex officio*. At length, a booke was drawne of all the griefes of the commons, for the cruell deniaunce of the cleargie, and the same deliuered to the king by the speaker, humble beseeching him in the name of all the commons, to take such discretion therein, as to his high wisdom might seeme most expedient. The king answered, that he would take advise, and heare the partie accused speake. He was not so readie to gratifie the commons in their requests, as some thought that he would have bene, if they had not tricked and refused to passe a statute, which he had sent to them touching wards and primer seisons.

After this, was the parlement proroged till the tenth of Aprill. In this parlement was an act made, that bishops should paie no more annates or monie for their bulles to the pope: for it was proued that there had bene paid for bulles of bishops, since the fourth yeare of Henrie the seventh an hundred threescore thousand pounds sterling, beside other dispensations & pardons. When the parlement was begun againe after Easter, there was a motion made to helpe the king with monie toward his charges about the building of houses, piles, and other fortifications, upon the borders fore against Scotland, both for better habitation to be had there, & also for the restraint of the Scots that used to make inuasions. There was therefore a sixtenth granted, but not enacted at this session, because that the commons began a petition in Westminster, whereof the parlement was proroged, as ye shall heare in the next yeare.

In this yeare was an old toll demanded in Flanders of Englishmen called the toll of the hound, which is a river and a passage. The toll is twelve pence of a fardell. It had bene often demanded, but neuer paid, insomuch that king Henrie the seventh for the demand of that toll, prohibited all his subjects to keepe any mart at Antwerpe or Barrow, till it was promised that upon their returne the said toll should neuer be demanded. The king sent doctor Knight, and others to Calis, whither came the emperours commissioners, and there (upon talke) the matter was put in suspension for a time. The king having purchased of the cardinall after his attendure in the premonstratour his house at Westminster, called Bozke place, and got a confirmation of the cardinals feoffment thereof, made of the chapter of the cathedrall church of Bozke, purchased this yeare also all the medowes about saint James, and there made a faire mansion and a parke for his greater commoditie & pleasure.

And because he had a great affection to the said house at Westminster, he bestowed great cost in going forward with the building thereof, and changed the name, so that it was after called the kings palace of Westminster.

The fourteenth daie of Maie, the parlement was proroged till the fourth of february next coming. After which prorogation, sir Thomas Spore, chancellor of England, after long lutes made to the king to be discharged of his office, the sixteenth of Maie he deliuered to the king at Westminster the great seale of England, and was with the kings favour discharged, which seale the king kept till mondaie in Whitson weeke, on which daie he dubbed Thomas Audleie speaker of the parlement, knight, and made him lord keeper of the great seale, and so he was called. ¶ The king being informed, that the pope and the french king should meet in the beginning of the next spring at Paris, he thought good for diuerse considerations, to speake with the french king in his owne person; before the pope and he should come together: whereupon it was concluded, that in October following, both the princes should meet betwene Calis and Bullongne. Wherefore the king of England sent out his letters to his nobles, prelates, and seruants, commanding them to be readie at Canturburie the six and twentieth of September, to passe the seas with him, for the accomplishment of the interuiew betwixt him and the french king.

On the first of September being sundaie, the king being come to Windsor, created the lady Anne Bullongne marchionesse of Penbrooke, and gave to her one thousand pounds land by the yeare; and that solemnitie finished, he rode to the college, where after that seruice was ended, a new league was concluded and sworn betwene the king, and the french king, Messire Pomouate the french ambassador being present. On the tenth of October, the king came to Douer, and on the eleuenth daie in the morning at thre of the clocke hee took shipping at Douer rode, and before ten of the same daie, he with the lady marchionesse of Penbrooke landed at Calis, where he was receiued with all honour, and lodged at the Eschequer. There came to him whilst he laie in Calis, diuerse lords from the french court, and amongst other the lord great master of France, and the archbishop of Roane, which were honorable of him receiued, and with them hee took a date and place of meeting with the king their master.

Whereupon the one and twentieth of October, he marched out of Calis, accompanied with the dukes of Suffolke and Suffolke, the marqueses of Dorset and Cresser, the earles of Arundell, Orford, Surrey, Essex, Darbie, Rutland, Huntington, and Suffolk, with diuerse viscounts, barons, knights of the garter, and other of the nobilitie and gentlemen freshlie apparellled, and richlie trimmed; and coming to the place appointed, hee there met with the french king, who was come to receiue him with all honor that might be: and after salutations and embracing used in most louing maner, the king of England went with the french king to Bullongne; and by the waie was incountered by the french kings three sons, and other great lords that attended them, with welcomming the king of England; hee them gentlie receiued, and so all this noble companie came to Bullongne, where the king of England and his nobles were so noble intertained, feasted, banketed, and cheared, that wonder it was to consider the great plentie of viands, spices, wines, and all other prouision necessarie for man and horse, so that there was no more but aske and haue; and no man durst take any monie, for the french king paid for all.

The

John Sow.

1532

Crueltie of ordinaries.

The parlement proroged. Annates forbidden to be paid.

A sixtenth granted.

A toll demanded in the low countries.

Bozke place of White Hall now the palace of Westminster. St. James.

Annotat. The parliament proroged.

Sir Thomas Spore was discharged by the great seale.

Sir Thomas Audleie lord keeper of the great seale.

The lady Anne Bullongne created marchionesse of Penbrooke.

The king passed out to Calis.

The great master and chancellor of France made knight of the garter.

The interuiew betwixt the kings of England and France.

The king returned into England. He married the lady Anne Bullongne.

lati cha ap am fol bze uei ozt rel m on de to du co lo en ru

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The king re- turned into England. He married the lady Anne Bullongne.

Dom. 1522.

An. Reg. 24.

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Anno reg. 24.  
The parliament  
proposed.

Sir Thomas  
Audley  
great scale.

Sir Thomas  
Audley  
great scale.

The lade  
Anne  
longne created  
to marchioness  
at Denbigh.

The king  
passeth out  
to Calis.

The king  
passeth out  
to Calis.

The inter-  
view betwixt  
the king of  
England and  
France.

The inter-  
view betwixt  
the king of  
England and  
France.

The

The dukes of  
Boulloigne  
and Flandres  
were  
of  
the  
order  
of  
the  
Golden  
Fleece.

The duke of  
Boulloigne.

The great  
master and  
overall of  
France made  
knights of  
the garter.

The king re-  
turneth into  
England.  
He married  
the lady Anne  
Boulloigne.

The five and twentieth of October, whilst the king  
late thus in Boulloigne, the French king called a  
chapter of the companions of his order named St.  
Michael, of whom the king of England was one,  
and so there elected the dukes of Norfolk and Suff-  
olk to be companions of the same order: and being  
brought to the chapter, they had their collars deli-  
vered to them, and were sworn to the statutes of the  
order, their obedience to their sovereign lord allwaile  
reserved. Thus the two kings late in Boulloigne,  
monday, Tuesday, and Thursday: and  
on Friday the five and twentieth of October, they  
departed out of Boulloigne to Calis. Without the  
towne of Calis about the distance of two miles, the  
duke of Richmond the kings base son, with a great  
company of noble men, which had not bene at Bul-  
loigne, met them, and saluting the French king,  
embraced him in most honorable and courteous ma-  
ner.

Thus they passed forward, and came to New-  
ham bridge, and so to Calis, where was such provision  
made for the receiving of them, as well for lodg-  
ings, plate, and all such other furniture of household,  
as also of all sorts of viands, wines, and other neces-  
saries, that it seemed wonderfull: in so much as the  
proportion assigned to the French lords oftentimes  
was so abundant, that they refused a great part  
thereof. The French kings traine was twelve hun-  
dred horses, or rather above. But there was lodging  
enough in Calis, not onlie for them, but also for ma-  
nie other, so that there were above eight thousand  
persons lodged within the towne in that season. The  
French king coming thither on the Friday, tarried  
there till Tuesday the thirtieth of October, and  
then departed; the king of England accompanieng  
him out of the towne, till he came to enter into the  
French ground, and there either took leave of other  
with eight princelie countenance, loving behaviour,  
and so hartie words, that all men rejoiced that saw  
them.

Whilst the two kings late in Calis, the lord Ar-  
nas de Montmorencie earle of Beaumont, great  
master of the French kings house, & Philip de Cha-  
bot earle of Beaulieu, great admirall of France,  
were admitted into the order of the garter, the king  
calling a chapter for that purpose, of the knights of  
that order, at the which the French king was present,  
and wore a blew mantell, because he was one of the  
same order. Whilst the king was in the French  
kings dominion, he had the upper hand, and likewise  
had the French king in his dominion. And as the  
French king paid all the Englishmens charges at  
Boulloigne: so did the king of England at Calis.  
There rose about the same season such fow weather,  
storms and rigorous winds, continuing for the more  
part at north and north-west, that the king staid at  
Calis for a convenient time till Tuesday the thir-  
teenth of November at midnight, and then taking  
his ship, landed at Dover the next day about five of  
the clocke in the morning. And heretofore upon his  
returne, he married princelie the lady Anne Bol-  
loigne the same daie, being the fourteenth daie of  
November, and the feast daie of saint Erkenwald;  
which marriage was kept so secret, that verie few  
knew it till Easter next ensuing, when it was per-  
ceived that she was with child.

When the king should passe over the sea, he con-  
sidered that the Scots would haplie attempt some-  
what to the prejudice of his subjects in his absence,  
which liked not (he being within the realme) to rob  
both by sea and land. Wherefore to resist their ma-  
lice, he appointed sir Arthur Warrice with three hun-  
dred men to go unto Berwick, to defend the borders  
from invasions of the Scots, who shortly after by

the middle marches entered the realme, and came to  
a place called Fotherbie, and firing certeine villa-  
ges in their waite, returned. The erle of Angus as  
then was at Berwick as a banished man; and the  
said sir Arthur determined to revenge this displea-  
sure: and thereupon with foure hundred men made  
a rode into Scotland, and set a village on fire. Then  
immediatlie assembled together eight hundred  
Scots, and began to approach nere to the English  
men, who perceiving them, caused their trumpet to  
blow the retreat; and the erle and twentie with him  
showed himselfe on an hill, even in the face of the  
Scots, and the trumpet blew at their backs, so that  
the Scots thought that there had bene two compa-  
nies, which caused the Scots to flee, and the English  
men followed and slew a great number of them, and  
tooke manie of them prisoners.

After Christmass the Thomas Audley lord keeper  
of the great scale was made high chancelor of  
England. And then the parliament began, because  
the office of the speaker was void, Humfrey Wyl-  
field of Greis inne was chosen speaker. In this par-  
liament was an act made, that no person should ap-  
peale for any cause out of this realme to the court of  
Rome, but from the commissarie to the bishop, and  
from the bishop to the archbishop, and from the arch-  
bishop to the king; and all causes of the king to be  
tried in the upper house of the convocation. It was  
also enacted the same time, that quene Katharine  
should no more be called quene, but princesse Dowager,  
as the widow of prince Arthur. In the season  
of the last summer died William Warham archbi-  
shop of Canturburie, and then was named to that  
sea Thomas Cranmer the kings chaplaine, a man  
of good learning, and of a vertuous life, which latelie  
before had bene ambassadoe from the king to the  
pope.

After that the king pertained his new wife to  
be with child, he caused all officers necessarie to be  
appointed to hir, and so on Easter even she went to  
hir closet openlie as quene; and then the king ap-  
pointed the daie of hir coronation to be kept on  
Whitsunday next following: and writings were  
sent to all shiriffs, to certifie the names of men of  
fortie pounds to receive the order of knighthood, or  
else to make fine. The assentment of the fine was ap-  
pointed to Thomas Cromwell, master of the kings  
treasury house, & counsellor to the king, a man newlie  
received into high favour. He so used the matter,  
that a great summe of monie was raised to the  
kings use by those fines. The matter of the quenes  
appeale whereunto she still sticked, and by no means  
could be removed from it, was communed of, both  
in the parliament house, and also in the convocation  
house, where it was so handled, that manie were of  
opinion, that not onlie hir appeale, but also all other  
appeales made to Rome were void and of none ef-  
fect: for that in ancient times it had bene deter-  
mined, that a cause rising in one province should be  
determined in the same.

This matter was opened with all the circum-  
stances to the lady Katharine Dowager (for so was  
she then called) the which persisted still in hir former  
opinion, and would reuoke by no means hir ap-  
peale to the court of Rome. Whereupon the archbi-  
shop of Canturburie accompanied with the bishops  
of London, Winchester, Bath, Exeter, and divers  
other learned men in great number, rode to Dun-  
stable, which is six miles from Amptill, where the  
princesse Dowager laie, and there by one doctor Lee  
she was cited to appeare before the said archbishop  
in cause of matrimonie in the said towne of Dun-  
stable, and at the daie of appeare she appeared  
not, but made default, and so she was called peremp-  
torie.

Scots dis-  
comited by  
the English-  
men.

1533  
Sir Thomas  
Audley lord  
chancelor.

Quene Ka-  
tharine to be  
named prin-  
cesse Dow-  
ager.

Quene  
Anne.

Anno reg. 25.

Et t. j.

The ladie  
Catharine  
Dowager  
called per-  
simptie.

forie curie date fiftene daies together, and at the  
last, for lacke of appearance, by the assent of all the  
learned men there present, the was divorced from  
the king, and the marriage declared to be void and of  
none effect. Of this divorce and of the kings marriage  
with the ladie Anne Bullongne men spake diuerse  
lie; some said the king had done wisely, and so as  
became him to do in discharge of his conscience. O-  
ther offer wise iudged, and spake their fantasies as they  
thought good: but when euerie man had talked  
inough, then were they quiet, and all rested in good  
peace.

In Maie pope Clement sent an orator to the king,  
requiring him to appeare personallie at the generall  
councell which he had appointed to be kept the next  
fallowing. But when his commission was shewed,  
at the earnest request of the king, there was neither  
place nor time specified for the keeping of that coun-  
cell; and so with an uncerteine answer to an uncer-  
teine demand he departed, but not unloaded. The  
king understanding that the pope, the emperor, & the  
French king shuld meet at Pise in Iulie folowing,  
appointed the duke of Norfolk, the lord Rochford  
brother to queene Anne, Sir William Paulet con-  
trollor of his house, Sir Anthoine Browne, and Sir  
Francis Wyah knights, to go in ambassage to the  
French king, and both to accompanie him to Pise,  
and also to commune with the pope there concerning  
his state in the kings divorce. These worthy per-  
sonages made their prouision readie; and so with the  
number of eight score horses they went to Dover,  
and passing ouer to Calis, toke their waie through  
France, to accomplish their ambassage as they had  
in commandement.

In the beginning of Maie, the king caused open  
proclamations to be made, that all men that claim-  
ed to do anie seruice, or execute anie office at the so-  
lemne feast of the coronation by the waie of tenure,  
grant, or prescription, should put their grant three  
weekes after Easter in the Starre chamber before  
Charles duke of Suffolke, for that time high steward  
of England, and the lord chancellor and other com-  
missioners. The duke of Norfolk claimed to be  
erle marshall, and to exercise his office at that feast;  
the erle of Arundell claimed to be high butler, and to  
exercise the same; the erle of Oxford claimed to be  
chamberlaine; the vicount Aisle claimed to be pan-  
tler; the lord Aburgauennie to be chiefe larderer;  
and the lord Wate claimed to be almoner, and Sir  
Henrie What knight claimed to be trower. All these  
noble personages desired their offices with their  
fees.

Beside these, the maior of London claimed to  
serue the queene with a cup of gold; and a cup of as-  
saie of the same, and that twelue citizens should at-  
tend on the cupbord, and the maior to haue the cup  
and cup of assaie for his laboz: which petition was al-  
lowed. The siue ports claimed to beare a canopie o-  
uer the queens head the daie of the coronation with  
fourte gilt belles, and to haue the same for a reward,  
which to them was allowed. Diuerse other put in  
petie claimers which were not allowed, because they  
seemed onlie to be done at the kings coronation. All  
this season great purueance was made of all man-  
ner of vittells: & lords, knights & squiers were sent  
for out of all countries, which came to London at  
their daie with a great number of people.

After that the kings highnesse had addressed his  
gratious letters to the maior and communalitie of  
the citie, significg to them, that his pleasure was  
to solemnize and celebrate the coronation of his  
most deare and welbeloued wife queene Anne, at  
Westminster the Whitsundae next insuing, wil-  
led them to make preparation, as well to fetch his

grace from Greenwich to the Tower by water, as to  
see the citie adorned and garnished with pagants in  
places accustomed, for the honoz of his grace. When  
the shuld be conuied from the Tower to Westminster,  
there was a common counsell called, and com-  
mandement was giuen to the haberdashers (of  
which craft the maior Sir Stephan Boccoke then was)  
that they shuld prepare a barge for the bachelors,  
with a waile and a foist, garnished with banners  
and streamers likewise, as they use to do. When the  
maior is presented at Westminster on the morrow  
after Simon and Jude. Also all other crafts were  
commanded to prepare barges, and to garnish them,  
not alonely with their banners accustomed, but also  
to decke them with targets by the sides of the bar-  
ges, and to set up all such seemelie banners and ban-  
nerets as they had in their halles, or could get met  
to furnish their said barges, and euerie barge to  
haue minstrellie: according to which commande-  
ments great preparation was made for all things  
necessarie for such a noble triumph.

The nineteenth daie of Maie, the maior and his  
brethren all in scarlet, and such as were knights had  
collars of S S, and the remnant hauing god chains,  
and the counsell of the citie with them, assembled at  
saint Marie hill, and at one of the clocke descended  
to the new staire to their barge, which was garnished  
with manie goodlie banners and streamers, and rich-  
lie couered. In which barge were shalmes, bagbu-  
thes, and diuerse other instruments, which continu-  
allie made goodlie harmonie. After that the maior  
and his brethren were in their barge, seeing that all  
the companies to the number of fiftie barges were  
readie to wait upon them, they gaue commande-  
ment to the companies, that no barge should rowe  
nearer to another than twise the length of the barge  
vpon a great paine. And to see the order kept, there  
were three light sheries prepared, and in euerie one  
of them two officers to call on them to keepe their or-  
der, after which commandement giuen, they set  
forth in order as hereafter is described.

First before the maiors barge was a foist or waile  
full of ordinance, in which foist was a great ba-  
gon continuallie mouing and casting wild fire: and  
round about the said foist stood terrible monsters  
and wild men casting fire, and making hideous no-  
ises. Next after the foist a good distance came the  
maiors barge: on whose right hand was the bachelors  
barge, in the which were trumpets and diuerse other  
melodious instruments; the decks of the said barge  
and the sailyards, with the top castles were hanged  
with rich cloth of gold and silke: at the foreship and  
the sterne were two great banners rich, beate-  
n with the armes of the king and the queene, and on  
the top castell also was a long streamer netolie bea-  
ten with the said armes. The sides of the barge were  
set full of flags and banners of the deuises of the  
companie of the haberdashers and merchants ad-  
uenturers, and the coards were hanged with innu-  
merable pennellies, hauing little belles at the ends,  
which made a goodlie noise and a goodlie sight, waue-  
ring in the wind. On the outside of the barge were  
three dozen sentillions in mettall of arms of the king  
and the queene, which were beate upon square  
bucram diuided, so that the right side had the kings  
colours, and the left side the queenes, which sentil-  
lions were fastened on the clothes of gold and siluer,  
hanging on the decks on the left hand.

On the left hand of the maior was another foist,  
in the which was a mount, and on the same stood a  
white falcon crowned, vpon a roate of gold inuoi-  
ned with white roses and red, which was the queens  
deuise; about which mount sat virgins singing and  
plaieng sweetlie. Next after the maior, follewed his  
felie with

An.Don.

An.Re

Ambassadors  
to the French  
king.

Proclamati-  
on for the co-  
ronation of  
queene Anne.

The severall  
claimers of di-  
uerse honora-  
ble and woo-  
shipfull per-  
sons.

The recei-  
uing, connect-  
ing, and cor-  
onation of  
queene Anne,  
wife to the  
high & migh-  
ty prince king  
Henrie the  
eight.  
Edw. Hall.  
CCxij.  
The kings  
letters to the  
maior of Lon-  
don, touching  
the corona-  
tion.

The citie  
preparation

Queen Anne  
in her barge  
with her  
frame attend-  
ing vpon her.

The maiors  
barge with  
the concuts  
and beauls  
thereof.

Knights of  
the bath ser-  
ing dinner.

The recei-  
uing and co-  
roning of the  
queen throug  
London.

A foist with  
a mount and  
other deuises



fellowship the haberdashers; next after them the mercers, then the grocers, and so euerie companie in his order, and last of all the maior and shiriffes officers, euerie companie hauing melodie in his barge by himselfe, and goodlie garnished with banners, and some garnished with silke, and some with arras and rich carpets, which was a goodlie sight to behold: and in this order they rowed to Greenwich, to the point next beyond Greenwich, and there they turned backward in another order, that is to wit, the maior and shiriffes officers first, and the meanest craft next, and so ascending to the uttermost crafts in order, and the maior last, as they go to Wanles at Christmas, and in that order they rowed downe toward to Greenwich towne, and there cast anchor, making great melodie.

At thre of the clocke the quene appeared in rich cloth of gold, entring into hir barge accompanied with diuerse ladies and gentlewomen: and incontinent the citizens set forwarde in their order, their minstrelles continuallie playing, and the bachelors barge going on the quenes right hand, which she toke great pleasure to behold. About the quenes barge were manie noble men, as the duke of Suffolke, the marques Dowset, the erle of Willshire hir father, the erles of Arundell, Darbie, Rutland, Worcester, Huntingdon, Suffe, Oxford, and manie bishops and noble men, euerie one in his barge, which was a goodlie sight to behold. She thus being accompanied rowed toward the towne: and in the meane wate the ships which were commanded to lie on the shore for letting of the barges, shot diuerse peales of guns, and per the was landed, there was a marvellous shot out of the towne as euer was heard there. And at hir landing there, met with hir the lord chamberlaine with the officers of armes, and brought hir to the king, which received hir with louing countenance, at the pierside by the water side, and then she turned backe againe, and thanked the maior and the citizens with manie goodlie words, and so entred into the towne. After which entrie the citizens all this while howered before the towne, making great melodie, and went not on land, for none were assigned to land but the maior, the recorder, and two aldermen. But for to speake of the people that stood on either shore to behold the sight, he that saw it not would scarce beleue it.

On Fridaie at dinner, serued the king all such as were appointed by his highnesse to be knights of the bath, which after dinner were brought to their chambers, and that night were bathed and shirren, according to the old usage of England; and the next daie in the morning the king dubbed them according to the ceremonies thereto belonging; whose names inue, the marques Dowset, the erle of Darbie, the lord Cliford, the lord Fitzwater, the lord Hastings, the lord Mounteagle, Sir John Howard, the lord Blay, Sir Henrie Parker, Sir William Willshire, Sir Francis Weston, Sir Thomas Arundell, Sir John Hulston, Sir Thomas Dornibys, Sir Henrie Russell, Sir George Fitzwilliam, Sir John Lamball, Sir Thomas Jermie.

To the intent that the horses should not stide on the pavement, nor that the people should not be hurt by horses, the high streets where the quene should passe were all grauelled from the towne to temple barre, and railed on the one side, with which railed the craft, along by their orders from Grace church, where the merchants of the Shilders stood till the little conduit in Cheape, where the aldermen stood: and on the other side of the street stood the constables of the citie, armed in velvet and silke, with great flayes in their hands, to cause the people to keepe come and good order. And when the streets

were somewhat ordered, the maior clothed in a gowne of crimsin velvet, and a rich collar of S S S, with two spemen clad in white and red damaske, rode to the towne to giue his attendance on the quene, on whom the shiriffes with their officers did wait till they came to tower hill, where they taking their leaue, rode downe the high streets, commanding the constables to keepe come and good order kept, and so went and stood by the aldermen in Cheape.

Now before the quene and hir traine should come, Cornhill and Grations street were hanged with fine scarlet, crimsin, and other grained cloths, and in some place with rich arras, tapistrie, and carpets; and the most part of the Cheape was hanged with cloth of tissue, gold, velvet, and manie rich hangings, which made a goodlie shew, and all the windows were replenished with ladies and gentlewomen, to behold the quene and hir traine as they should passe by. The first of the quenes companie that set forward were twelue Frenchmen, which were belonging to the french ambassadoe, clothed in coates of blew velvet, with sleeves of yellow and blew velvet, and their horses trapped with close trappers of blew sarsenet powdered with white crosses: after them marched gentlemen, esquires and knights two and two: after them the iudges, and after them the knights of the bath in violet gownes, with hoods purdied with minster like doctors; after them abbats, then barons; after them bishops, then earls and marquesses; then the lord chancellor of England; after him the archbishop of York, and the ambassadoe of Venice, after him the archbishop of Canturburie and the ambassadoe of France, after rode two esquires of honor with robes of estat rolled and woone bauldrike-wise about their necks, with caps of estat, representing the dukes of Normandie, Aquitaine: after them rode the maior of London with his mace and garter in his cote of armes, which maior bare his mace to Westminster hall.

After all these rode the lord William Howard with the marshalles robe, deputie to his brother the duke of Suffolke marshall of England, which was ambassadoe then in France: and on his right hand rode Charles duke of Suffolke, for that daie high constable of England, bearing the berder of silver appertaining to the office of constableness, and all the lords for the most part were clothed in crimsin velvet, and all the quenes servants or officers of armes in scarlet. Next before the quene rode hir chancellor bareheaded, the sargeants and officers of armes rode on both the sides of the lords. When came the quene in a litter of white cloth of gold, not covered, nor habited, which was lead by two palfries clad in white damaske downe to the ground, head and all, led by hir footmen. She had on a circlet of white cloth of tissue, and a mantell of the same furred with ermine; hir haire hanged downe, but on hir head she had a coiffe with a circlet about it full of rich stones. Over hir was borne a canopie of cloth of gold, with foure gault staves and foure silver beles. For the bearing of which canopie were appointed striders halghts, foure to beare it one space on foot, and three foure another space, according to their owne appointment.

After the quene rode the lord Borough with hir chamberlaine, next after him William Coffin marshall of the horses, leading a spare horse with a side saddle trapped downe with cloth of tissue. After him rode seauen ladies in crimsin velvet turned by with cloth of gold and of tissue; and their horses trapped with cloth of gold, after them two chariots covered with red cloth of gold. In the first chariot were two ladies, which were the old dutchesse of Suffolke, and the old marquesse Dowset. In the second chariot

The maior in a gowne of crimsin velvet.

The attire of certaine Frenchmen belonging to the french ambassadoe.

The two dukes of Suffolke and Suffolke in their coiffes.

Quene Annes attire verie sumptuous and royal.

These chariots with goodlie ladies and gentlewomen.

The citie preparation.

Quene Anne with hir traine attending upon hir.

He coming by water from Greenwich to thurdane.

The maior and citizens in benches thereof.

Knights of the bath served at dinner.

The receiving and conducting of the quene through London.

Left with a hint and a few details.

were foure ladies all in crimson beluet. Then rode seauen ladies in the same lute, their horses trappers and all. Then came the third chariot all white, with six ladies in crimson beluet; next after them came the fourth chariot all red with eight ladies also in crimson beluet: after whom followed thirtie gentlewomen all in beluet and silke in the luerie of their ladies, on whom they gaue their attendance. After them followed the gard in cotes of goldsmiths tooke.

Sundrie pageants with the descriptions of their deuises.

Thus they rode forth till they came to Fanchurch, where was made a pageant all with children, apparelled like merchants, which welcommed him to the citie, with two proper propositions both in French and English. And from thence he rode to Gratious church corner, where was a collie and a maruelous cunning pageant made by the merchants of the Stilliard, for there was the mount Parnassus with the founteine of Helicon, which was of white marble, and foure streames without pipe did rise an ell high, and met together in a little cup aboue the founteine, which founteine ran abundantly rached with wine till night. On the mounteine sat Apollo, and at his feet sat Calliope, and on euery side of the mounteine sat foure muses playing on several sweet instruments, and at their feet epigrams and poesies were written in golden letters, in the which euery muse according to his propriety praised the quene.

The quene from thence passed to Leaden hall, where was a goodlie pageant with a type and a heauenlie rose, and under the type was a rose of gold set on a little mounteine inclosed with red roses and white: out of the type came downe a falcon all white & sat upon the rose, and incontinent came downe an angel with great melodie, and set a close crowne of gold on the falcons head. And in the same pageant sat saint Anne with all her kinne beneath her, and under sparie Cleop sat her foure children, of the which children one made a goodlie oration to the quene of the fruitfulness of saint Anne and of her generation, trusting that like fruit should come of her. Then she passed to the conduit in Cornhill, where were three graces set in a throne; afore whom was the spring of grace continually running wine. Afores the founteine sat a poet declaring the properties of euery grace: and that done euery lady by his selfe, according to his propriety, gaue to the quene a several gift of grace.

An oration made to the quene by one of the children in the pageant.

The conduit in Cheape runneth wine white and claret.

The recorder presenteth a 1000 marks in gold to the quene for a gratuite in cities behalle.

That done, they passed by the great conduit in cheape, which was newlie painted with armes of deuises: out of the which conduit by a goodlie founteine set at the one end ran continually wine both white and claret all that afternoon, and so they rode to the Standard which was richly painted with images of kings and quenes, and hanged with banners of armes, and in the top was marvellous sweet harmonie both of song and instrument. Then they went forward to the crosse, which was newlie gilded, till they came where the aldermen stood, and then master Becher the recorder came to him with low reuerence, making a proper and briefe proposition, and gaue to him in the name of the citie a thousand marks in a purse of gold, which the thankfullie accepted with manie goodlie words, and so rode to the little conduit, where was a rich pageant full of melodie and song.

In this pageant was Pallas, Juno and Venus, and before them stood Mercury, which in the name of the three goddesses gaue to him a ball of gold divided in three, signifying three gifts which the three goddesses gaue to him, that is to say, wisdom, riches, and felicitie. As he entered into Paules gate there was a pretie pageant, in which sat three ladies richly clothed, and in a circle on their head was written

*Regina Anna prosperè procede & regna. Et labie in the middes had a tablet, in the which was written Veni amica coronaberis, and under the tablet sat an angel with a close crosone, and the lady sitting on the right hand had a tablet of silver in which was written, Domine dirigè gressus meos, & the third lady had a tablet of gold with letters azure written, Confido in Domino, & under their feet was written in legible letters:*

*Regina Anna novum regis de sanguine natum  
Cum paries populus aurea seclatus.*

And these ladies cast downe wafers, on the which the two verses were written. From thence they passed to the east end of Paules churchyard against the schole, where stood on a scaffold two hundred children well apparelled, which said to him diuerse goodlie verses of poets translated into English, to the honour of the king and him, which he highly commended. And when they came to Ludgate, the gate was newlie garnished with gold & bise. And on the leads of saint Martin church stood a goodlie quere of singing men and children, which song new balads made in praise of him. After that they were passed Ludgate, they proceeded toward Fleetstreet, where the conduit was newlie painted, and all the armes and angels refreshed, & the chime melodiously sounding. Upon the conduit was made a towre with foure turrets, and in euery turret stood one of the cardinal virtues with their tokens and properties, which had several speeches, promising the quene neuer to leave him, but to be alway and comforting him: and in the midst of the towre close was such several solemn instruments, that it seemed to be an heauenlie noise, and was much regarded and praised: and beside this the said conduit ran wine claret and red all the afternoon.

So they with all his companie and the mayor rode forth to Temple barre, which was newlie painted and repaired, where stood also diuerse singing men and children, till they came to Westminster hall, which was richly hanged with cloth of arras, and new-glazed. And in the midst of the hall the was taken out of his litter, & so led up to the higher desk under the cloth of estate, on whose left hand was a cupbord of ten images marvellous rich and beautiful to behold: and within a little season was brought to the quene with a solemn service in great standing spice plates, a boid of spice and subtilties with porras and other wines, which she sent downe to her ladies, and when the ladies had drank, she gaue parties thanks to the lords and ladies, with the mayor and other that had given their attendance on him, and so with downe his selfe with a few ladies to the White hall and so to her chamber, and there he dined, and after went into his barge to seek for the king to his manour of Westminster, where he rested that night.

On Sunday the ninth eld he crimsin beluet and with his chair, and all the aldermen and sherikes in scarlet, and the countess of the citie took their barge at the stairs by seauen of the clocke and came to Westminster, where they were welcomed & brought into the hall by master treasurer and others of the kings house, and so gaue their attendance till the quene should come forth. Between eight and nine she came into the hall and stood under the cloth of estate, and the knights in the kings chapel, and the monks of Westminster all in rich copes, and manie bishops and abbats in copes and miters they went into the midst of the hall, and there stood a season. Then was there a rare cloth spread from the quenes standing in the hall through the palace and sanduarie, which was railed on both sides to the high altar of Westminster. After that the rare cloth was cast, the officers of armes appointed the order accustomed.

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d the date of  
coronatio.

The quene  
entire ladies  
a quip pompe

first went gentlemen, then esquires, then knights, then the aldermen of the citie in their cloaks of scarlet, after them the judges in their mantels of scarlet and coffes. Then followed the knights of the bath being no lordes; euerie man having a white lace on his left sleeve, then followed barons and biconts in their payement robes of scarlet. After them came earls, marquesses and dukes in their robes of estate of crimlin beluet furred with ermine powdered according to their degrées. After them came the lord chancellor in a robe of scarlet open before, bordered with lettise; after him came the kings chapell and the monks solemnelie singing with procession, then came abbats and bishops mitered, then sargeants and officers of armes, then after them went the mayor of London with his mace and garter in his cote of armes, then went the marquesse Dorset in a robe of estate which bare the scepter of gold, and the earle of Arundell which bare the rod of suozie with the doue both together.

Then went alone the earle of Drford high chamberleine of England which bare the crowne, after him went the duke of Suffolke in his robe of estate also for that daie being high steward of England, hauing a long white rod in his hand, and the lord William Howard with the rod of the marshalschip, and euerie knight of the garter had on his collar of the order. Then proceeded forth the quene in a circot and robe of purple beluet furred with ermine in hir here coffe and circlet as she had the saturdaye, and ouer hir was bozine the canopie by foure of the five ports, all crimlin with points of blue and red hanging on their sleeves, and the bishops of London and Winchester bare by the laps of the quenes robe. The quenes traine which was verie long was bozine by the old duchess of Suffolke; after hir followed ladies being lords wives, which had circots of scarlet with narrow sleeves, the best all lettise with bars of borders according to their degrées, and ouer that they had mantels of scarlet furred, and euerie mantell had lettise about the necke like a neckercher like white powdered, so that by the powderings their degrée was knowen. Then followed ladies being knights wives in gownes of scarlet, with narrow sleeves without traines, onlie edged with lettise, and likewise had all the quenes gentlewomen.

When she was thus brought to the high place made in the middell of the church, betwene the quere and the high altar, she was set in a rich chaire. And after that she had rested a while, she descended downe to the high altar and there prostrate hir selfe while the archbishop of Canturburie said certeine collectes: then she rose, and the bishop annointed hir on the head and on the breast, and then she was led by againe, where after diuerse orisons said, the archbishop set the crowne of saint Edward on hir head, and then deliuered hir the scepter of gold in hir right hand, and the rod of suozie with the doue in the left hand, and then all the quere song *Te Deum, &c.* Which done, the bishop toke off the crowne of saint Edward being heauie and set on the crowne made for hir. Then went she to saint Edwards thizine and there offered, after which offering done she withdrew hir into a little place made for the nones on the one side of the quere.

Now in the meane season euerie duchess had put on their bonets a coronall of gold wrought with flowers, and euerie marquesse put on a demie coronall of gold, euerie countesse a plaine circlet of gold without flowers, and euerie king of armes put on a crowne of copar and guilt, all which were woone till night. When the quene had a little repored hir, the companie returned in the same order that they set forth, and the quene went crowned and so did the la-

des afore said. His right hand was sustained by the earle of Wiltshire his father, and his left hand by the lord Talbot deputie for the earle of Shrewsburie and lord Foxinfall his father. Now when she was out of the sanctuarie and appeared within the palace, the trumpets played marvellous freshtie, then she was brought to Westminster hall, & so to hir withdrawing chamber: during which time the lordes, iudges, maiors and aldermen put off their robes, mantels and clokes, and toke their hoods from their necks and cast them about their shoulders, and the lordes sat onlie in their circots, and the iudges and aldermen in their gownes. And all the lordes that serued that daie serued in their circots and their hoods about their shoulders: also diuerse officers of the kings house being no lordes had circots and hoods of scarlet edged with mineuer, as the treasurer, contrapoller, & master of the sewell house, but their circots were not gullt.

While the quene was in hir chamber, euerie lord and other that ought to do seruice at coronations, did prepare them according to their dutie, as the duke of Suffolke high steward of England which was richly apparelled, his doublet and iacket set with orient pearle, his gowne of crimlin beluet embroidered, his courter trapped with a cloth trapper head and all to the ground of crimlin beluet, set full of letters of gold of goldsmiths worke, hauing a long white rod in his hand; on his left hand rode the lord William, deputie for his brother as earle marshall with the marshals rod, whose gowne was crimlin beluet, and his horse trapper purple beluet cut on white sattin embroidered with white lions. The earle of Wrenford was high chamberleine, the earle of Essex caruer, the earle of Suffolke sewer, the earle of Arundell chiefe butler, on whom twelue citizens of London did giue their attendance at the cupboz. The earle of Warbie cupbearer, the bicont Little pantler, the lord of Aburgaine chiefe larder, the lord Haze almoner for him and his coparteners, and the maiors of Drford kept the buttrie bar, and Thomas Wallat was chiefe euer for Sir Henrie Wallat his father.

When all things were redie, the quene vnder hir canopie came to the hall, and washed and sat downe in the middell of the table vnder the cloth of estate. On the right side of the chaire stood the countesse of Drford widow, and on the left side stood the countesse of Worcester all the dinner season, which diuerse times in the dinner time did hold a fine cloth before the quenes face when she list to spee or do otherwise at hir pleasure. At the tables end sat the archbishop of Canturburie on the right hand of the quene, and in the middell betwene the archbishop and the countesse of Drford stood the earle of Drford with a white stasse all dinner time, and at the quenes feet vnder the table sat two gentlewomen all dinner time. When all these things were thus ordered, in came the duke of Suffolke and the lord William Howard on horsebacke, and the sargeants of armes before them, and after them the sewer, and then the knights of the bath bringing in the first course which was eightene dishes, besides subtilties and ships made of wax marvellous gorgeous to behold, all which time of seruice the trumpets standing in the window at the nether end of the hall played melodiously.

When hir grace was serued of two dishes, then the archbishops seruice was set downe, whose sewer came equall with the third dish of the quenes seruice on his left hand. After that the quene and the archbishop was serued, the barons of the ports began the table on the right hand next the wall, next them at the table sat the masters and clearks of the Chancerie, and beneath them at the table other doctors and gentlemen. The table next the wall on the

The attire of  
the lordes all  
the time that  
they serued.

The order  
and sitting  
at dinner.

Twelue citi-  
zens of Lon-  
don attendant  
at the cupboz.

The manner of  
sitting at the  
table.

The bringing  
in of the first  
course.

How the serua-  
nt tables  
were furni-  
shed.

the left hand by the cupbord, was begun by the mayo<sup>r</sup> and aldermen, the chamberleine and the counsell of the citie of London, and beneath them sat substanti-  
all merchants, and so downeward other worthipfull persons. At the table on the right hand in the middell  
of the hall sat the lord chancello<sup>r</sup>, and other tempo<sup>r</sup>all  
lords on the right side of the table in their circots :  
and on the left side of the same table sat bishops and  
abbats in their parlement robes : beneath them sat  
the iudges, sargeants, & the kings counsell, beneath  
them the knights of the bath. At the table on the left  
hand, in the middle part, sat dutchesses, marquesses,  
countesses, baronesses, in their robes, and other la-  
dies in circots, and gentlewomen in gownes. All  
which ladies and gentlewomen sat on the left side of  
the table along, and none on the right side.

When all were thus set, they were incontinent  
serued, and so quicklie that it was maruell : for the  
seruitors gaue such good attendance, that meat or  
drinke nor any thing else needed not to be called for,  
which in so great a multitude was maruell. As tou-  
ching the fare, there could be deuised no more costlier  
dishes nor subtilties. The mayo<sup>r</sup> of London was ser-  
ued with thre and thirtie dishes at two courses, and  
so were all his brethren, and such as sat at his table.  
The queene had at hir second course foure and thertie  
dishes, and thirtie at the thirde course : & betwene  
the two last courses, the kings of armes cried lar-  
ges, in thre parts of the hall : and after stood in their  
place, which was in the bekins at the kings bench.  
And on the right hand out of the cloister of S. Ste-  
phans, was made a little closet, in which the king  
with diuers ambassado<sup>r</sup>s stood to behold the seruices.  
The duke of Suffolke and the lord William rode  
often times about the hall, chering the lords, ladies,  
and the mayo<sup>r</sup> and his brethren. After they all had di-  
ned, they had wafers and ipocras, and then they wa-  
shed, and were commanded to rise, and to stand still  
in their places, before the table or on the formes till  
the queene had washed.

When she had taken wafers and ipocras, the ta-  
ble was taken up, and the earle of Kentland brought  
up the surnap, and laid it at the boyds end, which im-  
mediatlie was drawne, and cast by master Rode,  
marshall of the hall : and the queene washed, and  
after the archbishop, and when the surnap was  
drawne off, she arose and stood in the middell of the  
palace hall : to whome the earle of Suffolke in a god-  
lie spice plate brought a vobd of spice and comets.  
After him the mayo<sup>r</sup> of London brought a standing  
cup of gold, set in a cup of assaie of gold, and after  
that he had dronke, he gaue the mayo<sup>r</sup> the cup, with  
the cup of assaie, because there was no letar, accor-  
ding to the claime of the citie, thanking him and all  
his brethren, for their paine. When the vnder hir cano-  
pie departed to hir chamber, and at the entrie of hir  
chamber, she gaue the canopie with bells and all, to  
the barons of the ports, according to their claime,  
with great thanks. When the mayo<sup>r</sup> of London bea-  
ring his cup in his hand, with his brethren, went  
through the hall to their barge, and so did all other no-  
ble men and gentlemen, for it was six of the clocke.  
On mondaie were the iusts at the tilt, before the  
kings gate, where the mayo<sup>r</sup> and his brethren had a  
godlie standing : but there were verie few speares  
broken, by reason the horses would not cope. On  
wednesdaie, the king sent for the mayo<sup>r</sup> and his bre-  
thren to Westminster, and there he himselfe gaue  
to them hartie thanks, with manie godlie words.  
On Wednesday daie after, the ladie Marie the  
French queene died in Suffolke, who was the late  
wife to Lewis the twelue, & after married to Charles  
duke of Suffolke, & was buried at S. Edmundsbu-  
rie. The king kept his progresse about London, because

of the queene. The seuerith of September being sun-  
daie, betwene thre & four of the clocke in the after-  
none, the queene was deliuered of a faire young la-  
die, on which daie the duke of Suffolke came hema-  
to the christening, which was appointed on the wed-  
nesdaie next following, and was accordinglie ac-  
complished on the same daie, with all such solemne  
ceremonies as were thought conuenient. The god-  
father at the font, was the lord archbishop of Can-  
turburie, the godmothers, the old dutches of Suffolke,  
& the old marchionesse Dorset widow, and at  
the confirmation the ladie marchionesse of Exeter  
was godmother : the child was named Elizabeth.

Upon the daie of the christening, the mayo<sup>r</sup> sir  
Stephan Beascocke, in a gobone of crimson velvet,  
with his collar of S.S. and all the aldermen in scar-  
let, with collars and chaines, and all the counsell of  
the citie with them, toke their barge after dinner,  
at one of the clocke, and the citizens had another  
barge, and so rowed to Greenwiche, where were ma-  
nie lords, knights, and gentlemen assembled. All the  
walles betwene the kings palace & the friers were  
hanged with arras, and all the waie drawed with  
greene rushes : the friers church was also hanged  
with arras.

The font was of silver, and stood in the middell of  
the church, thre steps high, which was couered with a  
fine cloth, and diuers gentlemen with aprens and  
towels about their necks gaue attendance about it,  
that no filth should come in the font, ouer it being a  
square canopie of crimson sattin, fringed with gold,  
about it was a raille couered with red saie, betwene  
the quier and the bodie of the church was a close  
place with a pan of fire, to make the child reade in.  
When all these things were ordered, the child was  
brought to the hall, and then euerie man set forward,  
first the citizens two and two, then gentlemen, elqui-  
ers and chapeins, next after them the aldermen and  
the mayo<sup>r</sup> alone : next the mayo<sup>r</sup> the kings counsell,  
the kings chappell in copes : then barons, bishops,  
earles, then came the earle of Essex, bearing the co-  
uered bakins gilt, after him the marquesse of Exe-  
ster with the taper of virgin wax, next him the mar-  
quesse Dorset bearing the salt.

Behind him the ladie Marie of Suffolke, bear-  
ing the crêsome which was verie rich of pearle and  
stone, the old dutches of Suffolke bare the child in a  
mantell of purple velvet, with a long traine furred  
with ermine. The duke of Suffolke with his mar-  
shall rod went on the right hand of the said dutches,  
and the duke of Suffolke on the left hand, and before  
them went the officers of armes. The countesse of  
Kent bare the long traine of the childs mantell, and  
betwene the countesse of Kent and the child went  
the earle of Wilshire on the right hand, and the earle  
of Darbie on the left hand, supporting the said traine :  
in the middell ouer the said child was borne a cano-  
pie, by the lord Rochford, the lord Husie, the lord Wil-  
liam Howard, and by the lord Thomas Howard the  
elder, after the child followed manie ladies and gen-  
tlewomen. When the child was come to the church  
dore, the bishop of London met it with diuers bi-  
shops and abbats mitred.

When the ceremonies and christening were en-  
ded, Carter chiefe king of armes cried aloud, God  
of his infinite godnesse send prosperous life & long  
to the high and mightie princeesse of England Eliza-  
beth : & then the trumpets blew. When the archbishop  
of Canturburie gaue to the princeesse a standing  
cup of gold : the dutches of Suffolke gaue to hir a  
standing cup of gold, fretted with pearle : the mar-  
chionesse of Dorset gaue thre gilt bolles, pounced  
with a couer : and the marchionesse of Exeter gaue  
thre standing bolles grauen, all gilt with a couer.  
Then

The mayo<sup>r</sup> of  
London's  
seruice.

The duke of  
Suffolke and  
Dorset  
rode about  
the hall.

The claime of  
the citie of  
London.

Running at  
tilt.

Edw. Hall  
Cxxv.

The churche  
ring of queene  
Elizabeth.

Angl. pra

The hono-  
rable trained  
courtiers in  
their doges.

Sepimo S  
bin, videt  
Dominica  
ue Eliaf

A canopie  
borne ouer  
the young  
princeesse.

Edw. H.  
Cxxvii  
Marie  
temper  
goffel  
Dumet

Which gifts  
giuen to the  
princeesse.

Robaret  
gives prefer-  
ence to the  
princeesse.

Dom. 1534

An. Reg. 25.

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The christe-  
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The hono-  
rable traine of  
courtiers in  
their degrees

A canopy  
borne ouer  
the yong  
pryncesse.

Rich gifts  
giuen to the  
pryncesse.

who bare the  
gilt present-  
ed to the  
pryncesse.

Angl. pral.

Septimo Septem-  
bris, quodales die  
Dominici nati-  
uitatis Elizabetha,

Edw. Hall,  
Cecur.

Painter a con-  
tinue of the  
gospell, a his  
homell end.

When was brought in waters, comfort, and pleasure in  
such pleasure, that every man had as much as he  
would desire. Then they set forth the stately  
going before in the same order, to the high  
place, as they did when they came to the water, fol-  
lowing that the gifts of the godfather and the god-  
mothers gave; were borne before the child by some  
persons, that is to say: first Sir John Dupleire bore  
the gift of the lady of Wyke, the Lord Thomas Howard  
the yonger bore the gift of the lady of Dorset,  
the Lord Fitzwater bore the gift of the lady of Norfolk,  
the Lord Fitzwater bore the gift of the lady of Norfolk,  
the archbishop of Canturbury, all the one side as they  
went was full of staffe to the number of five  
hundred, borne by the gard and other of the kings  
servants, and about the child were borne: manie by  
the proper to the by gentlemen.

In this order they brought the pryncesse to the  
chamber, & tarried there a while, in the morning  
when the aldermen, and at the last the dukes of  
Borholke & Suffolke came out to the king, thanking  
them hartlie, who commanded them to give thanks  
in his name: which being done with their countesses  
they departed, & so went to their barges. From that  
time forward (God him selfe undertaking the tuition  
of this yong pryncesse, having predestinated her to  
the accomplishment of his diuine purpose) she pro-  
spired under the Kings hand, as a chosen plant of his  
watering, & after the reuolution of certeine yeares  
with great felicitie and joy of all English hearts at-  
tained to the crowne of this realme, and now reign-  
eth ouer the same: whose heart the Lord direct in his  
waies, and long preserve her in life, to his goodlie will  
and pleasure; and the comfort of all true and faithfull  
subiects. Of the blessed natiuitie of this most grati-  
ous birgine queene, as also of her baptisme and con-  
firmation in the christian faith, with all the solemn-  
ties and ceremonies recorded in our English an-  
nales, her education, her knowledge in diuerse lan-  
guages, her peaceable gouernement, and manie o-  
ther trim discourses C. O. in his *Engharchia*, or  
Elizabetha hath made honorable mention, saying:

September (Dixit hoc voluit) quae septima lux est  
Consecrata venit Domino voluit hunc annis  
Parturit comitum Elmitia principis Anna  
Vi dolor increuit; praescripto sedula nutritrix  
Perstat in officio, matronaque nabilis instat  
Auxilium laturo suum, cum pandus in auro  
Maturum genitrix enixa puerpera languet  
Certa tamen verax, saluta signa dabatur  
Postquam pulchella facies pueris infans  
Compositis membris, speciosa ut cara liquefactis  
Fingitur in formam, populo mirante, perit  
Artificis manibus: sensus ad sidera palmis  
Femina conclamat senior, Benedicite Christo  
Praesentes Domino, o vos benedicite Christo,  
Virgo beat matrem, virgo modo nata patremque  
Britannos omnes posthac hac virgo beatbit,  
Hac sola est nostra spes & solatia gentis  
Rex pater inuisti celeri sua gaudia passi  
Matrem & filiolam, verbum solatus amica  
Languidam adhuc illa parit, doloribus agram, &c.]

This yeere also, one Dauter the towne clerke of the  
citie of London, hanged himselfe, which suerly was a  
man that in no wise could abide to heare the gospell  
shoud be in English. And I my selfe heard him once  
saie to me and other that were by, swearing a great  
oth, that if he thought the kings highnesse would let  
forth the scripture in English, and let it be read of  
the people by his authoritie, rather than he would so  
long liue, he would cut his owne throat, but he brake  
promise, for (as you haue heard) he hanged himselfe:  
but of what mind and intent he so did, maie be some  
gathered. For God had (no doubt) appointed him to

that iudgement: no less heane than his offence  
was heinous, namely the contempt of Gods word,  
the knowledge of Gods damnable, preferring it  
before gold and silver, yea before pearls and precious  
stones, the riches, and before honore and the honore  
some in doubt was, as the said phrase noteth, saying:  
[Eob. Hess. in p. 41. 119.]

About this time the pope, by lingering sicknesses,  
(whose greatest in the said apprehension was the pains  
of the stomach, which was doing with them to the point  
of a fever and other accidents) kept him long time  
weakened and weakened, sometimes seeming to be re-  
duced to the point of death, and sometimes raised  
and relieved, that he gave to others but not to him-  
selfe a kind of hope of recouering, being no longer  
able to make resistance against his maladic, & chan-  
ged his life the five and twentieth of September, lea-  
uing behind him in the castell of saint Anged manie  
rich stones and iewels, more than was expected of  
him, and in the chamber of the se apostolike infinit  
offices, contrarie to custome and good order, but in  
the treasure a bette small store of monie, therein he  
beguiled the opinion of all men. He was raised from  
basse degree to the place of the pope with tow-  
verfull felicitie; but in managing the place he pro-  
ued a bette great variation of fortune, wherein if  
both the properties of fortune be euellie balanced  
the one with the other, the worse fortune without all  
comparison was farre more familiar with him than  
the better.

For as there could happen to him no greater in-  
felicitie than the adueritie of his imprisonment (for  
that with his stone eyes he beheld with so great a  
ruine and destruction the sacke of Rome; a desola-  
tion which his fortune suffered him to bewaile with  
pite and compassion, but not to turne awaie or re-  
medie the harme) so also by him moued the generall  
desolation of his naturall countrie, to the which by  
how much more he was bound by perpetuall obliga-  
tions, by so much greater was his adueritie to be a  
chiefe instrument in the ruine of the place where he  
had taken his first being.

He died hated of all the court, suspected to most  
princes, and for the discourse of his life, he left behind  
him a rethoric rather hatefull than acceptable: for  
he was accounted courteous, of little fidelitie, and  
naturallie farre off from doing pleasures to men.  
And in that humo: albeit during his time of pope he  
created one and thirtie cardinals; yet upon none of  
them did he impose that dignitie to content himselfe  
but was aware as it were by the violent law of ne-  
cessitie and to please others yea he called to that dig-  
nitie the cardinall of Apedicia, not of his proper and  
free election, but at the contemplation and persuation  
of others, and at that time when being oppressed with  
a dangerous maladic, if he had died, he had left his  
friends and kindred in the state of beggars and de-  
prived of all aid. Fewer the lesse he was in counsell  
betre graue, and in his actions much foreseeing; tou-  
ching passions and affections a conqueror of him-  
selfe, and for the facultie of his mind a spirit of great  
capacitie and power, if timorousnesse had not often-  
times corrupted his iudgement.

Immediately after his death the cardinals going  
the same night into the conclave, elected in his place  
with full voice, Alexander of the familie of Farne-  
sa, a Roman by nation, and for his time the most an-  
cient cardinall of the court: in which election their  
voices seemed conformable to the iudgement and in-  
stance that Clement had made, the person elected be-  
ing most worthy to be preferred before all the other

Eob. Hess. in p. 41. 119.

Guic. pag. 1182, &c.

Death of pope  
Clement the  
seuenth.

Pope Cle-  
ment more  
infortunate  
than fortune-  
nate.

How manie  
cardinals he  
created du-  
ring his  
pope dome.

Creation of  
pope Pante  
the third a  
Roman  
borne.





Don. 1534.

Reg. 25, 26.

man in the priozie of saint Sepulchres at Canturburie, to whome the said Edward Boeking had comenlie his resort, not without suspition of incontinencie, pretending to be his ghostlie father by Gods appointment. And by conspiracie betwene him and him, the will continued in practising his dissembled traufes, alleging, that in the same he had revelations from almightie God and his saints, and amongst other, that which (as before we have mentioned) toucheth the kings marriage, as ye have heard.

This matter proceeded so farre, that there was a booke written by his complices, and namelie by Thomas Laurence, register to the archbishop of Canturburie, of his feigned and counterfeit miracles, revelations, and hypocritical holinesse. All things were handled so craftilie, that not one lie the simple, but also the wise and learned sort were deceived by the same, insomuch that William Warham the late archbishop of Canturburie, and John Fisher bishop of Rochester, and divers others, being informed thereof, gave credit thereto. All which matters and manie other had bene traitorously practised and imagined amongst the parties manie peres, chieflie to interrupt the diuorfe and to destroe the king, and to depriue him from the crowne and dignitie roiall of this realme, as in the act of their attainder made more at large it maie appeare, and likewise in the chronicles of maister Edward Hall. Therefore to conclude with him and his adherents, on the one and twentieth of Aprill next following, the with diuerse of them before condemned, was drawn to Tlburne, and there executed, as iustlie they had deserued; where and when she made this confession following, even at the present time that she suffered, in the hearing of the people.

The words of Elizabeth Barton, otherwise called the holie maid of Kent at the houre of hir death in maner of a confession.

**A**fter am I come to die, and I haue not bene the onelie cause of mine owne death, which most iustlie I haue deserued, but also I am the cause of the death of all these persons which at this time here suffer: and yet to say the truth, I am not so much to be blamed, considering that it was wel known unto these learned men, that I was a poore wench, without learning, and therefore they might haue easilie perceiued, that the things that were done by me, could not proceed in any such sort, but their capacities and learning could right well iudge from whence they proceeded, and that they were altogether feined: but bicause the things which I feined were profitable unto them, therefore they much praised me, and bare me in hand that it was the holie ghost, and not I that did them, and then I being puffed up with their praises, fell into a certeine pride and foolish fantasie with my selfe, and thought I might feine what I would, which thing hath brought me to this case, and for the which now I crie God and the kings highnes most hartilie mercie, and desire all you good people to praye to God to haue mercie on me, and on all them that suffer here with me.

In this parlement also was made the act of succession, for the establishing of the crowne, to the which euerie person being of lawfull age should be

sworne. On mondaie the thirte twentieth of March in the parlement time, were solemnlie received into London ambassadours from James the first king of Scots, the bishop of Aberdine, the abbat of Lincolns, and Adam Otterborne the kings attourneie, with diuerse gentlemen on them attendant, which were brought to the tailors hall, and there lodged. And on the daie of the Annunciation, they were brought to the kings palace at Westminster, where they shewed their commission and message, for the which the king appointed them dates to counsell. During the parlement time, euerie sundaie at Pauls crosse preached a bishop, declaring the pope not to be supreme head of the church.

The thirtieth of March was the parlement prorogued, and there euerie lord, knight, and burges, and all other were sworne to the act of succession, and subscribed their hands to a parchment fixed to the same. The parlement was prorogued till the third of November next. After this were commissioners sent into all parts of the realme, to take the oth of all men and women to the act of succession. Doctor John Fisher, and sir Thomas More knight, and doctor Nicholas Wilson parson of saint Thomas apostles in London, exprelie denied at Lambeth before the archbishop of Canturburie, to receiue that oth. The two first stood in their opinion to the verie death (as after ye shall heare) but doctor Wilson was better aduised at length, and so dissembling the matter escaped out of further danger.

In this yere it chanced that two merchant strangers fell in loue with a harlot, which was called Wolfes wife, and this harlot had often hanted the strangers chambers. And so on a time the said harlot appointed these strangers to come to Westminster, and she had prepared for them a bote, in the which bote was but one man to row which was a strong theefe, and in the end of the bote laie Wolfe his husband, couered with a leather that botemen vse to couer their cushions with, and so these strangers sat them down mistrusting nothing. Now when this boteman had brought them as farre as a place called the turning tree, suddenlie stepped by the said Wolfe, and with his dagger thrust the one of them through: the other cried out to save his life, and offered great sums of monie to the boteman and him to saue his life. But no proffers would be heard, nor mercie would they extend, but as cruell murderers without pitie slue the other also, and bound them face to face, and so threw them into the Thames in the foresaid place, where they were long after before they were found. But immediatlie the harlot Wolfes wife went to the strangers chambers, and toke from thence so much as she could come by. And at the last she and her husband (as they deserued) were apprehended, arraigned, and hanged at the aforesaid turning tree.

On the ninth of Julie was the lord Dacres of the north arraigned at Westminster of high treason, where the duke of Norfolkke sat as iudge, and high steward of England. The said lord Dacres being brought to the barre, with the are of the Tower before him, after his indictment read, so impudently the same, answering euerie part and matter therein contained, and so plainlie and diuallie confuted his accusers, which were there readie to anouch their accusations, that to their great shames, and his high honor, he was found that day by his peres not guilty, whereof the commons not a little reioised, as by their shout and crie made at those words, not guilty, they shal lie testified.

The two and twentieth of Julie was John Frith burned in Smithfield, for the opinion of the sacrament: and with him the same time, and at the same stake, suffered also one Andrew Hewet, a young man,

Embassadours from James the first king of Scotland.

The popes supremacye denied in sermons.

The lords sworne to the succession.

Ab. Fl. ex Edw. Hall 224. Wolfes wife a notable harlot.

The end of unlawfull loue and lust.

The reward of murder committed through covetousnesse.

Anno Reg. 26. The lord Dacres of the north arraigned.

John Frith burned.

1534 Elizabeth Barton attainted.

The archbishop of Canturburie and the bishop of Rochester gave credit to the hypocritical holinesse.

Elizabeth Barton executed.

A forged miracle.

Elizabeth Barton burnt.

The act of succession.

John Stow.  
Frieres  
suppressed.

The parlemēt  
againe be-  
ginneeth.

The admerall  
of France com-  
meth in am-  
bassage into  
England.

1535

Anno Reg. 27.

John Stow.  
Certaine pri-  
ors arreigned  
and executed  
for treason.

John Stow.  
pag. 1004.  
Hollanders  
condemned for  
heretikes.

Monks of  
Charterhouse  
executed.

The bishop of  
Rocheſter  
beheaded.

by his occupation a tailor. The eleventh of August were all the places of the obseruant friers suppressed, as Greenwiche, Canturburie, Richmond, Beuarke, and Petworth, and in their places were set Augustine friers, and the obseruant friers were placed in the houses of the grate friers. ¶ The one and twentieth of September, doctor Tailor master of the rolles, was discharged of that office, and Thomas Cromwell sworne in his place the nineteenth of October. Whereover the third of November, the parliament began againe, in the which was concluded the act of supremacy, which authorised the kings highnes to be supreme head of the church of England, and the authoritie of the pope abolished out of the realme. ¶ In the same parlement also was giuen to the king, the first fruits and tenths of all spirituall dignities and promotions. This yeare came the great admerall of France into England, ambassadour from the French king, and was honozable receiued.

In this time died the earle of Hildare, prisoner in the Tower, and his sonne Thomas Fitzgaret began to rebel, and toke all the kings ordinance, and sent to the emperour, requiring him to take his part: also he sūe the bishop of Dublin, and robbed all such as would not obrie him. In the beginning of this yeare, the duke of Suffolke and the bishop of Ely went to Calis, and thither came the admerall of France. On the two & twentieth of Aprill the prior of the Charterhouse at London, the prior of Beuall, the prior of Erham, Keinalds a brother of Sion, & John bicar of Chisleworth, were arreigned and condemned of treason: and thereupon drawne, hanged and quartered at Tyburne the fourth of Maie: their heads and quarters were set ouer the bridge & gates of the citie, one quarter excepted, which was set vp at the Charterhouse at London. ¶ On the eight of Maie, the king commanded that all belonging to the court should poll their heads, & to giue example, caused his owne head to be polled, and his beard from thenceforth was cut round, but not shauen, which fashion the courtiers imbraced, and would (no doubt) haue put in practise, though they had not bene there, vnto bound by precept: for the people imitate the prince, as the poet long ago well noted, saieing:

*Regis ad exemplum totus componitur orbis.*

¶ The five and twentieth daie of Maie, was in saint Pauls church at London examined nineteene men and six women borne in Holland, whose opinions were, first, that in Christ is not two natures, God and man: secondlie, that Christ toke neither flesh nor blood of the virgin Marie: thirdlie, that children borne of infidels shall be saued: fourthlie, that baptisme of children is to none effect: fifthlie, that the sacrament of Christs bodie is but bread onelie: sixthlie, that he, who after his baptisme sinneth wittinglie, sinneth deadlie, and cannot be saued. Fourteene of them were condemned; a man & a woman of them were burned in Smithfield, the other twelue were sent to other towne there to be burnt.]

On the nineteenth of June were three monkes of the Charterhouse hanged, drawne, and quartered at Tyburne, and their heads and quarters set vp about London, for denieng the king to be supreme head of the church: their names were, Ermele, Middleton, and Pudigate. Also the one and twentieth of the same moneth, and for the same cause, doctor John Fisher bishop of Rocheſter was beheaded for denieng of the supremacy, and his head set vpon London bridge, but his bodie buried within Bar, king churchyard. This bishop was of manie soze lamented, for he was reported to be a man of great learning, and of a verie good life. The pope had elected him a cardinall, and sent his hat as far as Calis, but his head was off before his hat was on: so that

they met not. On the first of Iulie was sir Thomas More beheaded for the like crime, that is to wit, for denieng the king to be supreme head. And then the bodie of doctor Fisher was taken vp, and buried with sir Thomas Mores in the Tower. This man was both learned and wise, and giuen much to a certaine pleasure in inerie taunts and teasking in most of his communication, which manner he forgot not at the verie houre of his death.

¶ I cannot tell (saith master Hall) whether I should call him a foolish wise man, or a wise foolish man, for vndoubtedly he beside his learning, had a great wit, but it was so mingled with taunting and mocking, that it seemed to them that best knew him, that he thought nothing to be well spoken except he had misused some mocke in the communication. Inasmuch as at his coming to the Tower, one of the officers demanded his upper garment for his use, meaning his gowne: and he answered, he should haue it, and toke him his cap, saieing it was the uppermost garment that he had. The wife euen going to his death at the Tower gate, a poore woman called vnto him, and besought him to declare what he had done with euidences of his in the time that he was in office (which after he was apprehended she could not come by) and that he would intreat she might haue them againe, or else she was vndone. He answered, good woman, haue patience a little while, for the king is so good vnto me, that euen with in this halfe houre he will discharge me of all businesse, and helpe thee himselfe.

Also when he went vnto the staires on the scaffold, he desired one of the shirifes officers to giue him his hand to helpe him vp, and said: When I come downe againe, let me shift for my selfe as well as I can. Also the hangman kneeled downe to him, asking him forgiveness of his death (as the maner is) to whom he said, I forgive thee, but I promise thee thou shalt neuer haue honestie by striking off my head, my necke is so short. Also euen when he should laie downe his head on the blocke, he hauing a great graie beard, stroked out his beard, and said to the hangman, I praye you let me laie my beard ouer the blocke, least you should cut it. Thus with a mocke he ended his life.

God had in most bountifull sort powred his blessings vpon this man, induing him with eloquence, wisdom and knowledge: but the grace of God withdrawinge from him, he had the right vse of none, no not of reason as it should be rightlie used. God had extraordinary blessed his children, and namelie his three daughters, to whom he had giuen an admirable dexteritie in the science of songs and arts, as John Leland our reuerend antiquarie noteth in a proper and learned epigramme, saieing:

*Desine facundus nimium laudare disertū  
Natas Hortensiam maxima Romanū  
Candida tres Charites nam Mori cura posuit  
Obscurant multis nomina vestramodū  
Non illud studium Miletia vellera dextris  
Carpere, non facili ducere sila manus  
Sed iuuat eloqui crebro monumenta Latini  
Persare, & doctus pingere verba notis,  
Nec minus aures Græcas enothere, Homerum  
Et quæsi dicendi gloria prima manet.  
Et nec Aristotelis dicam quo persare libros  
Scrutentur, sophia mystica dona dea.  
Turpe viris posthac erit ignoscere Minerva  
Artes, græci adeo quas mulieribus amet.*

And yet was not the will of God for the infusing of spirituall graces, so linked to that of temporall, as because the one was granted; therefore the other must not be denied. For the blessings of God which be outward, are common to the wicked with the good:

1. Leland. Not  
ed. See Chas  
tea. c. 10.

The king of  
France a knight  
of the garter.

The bishop of  
Rocheſter  
ambassadour  
from France.  
J. Stow.

Execution of  
religious hou  
ses.

Spiritual  
graces co-  
nnecte  
concurrunt  
et dependunt  
et compoſunt.



Anno reg. 23.

Abr. Fl. ex  
I. Stow. 1006.  
Queene Anne  
committed to  
the tower.Hir imprec-  
ation at the  
tower gate on  
hir knees.She is ar-  
reigned in the  
tower.The lord  
Rochford  
condemned.Queene Anne  
and diuerse  
others behead-  
ed.

To of his death and martyrdome, read the martyrologie of Iohn Fox our ecclesiasticall chonographer Anno 1536. *fab Hen. 8.*

On Paie date were solempne iusts kept at Cræn-  
wich, and suddenlie from the iusts the king departed,  
not hauing aboue six persons with him, and in the  
euening came to Westminster. Of this sudden de-  
parting many mused, but most chieflie the queene.  
¶ On the next morrowe, the lord Rochford brother  
to the queene, and Henrie Norris were brought to  
the tower of London prisoners. Also the same date  
about fise of the clocke in the after none, queene  
Anne of Bullongne was brought to the tower of  
London, by sir Thomas Audley lord chancelor, the  
duke of Suffolke, Thomas Cromwell secretarie,  
and sir William Kingston constable of the tower;  
and when she came to the tower gate, entering in  
she fell on hir knees before the said lord, beseeching God  
to helpe hir, as she was not guiltie of that whereof  
she was accused, and then desired the said lords  
to beseech the kings grace to be good vnto hir, and so  
they left hir there prisoner. On the fifteenth of Maie  
queene Anne was arreigned in the tower of Lon-  
don on a scaffold for that purpose, made in the kings  
hall, before the duke of Suffolke, who sat vnder the  
cloth of estate as high steward of England, with  
the lord chancelor on his right hand, the duke of  
Suffolke on his left hand, with marquesses and  
lords, &c. and the earle of Surrie sat before the duke  
of Suffolke his father, as earle marshall of Eng-  
land. The kings commission being read, the consta-  
ble of the tower, and the lieutenant brought the  
queene to the barre, where was made a chaire for hir  
to sit doونه in, and there hir indictment was read,  
wherevnto she made so wise and discret answers,  
that she seemed fullie to clere hir selfe of all matters  
laid to hir charge: but being tried by hir pères,  
whereof the duke of Suffolke was chiefe, she was by  
them found guiltie, and had iudgement pronounced  
by the duke of Suffolke.

Immediatlie the lord Rochford the queenes bro-  
ther was likewise arreigned and condemned: the  
lord maior of London, his brethren the aldermen, the  
wardens and foure persons mo of euerye the twelue  
principall companies being present. The seauen-  
teenth of Maie, the lord Rochford brother to the  
queene, Henrie Norris, Marke Smeton, William  
Brierton, and Francis Weston, all of the kings  
private chamber, about matters touching the queene  
were beheaded on the tolwer hill: the lord Roch-  
fords bodie with the head was buried in the chappell  
of the tolwer, the other foure in the churchyard there.  
On the nineteenth of Maie queene Anne was on a  
scaffold (made for that purpose) vpon the greene  
within the tower of London, beheaded with the  
sword of Calis, by the hands of the hangman of that  
towne: hir bodie with the head was buried in the  
quere of the chappell in the tower.]

### The words of queene Anne at hir death.



God christian people, I am come  
hither to die, for according to the  
law, and by the law I am iudged  
to die, and therefore I will speake  
nothing against it. I am come hither to  
accuse no man, nor to speake anie thing of  
that whereof I am accused & condemned  
to die, but I praise God saue the king and  
send him long to reigne ouer you, for a  
gentler, nor a more mercifull prince was  
there neuer, and to me he was euer a good,

a gentle, and a souereigne lord. And if anie  
person will meddle of my cause, I require  
them to iudge the best. And thus I take  
my leaue of the world, and of you all, and I  
hartilie desire you all to prae for me. Oh  
Lord haue mercie on me, to God I com-  
mend my soule, Iesu receiue my soule: di-  
uerse times repeating those words, till that  
hir head was stricken off with the sword.

Now because I might rather saie much than sum-  
mentlie through in praise of this noble queene, as well  
for hir singular wit and other excellent qualities of  
mind, as also for hir fauouring of learned men, zeale  
of religion, and liberaltie in distributing almes in  
reliefe of the poore, I will refer the reader vnto ma-  
ster Fox his volume of Acts and Monuments, where  
he commendeth hir mild nature in taking admoni-  
tion, proueth hir marriage lawfull, defendeth hir suc-  
cession, ouerthroweth the sinister iudgements, opini-  
ons and objections of backbiters against that ver-  
tuous queene, sheweth hir faith and trust in Christ at  
hir death, and finally how the protestants of Ger-  
manie forsooke king Henrie for the death of so good a  
princesse. ¶ Anglorum praelia faith, that this good  
queene was forwarned of hir death in a dreame,  
wherein Morpheus the god of sleepe (in the likeness  
of hir grandfather) appeared vnto hir, and after a long  
narration of the vanities of this world (how enuie  
reigneth in the courts of princes, maligning the for-  
tunate estate of the vertuous, how king Henrie the  
eight and his issue should be the bitter overthrow and  
expulsion of poperie out of England, and that the go-  
uernment of queene Elizabeth should be established  
in tranquillitie & peace) he saith vnto hir in conclu-  
sion by waie of prophesie, as our poet hath recorded:

*Fortis animo, triblis si nunciatus adsum,  
Insuperata tua velox necis aduenit hora,  
Intra triginta spacium moriere dierum:  
Hoc magnam mortis solamen habeto futura,  
Elizabetha suis praeclare filia gestis  
Nomen ad astra feret patris, matrisque, suumque.]*

Immediatlie after hir death, in the weeke before  
Whitsuntide, the king married the ladie Jane Seim-  
mer, daughter to sir John Seimer knight, which at  
Whitsuntide was openlie shewed as queene. And on  
the tuesday in Whitsun weeke, hir brother sir Edw.  
Seimer was created vicount Beauchampe, and sir  
Walter Hungerford, lord Hungerford. The eight of  
June began the parlement, during the which the lord  
Thomas Howard, without the kings assent, affied  
the ladie Margaret Douglas daughter to the queene  
of Scots, and neece to the king, for which act he was  
atteinted of treason, and an act made for like offen-  
ders, and so he died in the tower, and she remained  
long there as prisoner. In the time of this parlement  
the bishops and all the cleargie of the realme held a  
solempne conuocation at Pauls church in London,  
where after much disputation and debating of mat-  
ters, they published a booke of religion, intituled Ar-  
ticles deuised by the kings highnesse, &c. In this  
booke is speciallie mentioned but thre sacraments.  
Also before this booke certeine intunitions were gi-  
uen forth, wherby a number of their holie daies were  
abrogated, & speciallie those that fell in harvest time.  
¶ The nine & twentieth of June, the king held a great  
tussing and triumph at Westminster, where were or-  
dered two lighters made like ships to fight vpon  
the water, one of the which brake in the midst, wherby  
one Gates a gentleman, & servant to sp. Rincet  
was drowned in his harnesse. In the other a gun  
brake hir chamber, & maimed two of the mariners.  
Thomas Cromwell secretarie vnto the king, and  
maie

ance-  
ment of the  
Crom-  
well.The death of  
the kings  
sonne.I. Fox in mas-  
tyrologia.

Ang. praelia

The people  
manged at  
the immuni-  
ties establish-  
ed by act of  
parliament.Stratagons  
conspiracie.The king was  
richly lous  
Jane SeimerThe Lincoln-  
shire men in  
armes a-  
gainst the  
king.

A parlement

The lord Th.  
Howard at-  
teinted of  
treason.I hope pre-  
sented con-  
cerning religion  
by the king.The petiti-  
ons of the re-  
bels received  
of the king  
and of what  
points they  
contided.I. Stow.  
A triumph at  
Westminster



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The king mar-  
ried lady  
Jane Seimet

of  
parliament.

The lord Th.  
Howard at-  
tainted of  
treason.

A booke pub-  
lished con-  
cerning religion  
by the king.

I. Stow.  
The triumph at  
Westminster.

the death of  
the king  
his sonne.

The people  
gathered at  
the commons  
was abolished  
by act of  
parliament.

Ang. praxia

Stratagems  
conspiracie.

The Lincoln-  
shire men in  
armes as-  
saulted the  
king.

The peti-  
tions of the re-  
bels received  
of the king  
and of what  
points they  
considered.

maister of the tols, was made lord keeper of the pri-  
uie seale, and the ninth of Julie the lord Fitzwarren  
was created erle of Bath, and the moztow after the  
said lord Cromwell was created lord Cromwell.  
The eighteenth of Julie he was made knight, and vi-  
car generall under the king over the spiritualitye, and  
sat diuerse times in the conuocation amongst the bi-  
shops as head ouer them. The two and twentieth of  
Julie, Henrie duke of Richmond and Summerfet,  
earle of Northampton, base sonne to the king, begot  
of the ladie Taillebois then called Elizabeth Blunt,  
departed this life at saint James, and was buried at  
Westford in Northfolke, of whome you shall find more  
in the treatise of the dukes of this land.

In September, Thomas Cromwell lord priuie  
seale and vicegerent, sent abroad under the kings  
spirituall priuie seale certeine iniunctions, com-  
manding that the persons and curats should teach  
their parishioners the Pater noster, the Ave & Creed,  
with the ten comandements, and articles of the  
faith in English. These articles and iniunctions be-  
ing established by authoritie of parlement, and now  
to the people deliuered, bred a great mistaking in the  
harts of the common people, which had bene euer  
brought up and trained in contrarie doctrine. And  
here with diuerse of the cleargie as monks, priests,  
and others, took occasion herby to speake euill of the  
late proceedings of the king, touching matters of  
religion, affirming that if speedie remedie were not  
in time prouided, the faith would shortly be utterly  
destroyed, and all prayer and diuine seruice quite abo-  
lished and taken awate.

Spanis sinister reports, slanderous tales, and scil-  
ned fables were blowne abroad, and put into the peo-  
ples eares, and diuerse of the nobilitie did also what  
they coult to stir the commons to rebellion, faithful-  
lie promising both aid and succour against the king.  
The people thus prouoked to mischief, and deceived  
through ouer light credence, incontinentlie as it  
were to mainteine that religion, which had so manie  
yeares continued, and bene esteemed, they distelle  
and stoultie conspired together, and in a part of Lin-  
colnshire they first assembled, and shortly after ioi-  
ned into an armie, being (as it was supposed) of men  
apt for the warres, in number about twentie thou-  
sand. Against these rebels with all the hast that  
might be, the king in his proper person vpon intelli-  
gence therof had marched towards them, being fur-  
nished with a warlike armie, perfectlie appointed of  
all things that to such a companie should apper-  
teine.

The rebels hearing that his person was present  
with his power to come thus against them, began to  
feare what would follow of their doings: and such  
nobles and gentlemen as at the first fauoured their  
cause, fell from them and withdrew, so that they be-  
ing destitute of capitaines, at length put certeine  
petitions in writing, which they exhibited to the  
king, professing that they neuer intended hurt to-  
wards his roial person. The king received their pe-  
titions, which consisted in choise of counsellors, sup-  
pression of religious houses, maintenance of the ser-  
uice of almighty God, the statute of vses, the release  
of the fifteenth, and receiuing of the first fruits, with  
such other matters as nothing appertained to them:  
wherevpon he made them answer in pithie sentence,  
reproouing them of their presumptuous follie and re-  
bellious attempt, to meddle in anie such matters  
and weightie affaires, the direction whereof onelie  
belonged to him, and to such noble men and coun-  
sellors as his pleasure should be to elect and choise to  
haue the ordering of the same.

Wherefore he aduised them to remember their rash  
and inconsiderate doings, and that now in anie wise

they should resort home to their houses, and no more  
to assemble contrarie to his lawes and their owne  
allegiances; and also to cause the prouokers of this  
mischiefe to be deliuered to the hands of his lieute-  
nant, and further to submit themselves wholie to such  
punishment as he and his nobles should thinke them  
worthy to receiue: for otherwise he would not suf-  
fer that inturbe at their hands to go vnreueged. Af-  
ter the Lincolnshire men had receiued the kings an-  
swer thus made, to their petitions, each mistrusting  
other, who should be noted the greatest meddler, sud-  
denlie they began to thinke, and got them home to  
their houses without longer abode.

Here with the duke of Suffolke the kings lieute-  
nant was appointed to go with the armie, to see the  
countrie set in quiet, accompanied with the lord ad-  
mirall, sir Francis Walsan, and sir John Russell that  
were ioined with him also in commission for the  
ordering of things there within the countie of Lin-  
colne. The duke entred into the citie of Lincoln the  
seuenteenth of October. On the nineteenth all the in-  
habitants of Louth (according to order giuen by the  
duke) came to Lincoln, and there in the castell made  
their submission, holding up their hands, and crying  
for the kings mercie. And her with were chosen forth  
Nicholas Pelton, capteine Cobler, & thirtene more,  
which were commanded to ward, and all the residue  
were new sware to the king, renouncing their for-  
mer oth receiued in time of their rebellion, and then  
departed home to their houses in the kings peace.  
After this were proclamations made abroad in the  
countrie in euerie market towne by the heralds of  
armes, Summerfet and Winsore, that the capitaine  
and souldiers of the dukes armie should not take a-  
nie mans goods, cattels, or vittels, except they paid  
or agreed with the owners of the same.

And further commandement was giuen, that all  
inhabitants and dwellers within the townes and  
villages about, should repaire to the citie of Lin-  
colne, with all maner of vittels as well for men as  
horses, where they should receiue payment at reaso-  
nable prices for the same. After this, there was like-  
wise proclamation made for the apprehending of all  
such lewd persons, as had sowne anie false rumors  
abrode in the countrie (the chiefe occasion of this re-  
bellion) bryting that the king pretended to haue the  
gold in the hands of his subjects brought into the  
tower to be touched, and all their cattell unmarked,  
the chalices, gods, and ornaments of parish chur-  
ches, fines for christenings, weddings, and buriengs,  
licences to eat white meat, bread, pig, goose, or ca-  
pon, with manie other slanderous, false, and detesta-  
ble tales and lies, forged of diuelish purpose to in-  
courage the people to rebellion. If therefore anie  
man could apprehend such as had bene the setters  
forth and sowers of such seditious reports, they that  
brought them in, should be so rewarded, as they  
should thinke their labour well bestowed.

Moreover, if there were anie assemblies made  
in anie part of the realme without the kings licence,  
by anie barrule persons, and would not depart to  
their houses vpon warning by his graces proclama-  
tions, they should not looke for further mercie at the  
kings hand, but to be prosecuted with fire and sword  
to the vttermost. To conclude, by the wise and sage  
direction taken in appeasing the countrie by that no-  
ble duke, all things were quieted in those parties. Di-  
uerse of the principall offenders were sent vnto  
London. He that took vpon him as chiefe capteine  
of the rout, was the same that called himselfe cap-  
teine Cobler: but he was indeed a monk named  
doctor Pakarell, which afterwards with diuerse o-  
thers was executed.

But now in the meane time, whilst the duke  
was

The Lincoln-  
shire men giue  
ouer their re-  
bellious in-  
terprise.

The rebels  
submit them-  
selves and re-  
ceiue a new  
oth of fealtie  
to the king.

False rumors  
the occasion of  
rebellions.

¶ b b j.

It cometh not  
in the north  
parts.

was sent forwards into Lincolnshire, within six daies after the king was trulie informed, that there was a new sir begun in the north parts by the people there, which had assembled themselves into an huge armie of warlike men & well appointed, both with capitaine; horses, armor, and artillerie, to the number of forty thousand men, which had incamped themselves in Yorkshire. These men declared by their proclamations solemnly made, that this their rising and commotion should extend no further, but onelie to the maintenance and defense of the faith of Christ, and deliuerance of holie church, sore decayed and oppressed, and also for the furtherance as well of pinate as publicke matters in the realme, touching the wealth of all the kings poore subjects.

An holie pil-  
grimage.

They named this their seditious voyage, an holie and blessed pilgrimage: they had also certeine banners in the field, in which was painted Christ hanging on the crosse on the one side, and a chalice with a painted cake in it on the other side, with diuers other banners of like hypocrisie and feigned holinesse. The souldiers had also imbrodered on the sleeves of their cotes in steed of a badge; the similitude of the five wounds of our saviour, and in the middell thereof was written the name of our Lord. Thus had the rebels host of sathan with false and counterfeit signes of holinesse set out themselves, onelie to deceive the simple people in that their wicked and rebellious enterprise against their liege lord and naturall prince, whome by the law of nations and by Gods commandments they were bound in conscience to obey, and so farre to be from lifting up the least finger of their hand, as rather to put life and goods in hazard for his sake, to testifie their allegiance.

The faithfull  
diligence of  
the earle of  
Shrewsburie

The speciall diligence and loiall dutie which was found at that present in the worthy countess George earle of Shrewsburie, is not to be forgotten, who immediatlie after he understood how the northerne men were thus by in armes, considering how much it importeth to stop them of their passage before they should aduance too far forwards, where by they might both increase in power, and put all other parts of the realme in hazard, through feare or hope to incline to their wicked purposes, he sent abroad with all speed possible to raise such power of his seruants, tenants, and friends, as by any means he might make, and withall dispatched one of his seruants to the king, both to aduertise him what he had done, and also to purchase his pardon, for making such leuie of power, before he had receiued his maiesties commission so to do.

A good mean-  
ing or intent  
doubt not by  
and by iustitie  
and make good  
the action.

I haue heard by relation of men of good credit that were there present: that when such knights and gentlemen as were of his counsell, and other of his especiall friends were come vnto him, he put forth this question to them; Whether his fact in raising a power of armed men without the kings commission (although he had done it to resist the rebels) were treason or not? Wherevnto when answer was made by some that were knowne to haue skill in the laws of the realme, how that by no means it could be intended treason, sith his intent was good, and no euill thereby meant, but contrarie the aduancement of the kings seruice dutifullie sought: He answered (quoth the earle) I know it in substance to be treason, and I would thinke my selfe in an hard case, if I thought I had not my pardon comming.

The loialtie  
of the earle.

Such a reuerend regard had this noble earle vnto his bounden allegiance towards his prince, that whatsoeuer seemed but as it were to sound in any breach to the breach thereof, it so troubled his loiall mind, that he could not be satisfied, till as it were in confessing his fault: where according to the truth there was none at all. He had signified his assured

delitie in crauing pardon, where otherwise he might haue looked for thanks, which indeed he receiued with his pardon, according to his petition, and a commission to proceed as he had begun. Moreover, whereas there were diuerse speeches amongst the souldiers in the armie, uttered by some not altogether haplie well disposed, that the said earle had so good liking of the northerne mens cause, that when it came to the point of triall, he would surely ioin with them against that part, which he yet pretended to mainteine.

To put that matter out of doubt, he caused the multitude of his souldiers to come before him, and there declared to them, that he understood what lewd talke had bene raised of his meaning among them in the campe, as if he had fauoured the part of the rebels: But (saith he) whatsoeuer their colourable pretence may be, true it is, that traitors they are in this their wicked attempt. And whereas my ancestors haue bene euer true to the crowne, I meane not to staine my blood now in joining with such a sort of traitors, but to liue and die in defense of the crowne, if it stand but vpon a stake: and therefore those that will take my part in this quarrell, I haue to thanke them, and if there be any that be otherwise minded, I would wish them hence. And herewith he caused his chapelaine to minister an oth to him, which he receiued to the effect aforesaid, in the presence of them all.

And verelie this was thought to be done not without great cause that moued him thereto: for whereas the more part of his souldiers consisted of the countrie people, who with forged tales and wicked surmises were easilie led to beleue whatsoeuer was reported in fauor of the rebels, and disfauor of such as were then chiefe counsellors to the king, against whome they pretended to rise (although there was no reasonable occasion leading them thereto) it was greatlie to be suspected, least they might through some traitorous practise haue bene induced to forget their dutifull allegiance to their souereigne, and souldierlike obedience to their leaders, inasmuch that the captaine of the rebels were perswaded (and some of them reported no lesse) that they might haue fought with the duke of Norfolk, and the earle of Shrewsburie, on this hither side of the riuer of Dun, euen with their owne men, not needing to haue brought a man of their armie with them.

Therefore it was thought, that the oth which the earle of Shrewsburie in that sort receiued before all his people there openlie in field, serued to great purpose; to put out of his souldiers wauering heads all such lewd expectation that he would turne to the enemies, staing thereby their fickle minds; sith they were now assured, that he being their chiefe captain, meant no dissimulation. A matter trulie of no small importance, considering the fauor which the commons bare towards him, and the opinion they had conceiued of his high prowesse; so that which waie he inclined, it was thought verelie the game were likelie to go. But now after the king was aduertised of that perilous commotion of the northerne men, he appointed not onelie the said earle of Shrewsburie to raise a power to resist them: but also ordered the duke of Norfolk his lieutenant generall, with the marquisse of Excester, and the said earle of Shrewsburie, the earles of Huntington and Rutland, accompanied with a mightie power to go against them.

These lords raising such retinues of souldiers and men of warre as were to them assigned, made forward to the place where the armie of the rebels was then incamped, which was beyond the towne of Doncaster, in the high waie towards Poole. But

to be the earle  
said to them  
that he would  
be with them  
in the campe.

The euen of  
Simon and  
Jude.

I doubt.

Gods pro-  
vidence striketh  
them from  
battel.

The matter  
is taken by.

The oth of the  
earle of Shrewsburie  
in presence of  
the people of  
cellars.

In other an-  
nies of rebels  
marching  
forthward  
through the  
caluie.

The duke of  
Norfolk the  
king's lieuten-  
ant.

A butcher  
which hang

and the cause  
why.

first the laid earle of Shrewesburie, with the earles of Huntingdon; and Rutland, and such other that were next adjoining to those parties, with their powers assembled out of the shires of Salop, Stafford, Leicestershire, Rutland, Nottingham, and Derby, came to a place in Nottinghamshire called Withlow, and there taking the musters of their people, straightwaies passed forth to Doncaster, and appointed certaine bands of their men, to lie in places where anie fords or passages late over the river of Dun, runneth by the northside of Doncaster, to staie the enemies if they should attempt to come over. Shortly after came the duke of Suffolke, and finallye the marquisse of Creake with a iollie companie of transferrers men, well and perfectly appointed.

When these captains, and sage counsellors being here assembled, understood the manner of the nothern men, their number, and readiness to battell, they first practised with great policie, to haue pacified the matter without bloodshedding: but the nothern men were so bent to mainteine their wilfull enterprise, that there was no hope to take by the matter without battell: the refoze a daie was set, on the which they should trie the quarrell betwixt them with dint of sword. But so the chance. The night before the daie assigned for this bloodie and unnaturall battell, to haue being fought betwixt men of one nation, and subiects to one king; there fell a raine not great to speake of, but yet as it were by miracle, the ruier of Dun rose suddenlie on such a height, that fel-dome had bene scene there the like hugeness of water: so that the daie when the houre of battell should come, it was not possible for the one armie to come at the other, and so the appointment made betwene both the armies for trial of the matter by force of arms, was by Gods god providence disappoynted, and manie an innocent mans life preferred, that should haue died, if their purposes had taken place.

After this by the great wisdome and policie of the nobles and capteins, a communication was had, and an agreement made vpon the kings pardon, obtained for all the capteins and chiefe dmers in this insurrection, and promise made that they should be gentlie heard, to declare such things as they found themselves grieved with: and that vpon their articles presented to the king, their reasonable petitions should be granted, as by him & his counsell it should be thought expedient, whereby all troubles might be quieted, and ech thing brought to a good conclusion. Wherewith euerie man departed, and those which before came as hot as fire to fight, letted of their desperate purpose, by Gods mercifull providence, returned now peaceable to their houses without any more businesse.

At the selfe same time that these northerne men were lodged nere to Doncaster, and the kings partye ready to stop them of their passage (as before ye haue heard) there was an other armie ready to haue marched southwards through Lancashire: but by the faithfull diligence of the earle of Derby; who with the forces of Lancashire and Cheshire was appointed to resist them, they were likewise kept backe, and brought to quiet; notwithstanding they were a verie great number assembled together of the commons out of Cumberland, Westmerland, and of the north parts of Lancashire. The earle of Suffol was sent downe by the king, to come in assistance with the earle of Derby; who causing diuerse of the chiefe procurers of that rebellion in those parties to be apprehended and arraigned, they being found guiltie had iudgement, and were executed, as the abbats of Walleie, Sauleie, and others.

In time of this rebellion, a priest that by a butcher dwelling within five miles of Colindale, had been

procured to preach in fauor of the rebels, and the butcher (as well for procuring the priest thereto, as for words spoken as he sold his meat in Windsoꝛ) were hanged: the priest on a tree at the foot of Windsoꝛ bridge, and the butcher on a pake of new gallowes set vp before the cassell gate, at the end of the same bridge. The words which the butcher spake were these. When one had him lesse for the carcase of a sheepe than he thought he could make of it : Saie by Gods soule (saide he) I had rather the godd fellowes of the north had it, and a scoze more of the best I haue, than I would so sell it. This priest and butcher being accused on a mondaie in the morning whilst the kings armie was in the field, and the king himselfe lying at Windsoꝛ, they confessed their faultes vpon their examinations, and by the law martiall they were adioyded to death, and suffered as before is mentioned. This yeare in December, the Thames was frozen ouer : insomuch that the king and queene rode thorough London to Grenewich.

In Christmas the king by his messengers and heralds sent downe into the north his generall pardons to all the offenders; and shortly after Aske that had bene the principall procurer, & as it were chiefe captaine of the northerne rebels, came to London, and now was both pardoned and receiued into fauor, receiuing of the kings bounteous liberalitie, apparell, and diuerse other rewards, whereof he was most vntwofold: for there liued not (as Hall saith) a better wretch, as well in person as conditions and deeds, speciallie towards the kings maiestie, as after appeared. ¶ Sir Iane Cuers kept Scarbrow castell in the north, being six weeks besieged by the rebels, twentie daies whereof he and all his companie (which were his onelie friends, seruants, and tenants, and serued for god will to him) were forced to susteine themselves with bread and water, and yet he kept the same to the end of that rebellion; and so deliuered it to king Henrie, who sent him sone after to serue in the borders against Scotland, where in great credit he continued his seruice, keeping the Scots without doing hurt to England, and with such obedience of them, as within twentie miles of the borders of Scotland fore against him, there was not a Scot but at his commandement: and so continued, till he was killed in the yeare 1545.]

The twelue of Nouember, fir Thomas Betoman  
priest bare a faggot at Daules crosse, for singing  
masse with god ale. On the thirde of Februarie, Tho-  
mas Fitzgaret sonne and heire to the earle of Sal-  
dare was beheaded, and siue of his vnckles were  
draiue, hanged, and quartered at Tiborne for trea-  
son. In the same moneth Nicholas Pusgrauce, Tho-  
mas Albie, with others, began a new rebellion at  
Iarlshie Steptan in Westmerland, who hauing got  
together eight thousand men, besieged the citie of  
Carlisle, from whence they were beaten with the on-  
lie power of the citie: and in returning from thense,  
the duke of Northfolke, who then was lieutenant of  
the north, encountered with them, toke the capitaine,  
and according to the late martill aigned sentence  
and foure of them, whome he hanged on Carlisle  
walls, but Pusgrauce escaped.

In the same moneth of februarye began a new  
 commotion, by the procurement of sir Francis Wi-  
 god, who being intitled to that mischieuous enterpise  
 by certeine wicked persons, forgot his dutie to his  
 prince, although he had bene a man (as Hall saith)  
 that vndoubtedlie loued God, and reuerenced his  
 pzince with a right obedient and loving feare: but  
 such are men when God leaueeth them, and that they  
 will take in hand things which Gods most holie  
 word vtterlie forbiddeth. This last rebellion began in  
 Hetrington, Wiking, Leigh, and Scarboto; but  
 it

**Generaliparadons.**

I 537  
The reward  
ded.

Abr. Fl. ex l. S.  
pag. 1010.  
Sir Ralfe C.  
uers his good  
seruice in the  
north.

Penance at  
Dunles  
crosse.  
The earle of  
Kildare exe-  
cuted.

Tilbie.  
A new rebel  
lion.

to Sir Francis  
Bigod purcha-  
seth a new  
commotion,

The purpose  
of the rebels.

it was quicklie suppressed, and the said sir Francis Wigod apprehended, and brought to the Tower. The said sir Francis & one Halam, having raised a great compaignie of rebels, meant to have taken the towne of Hull, there to have fortified themselves, and to have assembled more power; but by the wisdom of sir Wase Ellerhar, & the mayo of the towne of Hull, the said Halam, & therscore other of the rebels with out anie slaughter were taken, which Halam was afterwards hanged in chaines, and two other with him, at the said towne of Hull. Sir Francis Wigod fled, & could not be heard of for a time, but at length he was also apprehended.

Like & others  
praisie to  
raise a new  
rebellion.

Moreover, about the latter end of this twentieth and eight yeare, the lord Darcie, Aske, sir Robert Constable, sir John Bulmer and his wife, sir Thomas Persie brother to the erle of Northumberland, sir Stephan Hamilton, Nicholas Tempest esquier, William Lomleie, began effones to conspire, although euerie of them before had received their pardons: and now were they all taken and brought to the Tower of London as prisoners. This yeare Robert Wackington a mercer of London, a man both rich, wise, and of good credit, dwelling at the signe of the leg in Chrapside, on a morning going (as his custom was) about foure of the clocke to heare masse, in the church then called S. Thomas of Acres, & now the Percers chappell, as he crossed over the street from his house to the church, was suddenlie murdered with a gun, the cracke whereof was heard of the neighbors, and of a great number of labozers that stood at Shoper lane end, and saw the said Wackington go forth of his house: but there was such a thicke mist that morning, as the like had not bene seen, by covert whereof the murderer found thist the more easilie to escape.

Robert Wackington murdered.

Spanie were suspected, but none found in fault, albeit forsomuch as he was one that would speake his mind frelie, and was at the same time one of the burgessees of the parlement for the cite of London, and had talked somewhat against the couetousnesse and crueltie practised by the cleargie, it was mistrusted least by some of them he came thus to his end. At length the murderer in deed was condemned at Wimburie in Dorsetshire, to die for a felonie which he afterwards committed: and when he came to the gallows on which he suffered, he confessed that he did this murder, and till that time he was neuer had in anie suspicion thereof. ¶ The nine and twentieth of March, were twelue of the Lincolneshire rebels drayne to Tyburne, and there hanged and quartered, five of them were priests, the residue laic men. One of the priests was doctor Spakarell, and an other was the vicar of Louth.

Rich. Grafton.  
The invention  
of casting  
pipes.

About this season the maner of casting pipes of lead for the conuenance of water vnder the ground, without occupieng of soulder to the same, was inuented by Robert Brocke clearke, then one of the kings chapleins, an inuention right necessarie for the sauing of expences: for two men and a boie will do that in one day, which before could not be done by manie men in manie daies. Robert Coper goldsmith was the first that made the instruments, and put this inuention in practise. ¶ In the berie beginning of this yeare, certeine commissioners being sent into Summerstethire to take vp corne, the people began to make an insurrection: but by the wisdom and diligence of young master Paulet & others the same was suppressed, and the beginners thereof, to the number of therscore, were apprehended & condemned, and fourtene of them were hanged and quartered, one of the number being a woman, the residue were saued by the kings mercifull pardon.

Anno reg. 29.

In June the lord Darcie & the lord Huseie were arreigned at Westminster before the marquisse of Exeter then high steward, where they were found guilty, and had iudgement, as in cases of high treason. Shortly after also were arreigned sir Robert Constable, sir Thomas Persie, sir Francis Wigod, sir Stephan Hamilton, sir John Bulmer, and his wife, or rather (as some report) his paramour: also William Lomleie, Nicholas Tempest, William Thurst abbat of Founteins, Adam Subburie abbat of Teruene, William Wolloprie of Wirlington, also the abbat of Kluers, and Robert Aske. They were all found guilty of high treason, and all put to death. Sir Robert Constable was hanged in chains ouer Beuerleie gate at Hull, and Robert Aske was also hanged in chains on a tower at Porke, and Margaret Cheineie sir John Bulmers paramour burnt in Smithfield in London. The other suffered at Tyburne.

Execution.

Saint Paul  
in South  
wiche.

Anno Reg 30  
first of Oct  
1538.

In the latter end of June, was the lord Darcie beheaded at the Tower hill, and shortly after the lord Huseie was likewise beheaded at Lincoln. This yeare at saint Georges feast, was the lord Cromwell made knight of the garter. In October on saint Edwards euent, which falleth on the twelfth of that moneth, at Hampton court the quene was deliuered of hir sonne named Edward, for whose birth great iote was made thorough the realme, with thanksgiuing to almighty God, who had sent such a young prince to succede his father in the crowne of this realme (as afterwards he did) by the name of king Edward the first. His godfathers at the fontaine were the archbishop of Canturburie & the duke of Northfolke, the ladie Marie was his godmother, and at the bishopping, the duke of Suffolke was his godfather. On the eighteenth of October he was made prince of Wales, duke of Cornewall, and erle of Chester.

The birth of  
king Edward  
the first.

But as iote is often mixed with sorow, so at that time it came to passe by the death of his mother, that noble and vertuous ladie quene Jane, which departed out of this life the fourteenth daie of this moneth of October, to the great griefe of the whole realme: but namely the king hir husband toke it most grievouslie of all other, who remaining to Westminster, there kept himselfe close a great while after. The eight of November, the corps of the quene was carried to Windosor, with great solemnitie, and there buried in the midst of the quire in the castell church. There was also a solempne hearse made for hir in Paules church, and funerall erequies celebrated, as well as in all other churches within the cite of London. Thus was the king left againe a widower, and so continued the space of two yeares together. Upon the death of which quene Jane, and the birth of prince Edward hir son this dischord following was made:

The death of  
quene Jane.

Frier Fog  
not burnt.

*Phoenix Iana iacet nato Phœnice, dolendum  
Secula Phœnices nulla tulisse duas.*

The king held his Christmas at Crénetsch, and as well he as all the court ware mourning apparell till the morrow after Candlemas daie, & then he and all other changed. This yeare Edward Selmer viscount Beauchampe the quenes brother was created earle of Hertford, & sir William Fitzwilliams lord high admerall was created earle of Southampton, & master Paulet was made vicechancellor, sir John Russell comptroller of the kings house, master Henedge, master Long, master Bineuet of the kings priuite chamber, knights; master Coffin, master A. star, & master Selmer the quenes brother, knights. On Allhalloves euent, the lord Thomas Howard brother to the duke of Northfolke, died prisoner in the Tower of London, and was buried at Wetherford, and then the ladie Spargaret Douglas was pardoned, and

John Fox in  
Acts & Apoc.  
nuncius.

These verses  
were thought  
to be made by  
master Ar.  
gill Wade.

1538  
Creation of  
officers.

Abt. Fl. ex  
15 pag. 101.  
101.

Prophecy

Rich. Grafton  
fol. pag. 123j

Lord Tho  
mas Howard  
died in  
prison.

Execution.

Rod of grace  
showed at  
Paris.

Reignment.

Execution.

Saint Thomas  
at South-  
wiche.An. Reg. 30.  
frier For-  
rest.The birth of  
king Edward  
the first.The death of  
poets Jam.frier For-  
rest burnt.John Fox to  
the 9th  
of June.These verses  
were thought  
to be made by  
after Armin-  
us Wade.1538  
creation of  
friers.br. Fl. ex  
pag. 1011,  
1012.ord. The  
as Edward  
created.

and released out of the Tower. The foure and twen-  
tith of Februarie, being sundaie, the rod of Borleie  
in Kent, called the rod of grace, made with diuerse  
vices, to moue the eies and lips, was shewed at  
Pauls crosse by the preacher, which was the bishop  
of Rochester, and there it was broken and plucked  
in peeces.

The five and twentieth of Februarie, sir John Al-  
len priest, and also an Irish gentleman of the Carets  
were hanged & quartered at Tyburne. The second  
of March, the image of the rood, called saint Sancio,  
at Bermonseie abbey in Southwiche, was taken  
downe by the kings commandement. The one and  
twentieth of March, Henrie Barham customer of  
Plimmonth, and Thomas Cwell, were hanged and  
quartered at Tyburne. In Maie a frier obseruant  
called frier Forrest was apprehended, for that he  
was knowne in secret confessions to haue declared  
to manie of the kings liege people, that the king  
was not supreme head of the church, where he had  
by his oth neuer thelesse affirmed him so to be. Where-  
upon in his examination, that point being laid to his  
charge, he answered that he toke his oth with his  
outward man, but his inward man neuer consented  
thereunto. But being further accused of diuerse he-  
reticall and damnable opinions that he held & main-  
tained contrarie to the scripture, at length being not  
able to defend the same, he submitted himselfe to the  
punishment of the church.

Now when upon this his submission, hauing more  
libertie than before he had to talke with whome he  
would, and other hauing libertie to talke with him,  
he was incensed by some such as had conference  
with him, that when his formall abjuratioun was  
sent him to read and peruse, he utterly refused it,  
and obstinately stood in all his heresies and trea-  
sons. Whereupon he was condemned, & afterwards  
on a paire of new gallowes prepared for him in  
Smithfield, he was hanged by the middle and arme-  
holes all quick, and vnder the gallowes was made  
a fire wherewith he was consumed and burnt to  
death. There were diuerse of the counsell present at  
his death ready to haue granted him pardon, if a  
nie sparke of repentance would haue appeared in  
him. There was also a pulpit prepared, in which  
that renowned preacher Hugh Latimer, then bi-  
shop of Worcester, by manifest scriptures confuted  
the friers errors, and with manie godlie exhortati-  
ons moued him to repentance, but he would neither  
heare nor speake.

A little before the execution, an huge and great  
image was brought to the gallowes. This image  
was fetched out of Wales, which the Welshmen had  
in great reuerence: and it was named Daruell Ga-  
theren. They had a prophesie in Wales, that this  
image should set a whole forest on fire, which prophesie  
was now thought to take effect, for he set this frier  
Forrest on fire, and consumed him to nothing. The  
frier when he saw the fire come, caught hold on the  
ladder, which he would not let go, but in that fort vi-  
patiently toke his death, so as if one might haue  
seen him by his outward man, he appeared (saith Hall) to  
haue small knowledge of God, and lesse trust in him  
at his ending: otherwise he would haue bene per-  
suaded to patience, and a christian farewell to the  
world. Upon the gallowes that he died on, was set  
up in great letters these verses here following:

David Daruell Gatheren,  
As saith the Welshmen,  
Fetched outlawes out of hell:  
Now is he come with speare and shield,  
In harness to burne in Smithfield,  
For in Wales he maie not dwell.

And Forrest the frier,  
That obdurate lier,  
That wilfullie shall be dead:  
In his contumacie,  
The gospell dooth denie,  
The king to be supreme head.]

In Iulie was Edmund Cuninghame attainted  
of treason, for counterfeiting the kings signe ma-  
nuell, and in August was Edward Clifford for the  
same cause attainted, and both put to execution as  
traitors at Tyburne. In September by the speciall  
motion of the Lord Cromwell, all the notable ima-  
ges, vnto the which were made anie especiall pilgri-  
images and offerings, were utterly taken away, as  
the images of Walsingham, Ipswich, Worcester,  
the ladie of Wilton, with manie other, and likewise  
the shynes of counterfeit saints, as that of Thomas  
Becket, and others. And euen forthwith, by means  
of the said Cromwell, all the orders of friers and  
nuns, with their cloisters and houses, were suppressed  
and put downe. As for the images of our ladie of  
Walsingham, and Ipswich, were brought by to  
London, with all the iewels that hong about them,  
and diuerse other images both in England & Wales,  
whereunto anie common pilgrimage was vsed, for  
auoiding of idolatrie, all which were burnt at Chelise  
by the lord priuie seale.

On the first of September being sundaie, one  
Gratnell hangman of London and two other were  
hanged at the wyexling place by Clearkes well, for  
robbing a booth in Bartholomew faire, at which exe-  
cution were aboute twentie thousand people, as Ed-  
ward Hall himselfe (then a present beholder) iudged.  
This moneth of September, Thomas Cromwell  
lord priuie seale, vicegerent to the kings highnesse,  
sent forth instructions to all bishops & curats throug-  
h the realme, charging them to see that in euery parish  
church, the bible of the largest volume, printed in  
Englisch, were placed for all men to read on: and  
that a booke of register were also provided and kept  
in euery parish church, wherein shall be written eue-  
rie wedding, chistening, and burleng, within the  
same parish for euer.

Saint Augustines abbey at Canturburie was  
suppressed, and the shyne & gods taken to the kings  
treasurie, as also the shyne of Thomas Becket in  
the priorie of Wykes church was likewise taken to  
the kings vse, and his bones, scull and all, which was  
there found, with a peece broken out by the wound of  
his death, were all burnt in the same church by the  
lord Cromwell. The monks there were commanded  
to change their habits, &c. The one and twentieth of  
October, the church of Thomas Becket in London  
called the hospitall of saint Thomas of Acres was  
suppressed. Nicholas Gibson groser, for this yeare  
shiriffe of London, builded a free schole at Ratchiffe,  
nere vnto London, appointing to the same, for the  
instruction of thre score poore mens chyliden, a schole-  
master and vther, with a stipend of ten pounds by the  
pere to the master, and six pounds thirtene shillings  
four pence to the vther. He also builded there cer-  
teine almes houses for fouretene poore and aged per-  
sons, who quarterlie receiue six shillings eight pence  
a peece for euer.]

In this season sute was made to the king by the  
emperour, to take to wife the duchesse of Spillan: but  
thoxtlie after that sute brake off, because (as was  
thought) the emperours counsell ment by a cautell  
to haue brought the king in mind to sue for a licence  
of the pope. When the duke of Cleue began to sue to  
the king, that it would please him to match with his  
sister the ladie Anne, which after toke effect. In No-  
uember, one John Nicholson, other wise called Lam-  
bert,

Execution.

Certaine ima-  
ges tak away  
and remoued  
from their  
places.Ab. Fl. ex I.S.  
pag. 1013.Hangman  
hanged.The bible in  
euery church  
to be read.Register booke  
in euery  
church to  
be kept.Thomas  
Becket  
burnt.Free schole  
and almes  
houses at  
Ratchiffe.



bert, a priest, was accused of heresie, for holding opinion against the bodilie presence in the sacrament of the altar. He appealed to the kings maiestie, who favourable consented to heare him at a daie appointed, against which daie, in the kings palace at Westminster, within the kings hall, there was set up a throne or seat roiall for the king, with scaffolds for all the lords, and a stage for Nicholason to stand upon.

This Nicholason was esteemed to be a man well learned, but that daie he uttered no such knowledge (saith Hall) as was thought to be in a man of that estimation. Diuerse arguments were ministred to him by the bishops, but namelie the king pressed him soze, and in the end offered him pardon if he would renounce his opinion: but he would not consent thereto, and therefore he was there condemned, and had indgement, and so shortly after he was drawne into Smithfield, and there burnt to ashes. The third of Nouember, Henrie Courtneie marques of Excestre and earle of Deuonshire, Henrie Pole lord Pontacate, and sir Edward Neuill brother to the lord Aborgaennie, were sent to the tower, being accused by sir Gessfreie Pole, brother to the lord Pontacate, of high treason. They were indicted for deuling to mainteine, promote, & aduance one Reginald Pole, late deane of Excestre, enemie to the king beyond the sea, & to depriue the king. The marques, and the lord Pontacate were arreigned the last of December at Westminster before the lord Audleie that was chancellor, and for that present time high steward of England, and there they found him giltye.

The third daie after were arreigned sir Edward Neuill, sir Gessfreie Pole, two priests called Cross and Collins, & one Holland a mariner, & all atteinted. The sixteenth of Nouember, was the blacke friers in London suppressed, the next daie the wyse friers, the grate friers, and the monks of the Charterhouse, and so all the other immediatlie. The foure and twentieth of Nouember, the bishop of Rochester preached at Paules crosse, & there shewed the bloud of Hales, and affirmed the same to be no bloud, but honie clarified, and coloured with saffron, as it had bene euidentlie proued before the king and his counsell. Also foure anabaptists, three men, and one woman, all Dutch, bare sagots at Paules crosse the same daie. The nineteenth of Nouember, a man and a woman Dutch anabaptists, were burnt in Smithfield.]

The ninth of Januarie, the lord marques, and the lord Pontacate, with sir Edward Neuill lost their heads on the Tower hill. The two priests and Holland were drawne to Thurne, and there hanged and quartered. Sir Gessfreie Pole had his pardon. On Wednesdaye, John Johns, John Potter, & William Panering, were hanged in the princes lieries (because they were the princes seruants) on the southside of Paules churchyard, for killing Roger Cholmelcie esquier in that place, of malice prepened. The third of March, sir Nicholas Carew of Bedington in the countie of Surrie knight of the garter, and maister of the kings horse, condemned before of treason, was beheaded on the Tower hill, where he made a godlie confession, both of his fault, and superstitious faith, giuing God thanks, for that his hap was to be prisoner in the Tower, where he first sauored the pleasant tast of Gods holie word, meaning the bible in English, which there he read by the exhortation of one Thomas Philips then keeper of that prison, and sometime a citizen and point-maker of London, who had bene in some trouble for religion, and examined before doctor Stokellie bishop of London, and sir Thomas More, but through his wise demeanor and mild answers, he escaped

their hands.

The ninth of March, the king created sir William Paulet knight treasurer of his house, lord saint John, and sir John Russell comptroller of his household, lord Russell. Also either then or shortly after, was sir William Par created lord Par. The new abbey of white monks at the Tower hill, and the spinories, huns without Algate, were suppressed on the last of March. The same time the king caused all the hauens to be fenced with bulwarks, and blockhouses, and riding to Dover, he took order to haue bulwarks made alongst the sea coasts, and sent commission to haue generall musters made thorough the realme. Moreover on Easter daie there were threescore faile discovered that late in the Dobones, and for that it was neither knowne what they were, nor what they intended to do, all the able men in Kent rose and mustered in armour the same daie. The eight and twentieth of Aprill began a parlement at Westminster, in the which Margaret countesse of Salisbury, Gertrude wife to the marques of Excestre, Reginald Pole cardinal, brother unto the lord Pontacate, sir Adrian Folkew, & Thomas Dingleie knight of saint Johns, and diuerse other were atteinted of high treason, which Folkew and Dingleie the tenth of Iulie were beheaded.

In this parlement the act of the six articles was established. Of some it was named the blodie statute, as if proued indeed to manie. And even shortly after the making thereof, when the first inquest for inquirie of the offenders of the same statute sat in London at the mercers chappell, those that were of that inquest were so chosen forth for the purpose, as there was not one amongst them that wished not to haue the said statute put in execution to the bittermost, inasmuch that they were not contented onelie to inquire of those that offended in the six articles contained in that statute, but also they beailed to inquire of certeine branches (as they took the matter) belonging to the same, as of those that came seldom to heare masse, that held not up their hands at the sacring time, who took no holie bread nor holie water, who used to read the bible in churches, or in communication seemed to despise priests, or images in the churches, &c. To conclude, they inquired so diligently of them that had so offended in anie of those articles or the branches, that they indicted & presented to the number of five hundred persons and above, so that if the king had not granted his pardon, for that he was informed by the lord Audleie then lord chancellor that they were indicted of malice, a great manie of them which already were in prison, had died for it in Smithfield, in frieing a saggot. But although the king at that present granted his gracious pardon, and forgane all those offenses: yet afterwards, during the time that this statute stood in force, which was for the space of eight years ensuing, they brought manie an honest and simple person to death. For such was the rigor of that law, that if two witnesses, true or false, had accused anie, and aduouched that they had spoken against the sacrament, there was no waite but death; for it boted him not to confesse that his faith was contrarie, or that he said not as the accusers reported, for the witnesses (for the most part) were beleued.

The king being informed that the pope by instructions of cardinal Pole, had moued and stirred diuers great princes and potentats of christendome to invade the realme of England; without all delaye rode himselfe toward the sea coasts, and sent diuerse of his nobles and counsellors to surueie all the ports and places of danger on the coast, where anie meet and conuentent landing place might be doubted, as well in the borders of England, as also of Wales: in

The marques  
of Excestre  
condemned.

I. Stow.  
pag. 1019.

Frieries  
suppressed.

Shroud of  
Hales shewed  
at Paules  
crosse.

Anabaptists.

1539  
The lord  
marques  
executed.

Sir Nicholas  
Carew  
executed.

Creation of  
new officers.

Bulwarks &  
blockhouses  
built.

Anno Reg. 31  
A parlement  
at Westminster.

Execution.

The Statute  
of the six  
articles.  
An inquest of  
inquiries.

Prepared  
in London  
for a must  
be made &  
shewed to  
the king.

The extreme  
proceeding in  
execution of  
the six articles.

Provision for  
defense of the  
realme.

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The 1  
Articles.

Dom. 1539.

Reg. 21.

Creation of new officers.

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the Bulwarks & blockhouses m. builded.

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at Anno Reg. 21 of A parliament.

ce, Attaindoys.

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which dangerous places he caused bulwarks and forts to be erected. And further, he caused the lord admiral earle of Southampton to prepare in a readinesse his name of ships, for defense of the coasts. Beside this, he sent forth commissions to haue generall musters taken throughout the realme, to vnderstand what number of able men he might make account of: and further to haue the armoz and weapons sene and shewed. Nothing left he vndone that tended to the foresaying and preventing of a mischiefe to insue, which in a prince is counted a vertue, because such prouidence and circumspection is reputed no lesse in a priuat & ordinarie man, as the poet Plautus saith; *Primum est, vbi causa admodum, diffidere.*

Sir William Forrester knight, at that present maior of London, was commanded to certifie the names of all the able men within the citie and liberties thereof, betwene the ages of thre score and of fiftene, with the number of armoz and weapons of all kinds of sorts. Whereupon the said maior and his brethren ech one in his ward, by the oth of the common counsell and constable, toke the number of men, armoz, and weapons. And after well considering of the matter, by view of their booke, they thought it not expedient to admit the whole number certified for apt and able men: and therefore assembling themselves againe, they chose forth the most able persons, and put by the residue, speciallie such as had no armoz, nor for whom anie could be prouided. But when they were credibly aduertised by Thomas Cromwell lord priuie seale (to whom the citie was greatlie beholden) that the king himselfe would see the people of the citie muster in a conuenient number, and not to set forth all their powder, but to leaue some at home to keepe the citie; then euerie alderman repaired to his ward, and there put aside all such as had iacks, cotes of plate of maille, and brigandines, and appointed none but such as had white armoz, except such as should beare morris pikes, which were no armoz but scabbles, and there was no stranger (although he were a dentline) permitted to be in this muster.

Euerie man being of anie abilitie, prouided himselfe a cote of white silke, and garnished their basenets with tresses like caps of silke, set with owtches, furnished with chaines of gold and feathers, or caused their armoz to be gilt, and likewise their halberds and pollaxes. Some, and especiallie certeine goldsmiths, had their whole armoz of silver bullion. The lord maior, the recorder, the aldermen, and euerie other officer beside were gorgeously trimmed, as for their degrees was thought seemelie. The maior had fiftene tall fellows on foot attending on him with gilt halberds, apparelled in white silke doublets, and their hose and shoes were likewise white, cut after the Almaine guise, pounsed and pulled out with red farsenet: their ierkins were of white leather cut, and chains about their necks, with feathers and bwoches in their caps. The recorder and euerie alderman had about him foure halberders trimmed also in warlike sort. The chamberleine of the citie, the counsellors & aldermens deputies were appointed to be waiters on horsebacke, which aloft on their armoz wore white damask cotes, mounted on good horses well trapped, with great chaines about their necks, and proper sauelins or battell ares in their hands, and caps of velvet richlie trimmed.

The waiters on foot, being in number foure hundred proper light persons, were clad in white ierkins of leather cut, with white hose and shoes, euerie man with a sauelin or slaughtsword in his hands, to keepe the people in arraie. They had chaines about their necks, and feathers in their caps. The minstrels were in white, with the armes of the citie, and so was euerie

other person at this muster without anie diuerstie; the lord maior, recorder, and aldermen, onelic excepted, who had crosses of velvet or satin purpled with gold. The standard bearers were the tallest men of euerie ward, for whom were made thirtie new standards of the deuse of the citie, beside banners. Euerie alderman mustred his own ward in the fields, to see that euerie man were in furniture prouided as was requisite.

The eight of Maie being the daie appointed for to shew themselves before the king, euerie alderman in order of battell with those of his ward came into the fields at Spile end, and then all the gunners scattered themselves into one place, the pikers into another, and the archers into an other, and likewise the billmen, and there cast themselves in rings, and other formes of battell, which was a beautifull sight to behold: for all the fields from white Chapell to Spile end, and from Bednall greene to Katcliffe & Stepnie, were all couered with armour, men, and weapons, and especiallie the battell of pikers seemed to be as it had bene a great forest. Then was euerie part diuided into thre battels, a for-ward, a middle-ward, and a reere-ward.

About seauen of the clocke marched forward the light peeces of ordinance, with stone and powder. After them followed the drums and fifes, and immediately after them a guidon of the armes of the citie. Then followed master Sadler capteine of the gunners on horsebacke armed, and in a cote of velvet, with a chaine of gold, and foure halberders about him apparelled as before is recited. Then followed the gunners foure in a ranke, euerie one going five foot in sunder, which shot altogether in diuerse places berie liuelie, and in speciallie before the kings maiestie, which at that time sat in his new gatehouse at his palace of Westminster, where he viewed all the whole compaignie. In like maner passed the other compaignies of all the thre battels in good and seemelie order. The foremost capteine at nine of the clocke in the morning, by the little conduit came and entered into Paules churchyard, and from thence directed to Westminster, and so through the sanctuary, and round about the parke of S. James, and by into the field, comming home through Holborne, and as the first capteine entered againe to the little conduit, the last of the muster entered Paules churchyard, which was then about foure of the clocke in the afternoon. The number, beside the waiters, and of other waiters was fiftene thousand.

The eight of Iulie, Griffith Clarke, bicar of Wandsworth, with his chapleine and his seruant, & frier Waite, were all foure hanged and quartered at S. Thomas Waterings. The tenth of Iulie sir Adrian Forstescue, and Thomas Dingleie were beheaded. The ninth of September, the nunnerie of Clerkentwell and diuerse others were suppressed. This yeare the sixteenth of September came to London duke Frederike of Banier, the Palgrave of the Rhine, and the eighteenth of the same moneth came to London the marshall of Flanders Frederike prince elector of Saronie, and the chancelor of William duke of Cleue, Guliche, Gelberland, and Berghen. The Palgrave was receiued and conducted to Windsor by the duke of Suffolke, and the other were accompanied with other noble men, and the thre and twentieth of the same moneth they all came to Windsor, where eight daies together they were continually feasted, and had pastime shewed them; in hunting and other pleasures, so much as might be. The Palgrave shortly after departed homewards and was princelie rewarded, & at that present was the marriage concluded betwixt the king and the ladie Anne, sister vnto duke William of Cleue, and

Euerie alderman with his ward in order of battell.

The order of the Londoners in their musters.

The king taketh view of the Londoners in their musters.

The number of Londoners in this muster.

John Stow. Bicar of Wandsworth and other executed.

Clerkentwell and other suppressed. The Palgrave & other strangers come over into England.

The marriage concluded betwixt king Henrie & the ladie Anne of Cleue.

The waiters.

The minstrels.

The extreme in execution of the six articles.

Provision for defense of the realme.

I. Stow, pag.  
1016.Thom. Hunt-  
low his cha-  
ritic.Pensioners  
instituted.Ladie Anne  
of Cleue is  
received into  
Calis.She landeth  
in Kent.

a great preparation was made for the receiuing of hir. The twelue of October the nunnerie of Haliwell, & southwith the priorie of S. Marie oueries in Southwoke, and S. Bartholomeus in Smithfield, were suppressed, & all their lands & goods taken to the kings vse. Thomas Huntlow of London for this yeare thiriffe, gaue the haberdashers certeine tene-ments, for the which they be bound to giue to ten poze almes people of the same companie, euerie one of them eight pence euerie fridate for euer: and also at euerie quarter dinner kept by the masters, to be giuen to euerie one of those ten poze people a penie loose, a pottell of ale, a peece of beefe worth foure pence in a platter, with pozage, and foure pence in monie.]

The fouretenth of Nouember Hugh Feringdon abbat of Reding, and two priests, the one called Rug, and the other Dunion, atainted of high treason for denieng the supremacie of the king ouer the church of England, were drowne, hanged, and quartered at Reding. The same daie was Richard Whiting abbat of Glasseburie likewise hanged and quartered on Towze hill beside his monastirie, for the same matter and other treasons whereof he had bene convicted. The first of December was John Bech abbat of Colchester put to death for the like offense. In December were appointed to wait on the kings person fiftie gentlemen called pensioners, of speares, vnto whome was assigned the sum of fiftie pounds percelie a peece, for the maintenance of themselves and two horses, or one horse and a gelding of service.

The eleuenth daie of December at the turne pike on this side Graueling, was the ladie Anne of Cleue receiued by the lord deputie of the towne of Calis, and with the speares and horsemen belonging to the retinue there. When she came within little more than a mile of the towne of Calis, she was met by the erle of Southampton high admerall of England, who had in his companie thirtie gentlemen of the kings household, as sir Francis Wyan, sir Thomas Seimer, and others, beside a great number of gentlemen of his owne retinue clad in blue velvet, and crimson satin, and his yeomen in damaske of the same colours. The mariners of his ship were apparelled in satin of Byldges, cotes & slops of the same colour. The lord admerall brought hir into Calis by Lanterne gate. There was such a peale of ordinance shot off at hir entrie, as was marvellous to the hearers. The malso presented hir with an hundred markes in gold, the merchants of the Staple with an hundred soueraignes of gold in a rich purse. She was lodged in the kings place called the Chexher, and there she laie fiftene daies for want of prosperous wind.

During which time, goodlie iusts and coslie baykets were made to hir, for hir solace and recreation. And on S. Johns daie in Chistmasse, she with fiftie saile toke passage about none, and landed at Dele in the Dolones about fve of the clocke, where sir Thomas Cheney lord Warden of the ports receiued hir. She taried there a certeine space in a castell newlie built, and thither came the duke of Suffolke, and the dutches of Suffolke, and the bishop of Chichester with a great number of knights and esquires, and ladies of Kent and other, which welcomed hir grace, and brought hir that night vnto Dover castell, where she rested till mondaie, on which date (notwithstanding it was verie foule and stormie weather) she passed towards Canturburie, and on Waram dovene met hir the archbishop of Canturburie, with the bishops of Elie, S. Asse, S. Daues, and Dover, and so brought hir to S. Augustins without Canturburie, where she laie that night. The next daie she came to

Sittingburne, and laie there that night. As she passed towards Rochester on Petweares even, on Ketnam dovene met hir the duke of Suffolke, and the lord Wacres of the south, and the lord Spontioie, with a great companie of knights and esquires of Suffolke and Suffolke, with the barons of the eschequer which brought hir to Rochester, where she laie in the palace all Petweares daie. On which daie, the king (longing to see hir) accompanied with no more but eight persons of his priue chamber, both he and they all apparelled in marble cotes, prillie comming to Rochester, suddenlie came to hir presence, whereof at the first she was somewhat affonied, but after he had spoken to hir and welcomed hir, she with loving countenance and gracions behaviour him receiued, and welcomed him on hir knees, whom he gentlie toke vp and kissed, and all that after none communed and deuised with hir, supped that night with hir, and the next daie he departed to Greene-wich, and she came forward to Dartford.

On the morrow the thirde daie of Januarie being saturday, in a faire plaine of Blackheath, more nere to the foot of Shoters hill, than the ascendent of the same, called Blackheath hill, was pitched a pavilion of rich cloth of gold, and diuerse other tents and pavilions, in which were made fiers and perfumes for hir and such ladies as were appointed to receiue hir: and from the tents to the parke gate of Greene-wich, all the bushes and firs were cut downe, and a large open waie made for the shew of all persons. And first next to the parke pale on the east side stood the merchants of the Stillard, and on the west side stood the merchants of Genoa, Florence and Venice, and the Spaniards in cotes of velvet. Then on both sides the waie stood the merchants of the citie of London, and the aldermen, with the counsellors of the said citie, to the number of a hundred and threescore which were mingled with the esquires; then the fiftie gentlemen pensioners: and all these were apparelled in velvet and chaines of gold, trulle accounted to the number of twelue hundred & above, beside them that came with the king and hir, which were sir hundred in velvet cotes and chaines of gold. Behind the gentlemen stood the seruicemen in good order well horsed and apparelled, that who so ever had well viewed them, might haue said, that they for tall and comelie personages, and cleane of lim and bodie, were able to giue the greatest prince in chrisendome a mortall breakfast, if he had bene the kings enemie.

About twelue of the clocke, hir grace with all the companie which were of hir owne nation, to the number of an hundred horse, accompanied with the dukes of Suffolke and Suffolke, the archbishop of Canturburie, and other bishops, lords, and knights, which had receiued and conueied hir, came downe Shoters hill towards the tents, and a good space from the tents met hir the earle of Rutland appointed lord chamberlaine to hir grace, sir Thomas Wernise hir chancellor, and all hir counsellors and officers, amongst whom doctor Daie (appointed to be hir almoner) made to hir an eloquent oration in Latine, presenting to hir on the kings behalfe all the officers and seruants: which oration was answered vnto by the duke hir brothers secretarie, there being present: which done the ladie Margaret Dowglas, daughter to the quene of Scots, the ladie marquesse Dowset, daughter to the French quene, being nextes to the king, and the dutches of Richmond the countesses of Rutland and Hereford, with diuers other ladies and gentlewomen, to the number of threescore and fve, saluted and welcomed hir grace, who alighted out of hir chariot in the which she had rid all hir long iourneie, and with courteous demeanour

The king  
commeth to  
see hir at the  
chexher.The ordered  
receiuing  
on Blacke  
heath.The kings  
maistrie on  
Blackheath.who followed  
the king.The making  
of the king &  
the ladie Anne  
of Cleue at  
Blackheath.The ladie  
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1540

The king  
commeth to  
see hir at Black-  
heath.

The other  
receiveth hir  
on Black-  
heath.

The ladies  
that receiveth  
hir on Black-  
heath.

louing countenance, gaue to them hartie thanks, and kissed them all, and after all hir counsellors and officers kissed hir hand: which done, she with all the ladies entered the tents, and there warmed them a space.

When the king knew that she was arrived in hir tent, he with all diligence set out through the parke. And first issued the kings trumpets, then the kings officers sworne of his priue chamber, after them follo- 10  
wed barons, the yongest first, and sir William Hol-  
lis lord maior of London rode with the lord War-  
that was the yongest baron. Then followed the bi-  
shops, and immediatlie after them the earles, and  
then the duke of Bauere, and countie Palatine of  
the Rhine, with the liverie of the Colson or golden  
sleece about his necke.

Then came the ambassadours of the French king  
and emperor, next to whome followed the lord pri-  
ue seale lord Cromwell, and the lord chancellour, 20  
then Carter king at armes, and the other officers  
and sargeants of armes gaue their attendance on  
each side the lord. The lord marquesse Dorset bare the  
sword of estate, and after him a good distance follo-  
wed the kings highnesse, mounted on a goodlie cour-  
ser. To speake of the rich and gorgeous apparell that  
was there to be seene that daie, I haue thought it  
not greatlie necessarie, with each man may well  
thinke it was right sumptuous, and as the time then  
serued, verie faire and coslie, as they that are desir- 30  
ous to vnderstand the same may read in maister  
Halles chronicle more at large, which in this part I  
haue thought good to abridge.

After the king followed the lord chamberleine,  
then came sir Anthonie Browne maister of his  
horses, a goodlie gentleman, and of personage verie  
femilie, richlie mounted, & leading the kings horse  
of estate by a long reine of gold. Then followed his  
pages of honour riding on great couriers, and last-  
lie followed sir Anthonie Wingfield capteine of the  
gard, and then the gard well habited, and in their  
rich cotes. In this order rode the king till he came to  
the last end of the ranke of the pensioners, & there e-  
uerie person that came with him placed himselfe on  
the one side or the other, the king standing in the  
middlest.

When hir grace vnderstood that the king was  
come, she came forth of hir tent, and at the doore ther-  
of, being set on a faire and beautiful horse richlie  
traped, she rode forth towards the king, who percei-  
uing hir to appoach, came forward somewhat beyond  
the croffe on Blackheath, and there staid till she  
came nether, & then putting off his cap, he made for-  
ward to hir, and with most louing countenance and  
princelie behauiour saluted, welcomed, and imbra-  
ced hir, to the great reioysing of the beholders: and  
the like wise not forgetting hir dutie, with most ami-  
able aspect and womanlie behauiour receiued him  
with manie apt words and thanks, as was most to  
purpose. Whilste they were thus talking together, the  
fiftie pensioners with the gard departed to furnish  
the hall at Greenwich. After the king had talked  
with hir a small while, he put hir on his right hand,  
and so with their footmen they rode together, and  
with their companies being thus met, returned in  
this manner through the ranks of the knights and  
squires (which staid still all this while and remoued  
not.)

First hir trumpets set forward, being twelue in  
number, beside two kettledrums on horsebacke; then  
followed the kings trumpeters, then the kings coun-  
cellors, then the gentlemen of the priue chamber, af-  
ter them the gentlemen of hir graces countrie in  
rotes of beluet, and all on great horses. When the

maior of London with the yongest baron, then all  
the barons: next them the bishops, then the earles,  
with whom rode the earles of Duerstein and Wal-  
dec hir countmen, then the dukes of Suffolke and  
Suffolke, and the archbishop of Canturburie, and  
duke Phillip of Banier: next followed the ambassa-  
dors, then the lord priue seale, and the lord chancellour,  
then the lord marquesse Dorset that bare the sword;  
next followed the king himselfe equalie riding with  
the ladie Anne, and behind him rode sir Anthonie  
Browne with the kings horse of estate, as yee haue  
heard, and behind him rode sir John Doble ma-  
ster of his horses, leading hir spare horse traped in  
rich tisse downe to the ground; after them followed  
hensmen and pages of honor.

Then followed the ladie Margaret Douglas, the  
ladie marquesse Dorset, the dutches of Richmond  
and Suffolke, the countesses of Rutland and Hert-  
ford, and other countesses. Then came hir chariot in  
which she had rid all hir iourne, well carued and gilt  
with the armes of hir countrie curiously wrought &  
couered with cloth of gold, all the horses were trap-  
ped with blacke beluet, and on them rode pages of  
honor, in which chariot rode two ancient ladies of hir  
countrie: next after the chariot, followed sir ladies  
and gentlewomen of hir countrie verie beautifull  
and richlie apparellled, and with them rode sir ladies  
of England. Then followed an other chariot, gilt  
and furnished, then ten English ladies, and next  
them an other chariot couered with blacke cloth, and  
therein rode foure gentlewomen that were hir  
chamberers. Then followed all the remnant of the  
ladies, gentlewomen and damosels in great num-  
ber: and last of all came an other chariot all blacke,  
with three launders appertaining to hir grace; next  
after followed an hostler of cloth of gold and crim-  
sin beluet vpon beluet paled, with horses trapt ac-  
cordinglie, which the king had sent to hir. Then fol-  
lowed the seruicemen of hir traine, all clothed in  
blacke, mounted on great horses, euerie one in  
due place and decent order, so that it was verie mag-  
nificall and more than princelie brauerie that then  
was exhibited to the beholders eyes, as the poet saith:

*Cernitur hic plusquam regia pompa comes.*

In this order they rode through the ranks and  
through the parke, till they came at the late friers  
wall, where all men alighted except the king, the two  
maisters of the horse, and the hensmen, which rode  
to the hall doore, & the ladies rode to the court gate, &  
as they passed, they might behold on the wharfe, how  
the citizens of London were rowing vp and downe  
on the Thames right before them, euerie craft with  
his barge garnished with banners, flags, streamers,  
pencels, and targets, painted and beateen with the  
kings armes, some with hir armes, and some with  
the armes of their craft and mystrie.

There was also a barge called the bachelors  
barke, richlie decked, on the which waited a foist that  
shot great peeces of artillerie, and in euerie barge  
was great store of instruments of diuerse sorts, and  
men and children singing and plaing altogether, as  
the king and the ladie Anne passed by on the wharfe.  
When the king and she were within the bitter court,  
they alighted from their horses, and the king louing-  
lie imbraced hir, kissed hir, & bad hir welcome to hir  
stone, leading hir by the left arme through the hall,  
which was furnished beneath the harth with the gard  
and about the harth with the fiftie pensioners, with  
their battell ares; and so the king brought hir vp to  
hir priue chamber, where he left hir for that time.  
Alone as the king and she were entered the court,  
a great peale of artillerie was shot off from the  
tower of Greenwich, and there about.

When the kings companie and hers were once  
come

The king and  
the ladie Anne  
ride together.

Hir chariot  
wherein she  
rode all hir  
iourne.

The kings  
maister on  
horsebacke.

who followed  
the king.

The meeting  
of the king  
and the ladie Anne  
at Greenwich  
on Blackheath.

The kings  
trumpets and  
the ladie Anne  
at Greenwich.

The king  
welcometh  
hir to Green-  
wich.

The mariage  
is solemnized  
between king  
Henrie & the  
ladie Anne of  
Cleue.

come with in the parke (as before ye haue heard) then  
all the horsemen on Blackheath brake their arate,  
and had licence to depart to London or otherwhere to  
their lodgings.

On the tuesday following, being the daie of the  
Epiphanie, the mariage was solemnized betwixt the  
king and the said ladie. She was fetched from hir  
chamber by the lords, so that she going betwene the  
earle of Duerstaine, and the grand master Holcon-  
der, which had the conduct and order to see the mari-  
age performed, she passed through the kings chamber  
& all the lords before hir, till she came into the galle-  
rie, where the king was readie, stateng for hir, to  
whom she made three low obeisances and courtesies.  
Then the archbishop of Canturburie received them,  
and married them together, and the earle of Duer-  
staine did giue hir. When the mariage was celebrate  
they went hand in hand into the kings closet, and  
there hearing masse, offered their tapers, and after  
masse was ended, they had wine and spices. And  
that done, the king departed to his chamber, and all  
the ladies waited on hir to hir chamber, the duke of  
Norfolke going on hir right hand, and the duke of  
Suffolke on hir left.

After nine of the clocke, the king having shifted  
his apparell, came to his closet, & the likewise in hir  
haire, & in the same apparell she was married in the  
came to hir closet with hir sargeant at armes, & all  
hir officers before hir like a queene, & so the king and  
she went openlie in procession, and offered and dined  
together. After they had supped together, there were  
bankets and maskes, and diuerse sports shewed,  
till time came, that it pleased the king and hir to  
take rest. On the sundaye after were kept solenne  
tussis, which greatly contented the strangers. This  
daie she was apparellled after the English manner,  
with a French hood, which became hir exceeding well.  
When the earle of Duerstaine and the other lords  
and ladies which had giuen their attendance on hir  
grace all that iourneie, had bene highlye feasted  
and intertained of the king and other of the nobles,  
they toke leaue, and had great gifts giuen to them;  
both in monie and plate, and so returned toward  
their countrie, leaving behind them the erle of Wal-  
decke, and diuerse gentlemen and damoels to re-  
maine with hir, till she were better acquainted in the  
realme.

The king and  
the ladie Anne  
remoue to  
Westminster.

The fourth of Februarye, the king and the remou-  
ed to Westminster by water, on whome the lord  
maior & his brethren, with twelue of the cheefe com-  
panies of the citie, all in barges gorgeondie garni-  
shed with baners, penons, and targets, richlie coue-  
red, and furnished with instruments, sweetlie soun-  
ding, gaue their attendance: and by the waie, all the  
ships shot off, and likewise from the towre, a great  
peale of ordinance went off lustilie. The twelue of  
Februarye, the duke of Norfolke was sent in am-  
bassage to the French king, of whome he was well  
intertained, and in the end of the same moneth he re-  
turned againe into England.

The duke of  
Norfolke  
ambassador  
into France.

S. Marie Ma-  
gneries made a  
parish church.

After Christmas, the priorie church of S. Marie Ma-  
gneries in Southwiche was purchased of the king by  
the inhabitants of the Borow, W. Gardner bishop  
of Winchester putting to his helping hand: they  
made thereof a parish church, and the little church of  
Marie Magdalen joining to the same priorie, was  
made all one church, and saint Margarets in South-  
wiche a parish, was admitted to the same parish.

John Stow,  
Erle of Essex  
deceased.

The twelue of March, Henrie Bourcher erle of Es-  
sex riding a porig horse, was cast, & brake his necke,  
at his manour in Essex: he was the eldest erle in  
England. The nineteenth of March, John Clerc erle of  
Oxford, high chamberleine of England, deceased at  
his manour in Essex. The tenth of April, sir Will-

am Peterston priest, late commissarie of Celis, and  
sir William Richardson priest of S. Maries in Ca-  
lis, were both there beheaded, hanged, and quartered in  
the market place for denieng obstinatelie the kings  
supremacie.]

The thirde sundaye in Lent, one doctor Barnes pre-  
ached at Paules crosse, and in his sermon inuicighed  
against the bishop of Winchester, for doctrine by  
him preached in the same place, the first sundaye of  
that Lent, intracating of iustificacion. Among other  
taunts that Barnes offered against the bishop, this  
was one, that if he & the bishop were both at Rome,  
he knew that great sums of monie would not save  
his life, where but for the bishop, there was no great  
feare, but by all intreatance would serue. The bishop  
offended herewith, complained of Barnes to the la,  
and had him examined, & at length by the kings com-  
mandement he came to the bishops house, where the  
matter was so handled at this time, that Barnes  
with two other preachers, the one named Hierome,  
and the other Garret (of whom hereafter more shall  
be said) were appointed to preach at S. Maries spittle  
by London in the Easter weeke. In that sermon which  
Barnes made before all the people, he asked the bi-  
shop forgiveness, for speaking so irreuerentlie of  
him in his former sermon, and required the bishop  
(if he did forgive him) in token thereof to hold by  
his hand, which like as it was long before he did, so  
(as manie thought afterward) it was but a signed  
forgiveness.

The twelue of April began a parlement, and sir  
Nicholas Hare was restored to the office of speaker,  
who together with sir Humfrey Wolborne knight, and  
William Cornesbie esquier, the thre and twentieth  
of Februarye last past, had bin called before the lords  
into the Star chamber, for being of counsell with sir  
John Shelton knight, in making a fraudulent will  
of his lands, to the hinderance of the kings preroga-  
tive, and contrarie to the statute of Anno 27, for the  
which offense they were all at that time dismissed of  
their offices and seruices to the king, and the two  
knights were immediatlie sent to the tower, and  
three daies after Cornesbie was committed thither  
also. They remained there in ward about ten daies,  
and were then deliuered. Sir Humfrey Wolborne  
was the kings sargeant at law, sir Nicholas Hare  
was one of the kings counsellors, and speaker of the  
parlement, who being then depeined, was now a-  
gaine thereto restored. William Cornesbie was  
attorneye of the dutchie of Lancaster. In this par-  
lement, were frelie granted without contradi-  
tions, foure shires and a subside of two shillings of  
lands, and twelue pence of goods, toward the kings  
great charges of making Bulwikes.

The eighteenth of April at Westminster was  
Thomas lord Cromwell created earle of Essex, and  
ordained great chamberleine of England; which of-  
fice the earles of Oxford were wont ener to enioie;  
also Gregorie his sonne was made lord Cromwell.

The foure and twentieth of April, Thomas lord  
Audley, & chancelor of England, with sir Anthoine  
Wolborne, master of the kings horses, were made  
knights of the right honourable order of the garter.  
On Paiesdaie, was a great triumph of iusting at  
Westminster, which iustis had bene proclaimed in  
France, Flanders, Scotland, and Spaine, for all  
commers that would, against the challengers of  
England; which were, sir John Audley, sir Thomas  
Belmer, sir Thomas Pointings, sir George Carew  
knights, Anthoine Kingston, and Richard Crom-  
well esquiers, which said challengers came into the  
lists that daie richlie apparellled, and their horses  
trapped all in white beluet, with certeine knights and  
gentlemen riding afoze them, apparellled all in white  
beluet,

D. Barnes

Sir John  
Shelton knight  
was hanged.

Cornesbie

Barnes

Tussis and  
toynements.

Sir John  
Shelton, sir  
Nicholas  
Hare, sir  
Humfrey  
Wolborne  
were  
committed  
lawyers  
pun-  
ished.

The order of  
the Bishops  
was altered.

Spag 1019  
Saint John  
in Southwiche  
appoynted.

The bishop  
Cricheter,  
being with  
committed  
the Tower.

Thomas  
Cromwell

Ab. Fle. ex  
Ed. Hal. Cea  
The lord  
Cromwell  
committed  
the Tower



1540.

at the  
the  
to.

Barne,

in Reg 31.

John  
Dunleie  
was  
overthorne

Camery.

Sumus.

John  
Jelson, Sir  
icholas  
re, Sir  
miffre  
somme  
ndilient  
overs  
jed.

Order of  
the  
knight.

King 1019.  
John  
Jelson  
in  
the  
field  
supplie.

The  
bishop of  
Chester,  
and  
doctor  
Wilson  
committed  
to  
the  
Tower.

manement  
Thomas  
omwell.

Article  
ex  
Cecilij.  
The  
lord  
Cromwell  
committed  
to  
the  
Tower.

veluet, and white farlenet, and all their servants in white dublets, and hozen cut after the Burgonion fashion: and there came to iust against them the said daie, of defendants fortye fir, the earle of Surrie being the foremost, lord William Howard, lord Clinton, and lord Cromwell, sonne and heite to Thomas Cromwell earle of Essex, and chamberleine of England, with other, which were richlie apparelled.

And that day, sir John Dunleie was overthorne in the field, by mischance of his horse, by one master Jerome defendant, neuerthelesse he brake diuerse speares balliantlie after that. And after the said iusts were done, the said challengers rode to Durham place, where they kept open household, and feasted the king and quene, with hir ladies, and all the court. The second of Maie, Anthonte Kingston & Richard Cromwell were made knights at the said place. The third of Maie, the said challengers did tournie on horsebacke with swords, & against them came nine and twentie defendants; sir John Dunleie, and the earle of Surrie running first, who in the first course lost both their gantlets: and that daie, sir Richard Cromwell overthrew master Palmer in the field off his horse, to the great honor of the challengers. On the fift of Maie, the said challengers fought on foot at the barriers, and against them came thirtie defendants, which fought balliantlie: but sir Richard Cromwell overthrew that daie at the barriers master Calpeper in the field.

The said challengers brake by their household, after they had kept open hospitalitie, and feasted the king, quene, and all the lords, beside all the knights and burgeses of the common house in time of the parlement, and the maiors, aldermen, and all their wiues to their no small honor, though great expense. In the parlement which began the eighteenth of April last past, the religion of saint Johns in England, commonlie called the order of knights of the Rhodes, was dissolued; & on the ascension day, being the fift of Maie, sir William Welleson knight, prior of saint Johns departed this life for thought (as was reported) which he toke to the heart, after he heard of that dissolution of his order. & For the king toke all the lands that belonged to that order into his hands, to the augmentation of his crowne, and gaue vnto euerie of the challengers above written for a reward of their balliantnesse, a hundred marks, and a house to dwell in of pearelie reuenues out of the said lands for euer.]

The same moneth were sent to the Tower doctor Samson, bishop of Chichester, and doctor Wilson, for releuing certeine traitorous persons: and for the same offense was one Richard Farmer, a grocer of London, a rich and welthie man, and of good estimation in the citie, committed to the Marshalsee, & after at Westminster hall arraigned, and atteinted in the premunire; so that he lost all his goods. & The ninth daie of Iulie, Thomas lord Cromwell, late made earle of Essex (as before you haue heard) being in the counsell chamber, was suddenlie apprehended & committed to the Tower of London: the which manie lamented, but more reioised, and spectallie such as either had bene religious men, or fauoured religious persons, for they banketed & triumphed together that night, manie wishing that that daie had bene seven yeares before; & some fearing that he should escape, although he were imprisoned, could not be merie.

Other who knew nothing but truth by him, both lamented him, and heartilie praised for him. But this is true, that of certeine of the cleargie he was detestable hated, and spectallie such as had borne swinge and by his means were put from it: for in deed he was a man that in all his doings seemed not to fauor anie kind of poperie, nor could not abide the

smutting pride of some prelates, which briddable (whatsoeuer else was the cause of his death) did shorten his life, and procured the end that he was brought vnto: which was, that the nineteenth daie of the said moneth he was atteinted by parlement, and neuer came to his answer: which law manie reported that he caused first to be made, howbeit the plaine truth thereof I know not. The articles for which he died appeare in the records, where his attainder is written, which are too long here to be rehearsed; but to conclude he was there atteinted of heresse and high treason, and the eight & twentieth of Iulie was brought to the scaffold on the Tower hill, where he said these words following.

The words of the lord Cromwell spoken at his death.

**I** Am come hither to die, and not to purge my selfe, as may happen some thinke that I will, for if I should so doo, I were a verie bozetch and a miser. I am by the law condemned to die, and thanke my Lord God, that hath appointed me this death for mine offense. For since the time that I came to yeares of discretion I haue liued a sinner, and offended my Lord God, for the which I aske him hartilie forgiveness. And it is not unknowne to manie of you, that I haue bene a great trauelier in the world, and being but of a bale degree, was called to high estate. And since the time I came therevnto, I haue offended my prince, for the which I aske him hartilie forgiveness, and beseech you all to praie to God with me, that he will forgive me. O Father forgive me, O Sonne forgive me, O Holie ghost forgive me, O thre persons and one God forgive me. And now I praie you that be here, to beare me record, I die in the catholike faith, not doubting in anie article of my faith, no nor doubting in anie sacrament of the church. Manie haue slandered me, and reported that I haue bene a bearer of such as haue mainteined euill opinions, which is untrue: but I confesse, that like as God by his holie spirit dooth instruct vs in the truth, so the diuell is ready to seduce vs, and I haue bene seduced: but beare me witness, that I die in the catholike faith of the holie church, and I hartilie desire you to praie for the kings grace, that he may long liue with you in health and prosperitie, & after him that his sonne prince Edward, that goodlie tyme may long reigne ouer you. And once againe I desire you to praie for me, that so long as life remaineth in this flesh, I wauer nothing in my faith.

Then made he his praier, which was long, but not so long as goodlie and learned, and after committed his soule to the hands of God, and so patientlie suffered the stroke of the ax, by a ragged and butcherlie miser, which ill fauouredlie performed the office. This man being borne in Putneie, a village in Surreie by the Thames side, foure miles distant from London, was sonne to a Smith, after whose deceasse, his mother was married to a Shereman. But notwithstanding the basenesse of his birth and lacke

John Fox  
in the Acts &  
Apocryphals.

A description  
of the birth of  
Thomas  
Cromwell  
and other circumstances.

lacke of maintenance was at the beginning (as it happeneth to manie others) a great let and hindrance for vertue to shew hir selfe: yet through a singular excellencie of wit, joined with an industrious diligence of mind, and helpe of knowledge, gathered by painefull trauell, and marking the courses of states and governments as well of his native countrie at home, as in foren parties abroad, he grew to such a sufficient ripenesse of understanding and skill, in ordering of weightie affaires, that he was thought apt and fit for anie rōme or office wher to he should be admitted.

Thomas Cromwell in most authority under the king.

Which being perceived of cardinall Wolseie, then archbishop of Yorke, he toke him into his service, and making him his solicitor, imploied him about businesse oftentimes of most importance, wherein he acquitted himselfe with such dexteritie, as answered alwaies the credit committed to him. After the cardinals fall; he was advanced to the kings service, behauing himselfe so aduisedlie in matters which he toke in hand, that within a small time he rose to high authoritie, and was admitted to be of the priue councill, bearing most rule of all other under the king, as partlie ye haue heard: so that by him it well appeared, that the excellencie of herofall vertues, which aduance men to fame and honoz, resteth not onelie in birth and blood, as a priuilege appropriate and alonely annexed vnto noble houses, but remaineth at the disposition of almighty God the giuer: disposer of all gifts, who raiseth the poore manie times from the basest degre, and setteth him vp with princes, according to the saying of Ecclesiastes:

*Qui iacuit tetro quandoque in carcere vincit,  
Paria suis meritis regia sceptru tulit.*

Peuerthelesse, concerning the lord Cromwell earle of Essex, if we shall consider his comming vp to such high degre of honoz as he attained vnto, we maie doubt whether there be cause more to maruell at his good fortune, or at his worthie and industrious demeanoz. But sith in the booke of Acts and Spontaneities ye maie find a sufficient discourse hereof, we need not to spend more time about it, saue onelie as master Fox hath trulie noted, such was his actiuitie and forward ripenesse of nature, so readie and pregnant of wit, so discret and well aduised in iudgement, so eloquent of tong, so faithfull and diligent in service, of such an incomparable memoize, so bold of stomach and hardie, and could do so well with his pen, that being conuerfant in the sight of men, he could not long continue vnelpied, nor yet vnprouted of fauoz and helpe of friends, to set him forward in place and office.

John Fox in the Acts and Spontaneities.

Thankfull he was and liberall, not forgetting benefits received, as by his great courtesie shewed to Frisicobald the Italian it well appeared: a fauourer of the poore in their suites, and readie to reloue them that were in danger to be oppressed by their mightie aduersaries: a fauourer of the gospel, and an enuie to the pride of prelates, verie stout, and not able well to put vp injuries, which wā him shewd enemies that ceased not (as was thought) to seeke his curethow, till at length they had brought to passe that they wished. Carefull he was for his seruants, and readie to do them good, so that fearing the thing which came to passe, he prouided well for the moze part of them, notwithstanding his fall. And thus much for the lord Cromwell. The moztow after Midsummer daie, the king caused the queene to remoue to Richmont, supposing it to be moze for hir health, and moze for hir pleasure.

The marriage betwixt the king and the ladie Anne of Cleue aduanced by lawfull.

The first of Iulie, certeine lords came downe into the nether house, & expresselie declared causes, for the which the kings marriage was not to be taken lawfull: & in conclusion, the matter was by the con-

uocation clarelie determined, that the king might lawfullie marrie where he would, and so might she. And thus were they clarelie binorsed, and by the parliament it was enacted, that she should be taken no more for queene, but called the ladie Anne of Cleue. In this yeare, the lord Leonard Greie, brother vnto Thomas marquisse Dorset, being the kings lieutenant in Ireland, was reuoked home, and vpon his comming to London was sent to the Tower. In Iulie the priue of Salernie, and the lord d'ois Da uola came into England to see the king, & after they were departed, Don Fredericks, marquisse of Padua, brother to the duke of Ferrara, the priue of Spacedonie, the marquisse of Terra d'onia, & monsieur de flagie, with other, came from the emperors court into England to see the king, the which on Marie Magdalens daie came to the court at Westminster, and after they had bene highlie feasted, and noble intertained, they were richlie rewarded as the other, and so departed.

The eight and twentieth of Iulie (as ye haue heard before) the lord Cromwell was beheaded, and likewise with him the lord Hungerford of Hertsford, who at the houre of his death seemed vnquiet, as manie iudged him rather in a frensie than otherwise: he suffered for buggerie. The thirteenth of Iulie were drawn on hurdels from the Tower to Smithfield, Robert Baris doctor of diuinitie, Thomas Garard, and William Jeron bachelors in diuinitie; Jeron was vicar of Stepnte, and Garard was person of Honie laie: also Dowell, Fetherston, and Abell priests. The first thre were drawn to a stake, there before set vp, and then burned. The other thre were drawn to the gallows, and hanged, beheaded and quartered. The thre first (as is found in their atteindoz) were executed for diuerse heresies, but none alledged, whereat (saith Hall) I haue much marvelled, that their heresies were so manie, and not one alledged as a speciall cause of their death. And verelie at their deaths they asked the shiriffs what was their offense for which they were condemned: Who answered, they could not tell: but most men said it was for preaching against the doctrine of Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester, who chiefe (as the same Hall saith) procured their deaths. The last thre, to wit, Dowell, Fetherston, and Abell, suffered for treason, as in their atteindoz was speciall mention made, to wit, for denieng the kings supremacie, and affirming his marriage with the ladie Katharin Dowager to be good.

The fourth of August, Thomas Empton some time a monke of Westminster, which had bene in prison for treason in Petogate now for the space of thre yeares and moze, came before the iudices of gaole deliuerie at Petogate, and for that he would not aske the kings pardon, nor be swozne to be true to him, his monks garment was plucked from his backe, and he repriued, till the king were informed of his malicious obstinacie: and this was the last monke that was scene in his clothing in England till queene Maries daies. The fourth of August were drawn from the Tower of London to Tiburne, Giles Heron gentleman, Clement Philpot gentleman, late of Calis, and servant to the lord Aile, Darbie Gerning, Edmund Windholme priest, chapleine to the said lord Aile, William Horne late a late brother of the Charterhouse of London, and an other offendo: which six persons were there hanged and quartered, and had bene atteindoz of treason by parliament. The same daie also was one Charles Carew gentleman hanged for robbing of the ladie Carew.

The eight of August was the ladie Katharine Howard neere to the duke of Norfolk, and daughter

The lord Hungerford executed by buggerie. Executed at Smithfield.

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Reg. 32, 33.

The lord Edward Greie committed to the Tower. The prince of Wales.

The lord Hungerford executed for buggerie. Execution of Barnes and others.

Thomas Empson an obstinate murtherer.

Execution for treason.

Sir John Russell executed. The countesse of Salisbury beheaded. Execution of two of the garr.

ter to the lord Edmund Howard thewed openlie as quene at Hampton court. The eleuenth of September a stranger was hanged in Apprehefeld, named James Rianatian, who had slaine his maister, one Capon a Florentine in a garden, for his harlot. In the latter end of this summer, was vniuersallie through the most parts of this realme great death by a strange kind of hot agues and aures, and some pestilence, in which season was such a drought, that wells and small riuers were cleane dried vp, so that much cattell died for lacke of water, and the Thames was so shallow, & the fresh water of so small strength that the salt water flowed aboue London brydge, till the raine had increased the fresh waters.

On the two and twentieth of September, Rafe Egerton, seruant to the lord Audley, lord chancellor, and one Thomas Harman seruant to one maister flightwood, were drawne, hanged, and quartered, the one for counterfeiting and antebating of the kings seale in a signet, wherewith he sealed licences for denizens, vnder the name of the clearkes of the chancerie: and the other, that is to saie Harman, for writing them. One Luckefield, being of their faction, robbed the lord Audleys chappell and fled, who being afterward apprehended at Calis, which towne he would haue betraied, he due himselfe with a dagger. In the end of this yeare, the French king made a strong castell at Ard, and also a brydge ouer into the English pale, which brydge the crew of Calis did beat downe, and the Frenchmen built it vp againe, but the Englishmen beat it downe againe. After this, the king sent about fiftene hundred workemen to fortifie the towne of Guisnes, and sent with them fise hundred men of warre to gard them.

It was reported in France, that a mightie armie was come ouer forth of England with great ordinance: which brate caused the French king to send to the frontiers of Picardie the duke of Anandome, and other capitains with all speed to defend the same. The king of England hearing thereof, sent the earles of Surrie, and Southampton, and the lord Russell, high admerall into the marches of Calis, to set order there, and after them he likewise sent two hundred light horsemen of the borders of Scotland, whom the Frenchmen called Stradiots. The lords hauing set order in things, thortlie returned. A boie, one Richard Spekins, not past fiftene yeares of age, was burnt in Smithfield, for speaking against the sacrament, and contrarie to the statute of the six articles. The bishop of London was thought in great fault, for procuring that terrible execution, seeing the yong fellow was but an ignorant sole without learning, and gladlie recanted that wherewith he was charged.

About the latter end of this yeare, doctor Samson bishop of Chichester, and doctor Willson, which had bene committed to the tower (as before ye haue heard) were now pardoned of the king, and set againe at libertie. In the beginning of this yeare, fise priests in Dorsetshire began a new rebellion, with the assent of one Leigh, a gentleman, and nine tempoall men, all which persons were apprehended, and in diuers places put to execution. The said Leigh and two other, the one named Waterfall a clothier, & the other Thojnton a peoman, on the seuententh of Maie, were drawne through London to Tiburne, and there executed. And sir John Hewill knight, and ten other persons, died for the same cause at Pothe. The same daie, Margaret countesse of Salisbury, that had remained a long time prisoner in the tower, was beheaded there within the tower. She was the last of the right line and name of Plantagenet. The ninth of June for example sake, two of the kings gard, the one named Dampoz, and the other Chap-

man, were hanged at Greenwich by the kiers wall, for robberies which they had committed.

On the tenth of June, sir Edmund Raneet knight, of Dorsetshire, was arraigned before the kings iustices (sitting in the great hall at Grene- wich) maister Coge, comptroller of the kings house, hold, maister Southwell, sir Anthonie Browne, sir Anthonie Winkelfield, maister Wrisleie, and Edmund Beckham, cofferer of the kings household, for striking of one maister Clerke of Dorsetshire, seruant with the earle of Surrie, within the kings house in the tenis court. There was first chosen to go vpon the said Edmund, a quest of gentlemen, and a quest of peomen, to inquite of the said strike, by the which in- quests he was found gilty, and had iudgement to lose his right hand. Wherevpon was called to do the execution, first the sergeant surgion with his instruments appertaining to his office: the sergeant of the woodyard with the mallet, and a blocke where- vpon the hand should lie: the maister cooke for the king, with the knife: the sergeant of the larder, to set the knife right on the ioint: the sergeant ferrer, with the searing irons to seare the veines: the sergeant of the poultrie, with a cocke, which cocke should haue his head smitten off vpon the same blocke, and with the same knife: the peoman of the chanzie, with seare cloths: the peoman of the skullerie, with a pan of fire to heate the irons, a chaser of water to cole the ends of the irons, and two fozmes for all officers to set their stiffe on: the sergeant of the cellar, with wine, ale, and here: the peoman of the peltrie in the sergeants tread, who was absent, with bason, ewer, and towels.

Thus euerie man in his office readie to do the execution, there was called forth sir William Pic- kerling knight marshall, to bring in the said Ed- mund Raneet: and when he was brought to the bar, the chiefe iustice declared to him his trespass, and the said Raneet confessing himselfe to be gilty, humbly submitted him to the kings mercie: for this offense he was not onelie indged to lose his hand, but also his bodie to remaine in prison, and his lands and goods at the kings pleasure. Then the said sir Ed- mund Raneet desired that the king of his benigne grace would pardon him of his right hand, and take the left, for (quoth he) if my right hand be spared, I maie hereafter do such good seruice to his grace, as shall please him to appoint. At this submission and request the iustices forthwith informed the king, who of his goodnesse, considering the gentle heart of the said Edmund, and the good report of the lords, gran- ted him his pardon, that he should lose neither hand, lauds, nor goods, but should go free at libertie.

The lord Leonard Greie being indicted of cer- teine points of treason by him committed, as was alledged against him, during the season that he was the kings lieutenant in Ireland, to wit, for deliue- ring his nephew Girald Fitzgerard brother vnto Thomas Fitzgerard before executed, and also for that he caused certeine Irishmen to invade the lands of the kings friends, whome he fauoured not: on the five and twentieth of June he was arraigned at Westminster in the kings bench, and appointed to be tried by knights, because he was a lord by name, and no lord of the parlement; but he discharged the iurie, and confessed the indictment, wherevpon he had iudgement, and on the eight and twentieth of June being saint Peters euen, he was beheaded at tower hill, where he ended his life verie quietlie and godlie.

This noble man as he was come of high linage, so was he a right valiant and hardie personage, ha- uing in his time done his prince and countrie good seruice, both in Ireland, France, and other pla- A a a a. j.

Ab. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 1020. Sir Edmund Raneet arraigned before the court.

The other of euerie officer about that execution.

Judgement vpon Raneet to lose his hand.

He is pardoned.

The lord Le- onard Greie beheaded.

res, greatlie to his commendation, although now his hap was thus to lose his head, as conuicted by law, and his renowne (ouercast with a cloud of disgrace) banished, as future chances befell, to the abolishing of the present honoz which sometime he intored. Whobbeit, his estimation he might haue preserued unblemished, had prouident circumspection undertaken the direction of his doings, and that he had bozne his eyes in his forehead, to foresee all afterclaps, which a wise man will in no case neglect:

*Nam sapiens in fronte oculos habet, omnia spectans,  
Omnia prudenti cum ratione videns.*

The same daie that he suffered, there was erected at saint Thomas Waterings thre gentlemen, John Pantell, John Frotods, and George Kordon: they died for a murther committed in Suller (as their indictment imported) in companie of Thomas Fines lord Dacres of the south. The truth whereof was thus. The said lord Dacres, through the letw persuation of some of them, as hath bene reported, meaning to hunt in the parke of Nicholas Delham esquire at Laughton, in the same countie of Suller, being accompanied with the said Pantell, Frotods, and Kordon, John Chetrie and Thomas Illete gentlemen, Richard Middleton and John Goldwell yeomen, passed from his house of Hurkmonseur, the last of Aprill in the night season, toward the same parke, where they intended so to hunt; and coming vnto a place called Pikehaie in the parish of Hilinglesle, they found one John Busbyg, James Watbyg, and Richard Sumner standing together; and as it fell out through quarelling, there ensued a fraie betwixt the said lord Dacres and his companie on the one partie, and the said John and James Busbyg and Richard Sumner on the other: insomuch that the said John Busbyg receiued such hurt, that he died thereof the second of Maie next ensuing.

Wherevpon, as well the said lord Dacres as those that were there with him, and diuerse other likewise that were appointed to go an other waie to meet them at the said parke, were indicted of murther: and the seauen and twentieth of June the lord Dacres himselfe was arreigned before the lord Audleie of Walben then lord chancelloz, sitting that daie as high steward of England, with other pères of the realme about him, who then and there condemned the said lord Dacres to die for that transgression. And afterward the nine and twentieth of June being saint Peters daie, at eleuen of the clocke in the forenone, the shriffs of London, accordinglie as they were appointed, were readie at the towler to haue receiued the said prisoner, and him to haue lead to execution on the towler hill. But as the prisoner should come forth of the towler, one Heire a gentleman of the lord chancelloz house came, and in the kings name commanded to fraie the execution till two of the clocke in the afternone, which caused manie to thinke that the king would haue granted his pardon. But neuerthelesse, at thre of the clocke in the same afternone, he was brought forth of the towler, and deliuered to the shriffs, who lead him on foot betwixt them vnto Tiburne, where he died. His bodie was buried in the church of saint Sepulchers. He was not past foure and twentie yeres of age, when he came through this great mishap to his end, for whome manie fore lamented, and likewise for the other thre gentlemen, Pantell, Frotods, and Kordon. But for the sad yong lord, being a right towardlie gentleman, and such a one, as manie had conceiued great hope of better pzoofe, no small mone and lamentation was made; the more indeed, for that it was thought he was induced to attempt such follie, which occasioned his death, by some light brads that were then about him.

The first of Iulie a Welchman a minstrell was hanged and quartered for singing of songs, which were interpreted to be prophetes against the king. This summer the king toke his progresse to Poike, and passed through Lincolnshire, where was made to him an humble submission by the temporalitie, and confessing their faults, they humbly thanked him for his pardon, which he had granted them. The towne of Stanfords gaue to him twentie pounds, the cite of Lincoln fortie pounds, Boston fiftie pounds, that part of the shire which is called Lindsey gaue thre hundred pounds, and Kesteven and the church of Lincoln presented him with fiftie pounds. At his entring into Dorsetshire, he was met with two hundred gentlemen of the same shire, in coates of beluet, and foure thousand tall yeomen and serving men well horsed, which on their knees made their submission, by the mouth of sir Robert Botwes, and gaue to the king nine hundred pounds. On Barnetdale the archbishop of Poike, with thre hundred priests and more met the king, and making a like submission, gaue to him six hundred pounds. The like submission was made by the maiors of Poike, Newcastle, and Hull, and ech of them gaue to the king an hundred pounds.

After he had bene at Poike twelue daies, he came to Hull, where he deuised certeine fortifications. This done, he passed ouer the water of Hamber, and so through Lincolnshire, returned toward the south parts, and at Alhallowen tide came to Hampton court. About the same time, the king had knowledge that the quene liued dissolute, in vsing the vnlawfull companie of one Francis Diram, with whome she had bene so familiar before hir maralage with the king; & not meaning to forgo his companie now in time of hir marriage, without regard had either to the feare of God, or the king hir husband, the last summer being in progresse with the king at Domfret, the seuen and twentieth of August, he retained the said Francis Diram in hir seruice, to the intent she might vse his companie in such vnlawfull sort the more frelie: and not satisfied with him, she also vied the vnlawfull companie of Thomas Culpeper esquire, one of the gentlemen of the kings priue chamber, as well at Domfret as of old on the nine and twentieth and last of August as of old said, and on the first of September, as at diuerse other times and places before and after. Wherevpon, the thirtieth of Nouember, sir Thomas Wriothesle knight the kings secretarie, came to Hampton court vnto the said quene, and called all hir ladies, gentlewomen, and seruants into hir great chamber, & there openlie in presence of them all, declared hir offenses committed in abusing of hir bodie before hir marriage, & therewith he discharged hir household. The morrow after she was conuicted to Sion, the ladie Watton and certeine gentlewomen and some of hir seruants being appointed to wait vpon hir there, till the kings pleasure might be further knowne. Culpeper, Diram, and others were had to the towler. Diram in his examination being charged with the familiaritie which had bene betwixt them, before she was married to the king, confessed that he and the said quene had made a precontract together, and that he concealed it for hir preferment in marriage to the king, after he understood the king began to cast a li king towards hir.

The first of December, Culpeper and Diram were arreigned at the Guildhall in London, before the lord maioz sitting there in iudgement as chiefe iudge, hauing the lord chancelloz vpon his right hand, and the duke of Suffolke vpon his left hand, the duke of Suffolke the lord priue seale, the earles of Suller and Hereford, with diuerse other of the council

The true report of the cause wherevpon the murther of John Busbyg ensued.

The lord Dacres arreigned before the lord Audleie.

Lord Dacres executed at Tiburne.

The king gave to him by them of Lincolnshire.

The king gave to him by them of Lincolnshire.

The king gave to him by them of Lincolnshire.

The king gave to him by them of Lincolnshire.

The king gave to him by them of Lincolnshire.

The king gave to him by them of Lincolnshire.

The king gave to him by them of Lincolnshire.

The king gave to him by them of Lincolnshire.

The king gave to him by them of Lincolnshire.

Culpeper and Diram executed.

Braindors.

Parliament 1542

The petition of the lords commons to the parliament in the king.

The quene and other sentenced to parliament. The quene sent to the tower.

She is beheaded.

The king proclaimed king of Ireland.

Dom. 1541

An. Reg. 33.

councell sitting there as Iudges in commission that daie: the prisoners in the end confessed the indictment, and had Iudgement to die, as in cases of treason.

The tenth of December, the said Culpeper and Diram were drawn from the tower unto Tyburne and there Culpeper had his head stricken off, and Diram was hanged, dismembred and headed. Culpeper's bodie was buried in S. Sepulchers church, but both their heads were set on London bridge. The two and twentieth of December were arraigned in the kings bench at Westminster, the ladie Margaret Howard, wife to the lord William Howard, Katharine Tilneye, & Alice Kestwold gentlewomen, Joane Bulmer, wife to Anthoine Bulmer gentleman, Anne Howard, wife to Henrie Howard esquier, and brother to the late queene, Maiein Tilneye widow, Margaret Benet, wife to John Benet gentleman, Edward Malgraue gentleman, William Ashbie gentleman; all these were condemned of misprision of treason, for concealing the queenes misdeemeanour. And the same daie in the afternone, the lord William Howard, and Dampson a gentleman were likewise arraigned, and condemned of the same offense, and as well these as the other were adjudged to lose their goods, & the profits of their lands during life, and to remaine in perpetuall prison.

The firste of Januarie the parlement began at Westminster, in the which the lords and commons exhibited certeine petitions to the king. First, that he would not vex himselfe with the queenes offense, and that he and the ladie Rochford might be attained by parlement: and to avoid protracting of time, they besought him to give his roiall assent thereto, under his great seale, without stateng for the end of the parlement. Also, that Diram and Culpeper be soe attained by the common law, might also be attained by parlement, & that Agnes duchess of Norfolk, and Katharine countesse of Widdewater his daughter, which for concealing the said offense, were committed to the towre, and indicted of misprision, & the lord William Howard arraigned of the same, might likewise be attained. Also, that who soever had spoken or done anie thing in detestation of his naughtie life, should be pardoned.

To these petitions the king granted, thanking the commons, for that it appeared they took his griefe to be theirs: whereupon the queene and the ladie Rochford were attained by both the houses. On the tenth of Februarye, the queene was conveyed from Sion to the towre by water, the duke of Suffolke, the lord priuie seale, and the lord great chamberleine, having the conduction of hir. The next daie after being Saturdaye, and the eleventh of Februarye, the king did send his roiall assent by his great seale, and then all the lords were in their robes, and the common house called by, & there the act was read, and his assent declared. And so on the thirteenth daie, those two ladies were beheaded on the greene within the towre with an ax, where they confessed their offenses, and died repentant.

Before this, on the three and twentieth daie of Januarie was the king proclaimed king of Ireland, as it was enacted both by authoritie of the parlement here, and also of an other parlement holden at Dublin in Ireland, there begun the thirteenth of June last past, before sir Anthoine Saintleger knight, and the kings deputie there, where as till that time the kings of England were onlie intituled lords of Ireland. In the beginning of March died sir Arthur Plantagenet vicount Lisle, bastard sonne to Edward the fourth, in the towre of London unattainted, when he should haue bene deliuered and set at libertie.

The occasion of his trouble for the which he was committed to the towre, rose upon suspicion that he should be priuie to a practise, which some of his men (as Hilipot and Bindholme executed the last yeare as before ye haue heard) had consented vnto, for the betraying of Calis to the French, whilste he was the kings lieutenant there. But after that by due trial it was knowne that he was nothing guiltie to the matter, the king appointed sir Thomas Wriotheslie his maiesties secretaire, to go vnto him, and to deliuer to him a ring, with a rich diamond for a token from him, & to will him to be of good cheere. For although in that so weightie a matter, he would not haue done lesse to him if he had bene his owne son; yet now upon through trial had, sith it was manifestly proued that he was void of all offense, he was soze that he had bene occasioned so farre to trie his truth: and therefore willed him to be of good cheere and comfort, for he should find that he would make accompt of him as of his most true and faithfull kinsman, and not onelie restore him to his former libertie, but otherwise soze he readie to pleasure him in what he could. After secretaire set forth this message with such effectuall words, as he was an eloquent and well spoken man, that the lord Lisle took such immoderate ioy thereof, that his hart being oppressed therewith, he died the night following through too much reioicing. After his decesse, the twelue of the same moneth of March, sir John Aubeleie sonne and heire to the said lord Lises wife, was at Westminster created vicount Lisle. The seuenteenth of March one Margaret Danie a yong woman, being a seruant, was boyled in Smithfield for poisoning of hir mistres with whome she dwelt, and diuerse other persons.

In the Lent season, whilste the parlement yet continued, one George Ferrers gentleman, seruant to the king, being elected a burgesse for the towne of Blimmouth in the countie of Deuonshire, in going to the parlement house, was arrested in London by a procelle out of the Kings bench, at the sute of one White, for the sum of two hundred markes or thereabouts, wherein he was late afoze condemned, as a suertie for the debt of one Welbon of Salisburie: which arrest being signified to sir Thomas Spolls knight, then speaker of the parlement, and to the knights and burgesse there, order was taken, that the sargeant of the parlement, called S. John, should forthwith repaire to the counter in Widdestreet (whither the said Ferrers was caried) and there demand deliuerie of the prisoner.

The sargeant (as he had in charge) went to the counter, and declared to the clerks there what he had in commandement. But they and other officers of the citie were so farre from obeyeng the said commandement, as after manie stout words they forcibly resisted the said sargeant, whereof ensued a frays within the counter gates, betwene the said Ferrers and the said officers, not without hurt of either part: so that the said sargeant was dynen to defend himselfe with his mace of armes, & had the crowne thereof broken by bearing off a stroke, and his man stricken downe. During this brawl, the shiriffes of London, called Rotoland Wyll, and Henrie Snelkiffe came thither, to whome the sargeant complained of this iniurie, and required of them the deliuerie of the said burgesse, as afoze. But they hearing with their officers, made little accompt either of his complaint or of his message, reiecting the same contemptuously, with much proud language, so as the sargeant was forced to returne without the prisoner, whereas if they had obeyed authoritie, and shewed the seruice necessarilie required in their office and person, they might by their discretion haue appeased

The occasion of sir Arthur Plantagenets trouble.

The lord Lisle took such immoderate ioy thereof.

George Ferrers a burgesse of the parlement arrested, and what mischief ensued.

The shiriffes and officers denied the deliuerie of the burgesse.



all the houle, for wisdometh the outrage & unrefrainable furiousnes of war, as the poet saith:  
*Instrumenta feri vincit sapientia belli.*

The sargeant thus hardlie intreated, made returne to the parlement houle, and finding the speaker, and all the burgesses set in their places, declared unto them the whole case as it fell, who took the same in so ill part, that they altogether (of whom there were not a few, as well of the kings private counsell, as also of his private chamber) would sit no longer without their burgess, but rose up whole, and repaired to the upper houle, where the whole case was declared by the mouth of the speaker, before sir Thomas Andle knight then lord chancelor of England, and all the lords and iudges there assembled, who iudging the contempt to be verie great, referred the punishment thereof to the order of the common houle. They returning to their places againe, upon new debate of the case, took order, that their sargeant should estowies repaire to the shiriffe of London, and require deliverte of the said burgesse, without anie writ or warrant had for the same, but onelie as afore.

And yet the lord chancelor offered there to grant a writ, which they of the common houle refused, being in a clere opinion, that all commandements and other acts of proceeding from the nether houle, were to be done and executed by their sargeant without writ, onelie by shew of his mace, which was his warrant. But before the sargeants returne into London, the shiriffes having intelligence how heinouslie the matter was taken, became somewhat more mild, so as upon the said second demand, they delivured the prisoner without anie deniall. But the sargeant having then further in commandement from those of the nether houle, charged the said shiriffes to appeere personallie on the morrow, by eight of the cloche before the speaker in the nether houle, and to bring thither the clerks of the counter, and such officers as were parties to the said affraie, and in like manner to take into his custodie the said White, which wittinglie procured the said arrest, in contempt of the privilege of the parlement.

Which commandement being done by the said sargeant accordingly, on the morrow the two shiriffes, with one of the clerks of the counter (which was the chiefe occasion of the said affraie) together with the said White, appeared in the common houle, where the speaker charging them with their contempt and misdemeanors afore said, they were compelled to make immediat answer, without being admitted to anie counsell. Albeit, sir Roger Cholmeleite, then recorder of London, and other of the counsell of the citie there present, offered to speake in the cause, which were all put to silence, and none suffered to speake, but the parties themselves: whereupon in conclusion, the said shiriffes and the same White, were committed to the Tower of London, and the said clerke (which was the occasion of the affraie) to a place there called litle ease, and the officer of London which did the arrest, called Tallow, with foure other officers to Pelugate, where they remained from the eight & twentieth untill the thirtieth of March, and then they were delivured, not without humble sute made by the mayor of London & other their friends.

And for so much as the said Ferrers being in execution upon a condemnation of debt, and set at large by privilege of parlement, was not by law to be brought againe into execution, and so the partie with out remedie for his debt, as well against him as his principall debtor; after long debate of the same by the space of nine or ten daies together, at last they resolved upon an act of parlement to be made, and to reuise the execution of the said debt against the said Melben which was principall debtor, and to dis-

charge the said Ferrers. But before this came to passe, the common houle was divided upon the question: howbeit in conclusion, the act passed for the said Ferrers, twine by fourtene voices.

The king then being advertised of all this proceeding, called immediatlie before him the lord chancelor of England and his iudges, with the speaker of the parlement, and other of the grauest persons of the nether houle, to whom he declared his opinion to this effect. First commending their wisdomes in maintaining the privileges of their houle (which he would not haue to be infringed in anie point) he alleged that he being head of the parlement, and attending in his owne person upon the business thereof, ought in reason to haue privilege for him and all his servants attending there upon him. So that if the said Ferrers had bene no burgesse, but onlie his servant, yet in respect thereof he was to haue the privilege as well as anie other.

For I understand (quoth he) that you not onelie for your owne persons, but also for your necessarie servants, even to your cookes and housekeepers, inioie the said privilege; in so much as my lord chancelor here present hath informed us, that he being speaker of the parlement, the coke of the Temple was arrested in London, and in execution upon a statute of the staple. And for so much as the said coke, during all the parlement, served the speaker in that office, he was taken out of execution, by the privilege of the parlement. And further we be informed by our iudges, that we at no time stand so highlie in our estate roiall, as in the time of parlement, wherein we as head, and you as members, are consoined and knit together into one bodie politike, so as whatfoever offense or iniurie (during that time) is offered to the meaneest member of the houle, is to be iudged as done against our person, and the whole court of parlement. Which prerogative of the court is so great (as our learned counsell informeth us) as all our and processes comming out of anie other inferior courts must for the time cease and giue place to the highest.

And touching the partie, it was a great presumption in him, knowing our servant to be one of this houle, and being warned thereof before, would nevertheless prosecute this matter out of time, and thereupon was well worthy to haue lost his debt (which I would not wish) and therefore do commend your equitie, that hauing lost the same by law, haue restored him to the same against him who was his debtor. And if it be well considered, what a charge hath it bene to us and you all, not onelie in expence of our substance, but also in losse of time, which should haue bene imployed about the affaires of our realme, to sit here twelue or one whole fortnight about this one private case, he may thinke himselfe better used than his desert. And this may be a good example to other to learne good maners, & not to attempt anie thing against the privilege of this court, but to take their time better. This is mine opinion, and if I erre, I must referre my selfe to the iudgement of our iustices here present, and other learned in our lawes.

Whereupon sir Edm. Spontacote lord chiefe iustice, verie grauelie told his opinion, confirming by diuers reasons all that the king had said, which was asserted unto by all the residue, none speaking to the contrary. The act in deed passed not the higher houle, for the lords had not time to consider of it, by reason of the dissolution of the parlement, the feast of Easter then approaching. Because this case hath bene diuerslie reported, and is commonlie alleged as a precedent for the privilege of the parlement; I haue endeavored my selfe to learne the truth thereof, and so set it

The speaker of the parlement declareth all the matter to the lords.

The shiriffes deliuer the burgesse and are charged to appeare before the speaker.

The shiriffes committed to the Tower.

An. Dom. 1542.

An. Reg.

Anno Reg. 34.

1. June.

Submission of the Fifth nobilitie.

The causes of the wars betweene England and Scotland.

The king counteth it presumption to arrest the burgesse.

The willfull obduracye of the Scottish commissioners.

Sir Edward Spontacote lord chiefe iustice.

An. Reg. 34.

542.

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An. Reg. 34.

34.

Submission  
of the Irish  
nobilitie.

The causes of  
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The willall  
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it forth with the whole circumstance at large accord-  
ing to their instructions, who ought best both to  
know and remember it.

This yeare in Spaine the king took a lode of mo-  
nie of all such as were valued at fiftie pounds and  
upward in the subsidie booke. The lord priuie seale,  
the bishop of Winchester, sir John Baker, and sir  
Thomas Wriothesley were commissioners about  
this lode in London, where they so handled the mat-  
ter, that of some head citizens they obtained a thou-  
sand markes in prest to the kings vse. They that laid  
forth anie summe in this wise, had priuie scales for  
the repayment thereof within two yeares next insu-  
ing. Diuerse of the Irish nobilitie came this yeare  
into England, and made their submission to the king  
as in the Irish chronicle it is more particularlie tou-  
ched. Also wars fell out betwixt England and Scot-  
land, the causes whereof (as appereth by a declarati-  
on set forth by the king of England at this present) in  
effect were these. First there were diuerse of the  
English rebels, such as had moued the commotion  
in the north and Lincolnshire, that fled into Scot-  
land, and were there maintained: and although re-  
quest had bene made that they might be deliuered,  
yet it would not be granted.

Moreover, where the king of Scots had promised  
to repaire vnto Poike the last yeare, and there to  
meet his uncle the king of England, whereupon the  
king of England to his great charges had made pre-  
paration for their meeting there; the same was not  
onlie disappointed, but also at the kings being at  
Poike, in lieu thereof an inuasion was made by the  
Scots, as it was in contempt and despite of the  
king of England, who notwithstanding imputing  
the default of meeting to the aduise of his nephues  
councell, and the inuasion to the lewdnesse of his sub-  
jects, was contented to giue courteous audience vnto  
such ambassadozs as the same king of Scots sent  
into England, which came to the king at Christmas  
last, and with manie sweet and pleasant wordes ex-  
cused that which was done amisse, & sought to persua-  
de kindnesse and perfect amitie in time to come. And  
for the better accomplishment thereof, they offered  
to send commissioners to the borders, there to deter-  
mine the debate betwixt them of the confines, if it  
would please the king likewise to send commis-  
sioners for his part, which to doe he grationlike con-  
descended, desirous to make triall of his nephue in  
some correspondence of deeds, to the faire and plea-  
sant messages in wordes which he had receined from  
him.

Whereupon commissioners were sent from either  
king, the which met and talked. But where the Eng-  
lishmen chalenged a peece of ground, vndoubtedlie  
biurped by the Scots, being for the same shewed  
such euidence as more substantiall, or more autentike  
can not be brought forth for anie ground within the  
realme; the same was neuertheless by the Scots  
denied and reiected, onlie for that it was made (as  
they alleged) by Englishmen, and yet was it so an-  
cient, as it could not be counterfeited now, and the  
value of the ground so little, and of so small weight,  
as no man would attempt to falsifie a writing for  
such a matter. But yet this deniall notwithstanding,  
the English commissioners departed from the Sco-  
tish commissioners as friends, taking order, as hath  
bene accustomed, for good rule vpon the borders in  
the meane time to be obserued.

After their departure, the lord Sparwell warden  
of the west marches in Scotland, made proclamati-  
on in deed for good rule to be kept: but neuertheless  
added therewith, that the borderers of Scotland shuld  
withstand their goods from the borders of England,  
and incontinentlie after the Scottish borderers, on

the fourth of Iulie entered into England suddenlie,  
& spoiled the kings subjects, contrarie to the league,  
and euen after the plaine maner of warre. Where-  
vpon the king of England greatlie maruelling,  
was driuen to furnish his borders with a garrison  
for defense of the same, as mistrusting a further mis-  
chiefe intended by the enimie, whose treacherie & loose  
dealing became a whetstone to the kings wrath, and  
set him in a heat of indignation, as the poet saith:

*Iam Scotus Henrici instam irritauerat iram  
Faciisq.*

Then was James Leirmouth master of the Sco-  
tish kings household sent into England with letters  
deuised in the best maner, offering a good redress of  
all attempts: and yet neuertheless at the entrie of  
the said Leirmouth into England, a great number  
of Scots then not looked for, made a rode into Eng-  
land, to the great annoiance of the English borders,  
which dealing, though it much moued the king of  
England to take displeasure against the Scots, yet  
he gaue gentle audience to Leirmouth at his com-  
ming vnto him, and by his faire wordes and promises  
was partlie pacified. But in the meane time, the  
deeds of the Scottish borderers were as extreme as  
might be. And in a rode made by sir Robert Wolues  
for reuenge thereof, the same sir Robert, and manie  
other with him, were taken prisoners, and could not  
be deliuered, nor admitted to paie their fine and ran-  
some, as hath bene euer accustomed betwixt them  
on the borders.

And where at the same time, an assurance was  
made on both sides for a season, at the sute of the said  
Leirmouth, the Scots ceased not to make sundrie  
inuasions into England, in such wise, as the king no  
longer trusting to their faire wordes, but weleing  
their deeds, put an armie in a readinesse for defense  
of his subjects, as the due meane to attaine such a  
peace, as for the safetie of his people and dominions,  
he thought it stood with his honour to procure.  
After which preparation made, and knowledge  
thereof had, the king of Scots made new sute to  
haue the matter taken vp by treatie. Whereupon  
the king caused the armie to staie about Poike, and  
appointed the duke of Suffolke his lieutenant ge-  
nerall, the lord priuie seale, the bishop of Durham, &  
sir Anthonie Wolone master of his houses, to treat  
& conclude with the ambassadozs of Scotland some  
friendlie peace, vpon reasonable and indifferent  
conditions, as should be thought requisite, for the a-  
uoiding of warres, than by sundrie inuasions of the  
Scots made open and manifest. But after they had  
viewed ech others commissions, and began to pro-  
pone articles, the Scottish commissioners to pro-  
tract time, at the first seemed to like such articles as  
the English commissioners had proponed, and made  
semblance as if there were no doubt, but that in  
case their king & ours might meet, all matters shuld  
be quietlie compounded and ended: and so taking it  
as for a thing sure and certeine, they onlie desired six  
daies to obtaine answer from their master, and our  
armie for that time to staie: wherevnto the English  
commissioners accorded.

After those six daies was sent a commission out  
of Scotland, to conclude a meeting precise, at such  
a place as they knew well could not in the winter  
season be obserued nor kept. Wherewith when the  
English commissioners seemed nothing content, the  
Scottish commissioners shewed forth instructions,  
wherein libertie was giuen to them to errede their  
commission in the appointing of a place, & to consent  
to anie other by the English commissioners thought  
meet and conuenient. But when the English com-  
missioners refused to deale with men wanting suffi-  
cient commission to warrant their doings, the Scot-  
tish

James Leir-  
mouth.

King Henrie  
forced to take  
armes against  
the Scots.

The double  
dealing of the  
Scots in the  
negotiation a-  
bout an agree-  
ment.

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lish commissioners required other six daies respite, to send for a larger commission, which being granted, at the end of those six daies, they brought forth a commission made in good forme, and without exception or restraint of place: but therewith they shewed instructions containing a like restraint, as in the former commission was expressed. And thus differing forth the matter by trifling, upon purpose onlie to win time, they hoped thereby through the winter comming on, that the English armie should not be able much to annoie their countrey for that year. And so their talke brake by without any conclusion of agreement at all; and forthwith was the armie set forward, a good part whereof had lien all this time of the treatie in Porke, and in the countreies thereabouts.

The English armie entirely into Scotland.

When the whole power was assembled, the duke of Norfolk then lieutenant generall, accompanied with the earles of Sheshburie, Derby, Cumberland, Surreie, Hertford, Angus, Rutland, and the lords of the north parts, and sir Anthoine Browne master of the houses, sir John Cage controller of the kings house, and others, having with them twentie thousand men well and warlike appointed, entred Scotland the one and twentieth of October, and tarried there eight daies, without hauing any battell offered vnto them, in which space they burnt these townes and villages, Darton, Kamrige, Stine, Cradin, Shilles, lang Conem, Newton, Skittshell, Newborne, Smellem spittle, the two Herdens, Sledericke, and the two Worlawes, Floris, and the Faire croft, Conem spittle, Korbrough, Kellscie and the abbete, long Spzonstow, Kiden, and Hadenston. For they had determined with fire and sword to take vttter reuenge, crying out, as the poet saith;

*Vindice ferro opus esse, opus esse & vindice flamma,  
Acclamant omnes.*

Now while the duke was at Farnton, the fourth daie after his comming into Scotland, there came to speake with him halfe a mile into the campe, the bishop of Orkenele, and James Leirmouth sent from the king of Scots to intreat of peace, but they agreed not. Finally, after the Englishmen had lien so long within Scotland as they might recouer vittels, at length for necessitie they returned to Berwick. In all which iourneie the standard of the earle of Southampton, late lord prinie seale (which died at Newcastell before their entring into Scotland) was borne in the foreward, because he was appointed captaine of the same.

The earle of Southampton, late lord prinie seale.

The king of Scots, hearing that the English armie was returned, raised a power of fiftene thousand men forth of all parts of his realme, vnder the guiding of the lord Sparwell (or rather of Oliver Sinclair, as the Scots affirme) boasting to carrie as long in England, as the duke of Norfolk had tarried in Scotland. And so on fridaie being saint Katharins euen, they passed ouer the water of Cleke, and burnt certeine houses of the Greues on the berie border. Thomas bassard Dacres, with Iacke of Pulgrau sent word to sir Thomas Wharton lord Warden for the king vpon the west marches, to come forward to succour them. But in the meane while the Scots entring verie fierclie, the aforesaid two valiant captaines, bassard Dacres and Pulgrau, manfullie set vpon the Scots with one hundred light horses, and left a skale on the side of a hill, wherewith the Scots were wonderfullie dismayed, thinking that either the duke of Norfolk with his whole armie had bene come to those west marches, or that some other great power had bene comming against them, when they saw onlie sir Thomas Wharton with three hundred men marching forward toward them. But so it fortuneed at that time un-

An armie of Scots invadeth England.

The error of the Scots.

The Scots are.

doubtedlie, as God would haue it, that the Scots fled at the first brunt; whome the Englishmen followed, and took prisoners at their pleasure; for there was small resistance, or none at all shewed by the Scots.

Amongst others that were taken, we find these men of name, the earle of Caill and Glencarne, the lord Sparwell admirall of Scotland, and warden of the west marches, the lord Fleuning, the lord Sumerwell, the lord Olphant, the lord Greie, sir Oliver Sinclair the kings minion, John Kellie lord of Oragie, Robert Crislin son to the lord Crislin, Carre lord of Breddon, the lord Sparwell's two nephews, John Kellie bassard son to the earle of Rothes, George Hume lord of Hermiton, John Spauland lord of White castell, James Pringell, James Sinclair brother to Oliver Sinclair, John Carnell captaine of Craisforth, Patrike Hebborne esquire, John Seton esquire son in law to the lord Crislin, William Seton esquire, John Stewart cousin to the king, John Sparrowe esquire, Heurie Dowmont esquire, James Pitton esquire, John Carmurth esquire captaine of Craisforth, James Pitton esquire, and other esquires and gentlemen (beside the earles and lords before mentioned) to the number of two hundred and above, and more than eight hundred other persons of meaner calling; so that some one Englishman, yea some women had three or foure prisoners. They took also foure and twentie peeces of ordinance, foure carts laden with speares, and ten paulions, with other things of price; so that this might well be said to be the handie worke of God; and the verse of the psalme verified:

*Contemplans dixi, Haec est militum dextra  
Numinis excelsi mortalia cuncta gubernans.*

The king of Scots took such griefe and inward thought for his ouerthrow, and also for the murder of an English herald that was slaine at Dunbar, by one Lech an Englishman (the which for the rebellion in Lincolnshire was fled into Scotland) that he fell into a hot ague, and thereof died, although manie reported that he was at the bickering, and recovered there his death wound, and fled therewith into Scotland. But of his death, and of the birth of his daughter ye may see more in the historie of Scotland.

The number of prisoners and armour taken.

The death of the king of Scotland.

In many times the king of Scotland.

Of these prisoners before named, one and twentie of them were brought to London, and on the nineteenth of December entred into the citie by Bishops gate, and so were conueied to the tower, where they remained for the space of two daies: and vpon saint Thomas daie the apostle, being the one and twentieth of December, they were conueied to Westminster, sir John Cage constable of the tower riding before them, and the lieutenant of the same tower riding behind them. They rode two and two together, and eight of them being earls and lords, had new gowns of blacke damaske furred with blacke conie, cotes of blacke veluet, and doublets of sattin, with shirts and other apparell bought new for them at the kings charges.

Four and twentie hath Hall. Scots prisoners brought to London.

Thus being solemnlie conueied through the streets of London vnto Westminster, they came before the counsell sitting in the Star chamber, and there the lord chancelor declared to them their vntrath, unkindnesse, and false dissimulation, declaring further how the king had cause of war against them, both for denieng of their homages, and also for their traitorous invasions made into his realme without defiance, and for keeping his subjects prisoners without redemption, contrarie to the ancient laws of the marches; for which doings, God (as they might perceiue) had scourged them. Wherewith the king more regarding his honor than his princelie power, was

The Scots prisoners for the cause in the Star chamber.

They kept them.

1542.

An. Reg. 34. 35.

Scottish  
lords taken  
at Solow  
Hesse.

The number  
of prisoners  
and artillery  
taken.

The death of  
the king of  
Scotland.

Motion of a  
marriage be-  
tween prince  
Edward and  
the young Sco-  
tish queene.

Four and  
twenty hath  
Hall.  
Scots priso-  
ners brought  
to London.

The Scots  
prisoners be-  
fore the coun-  
cil in the great  
chamber.

was content to shew them kindnesse for bakind-  
nesse, and right for wrong. And although he might  
keepe them in strett prison by iust law of armes,  
yet he was content that they should haue libertie to  
be with the nobles of his realme in their houses, and  
so according to their estates, they were appointed to  
dukes, earles, bishops, knights, and gentlemen,  
which so interteined them, that they confessed them-  
selues neuer to be better bled, nor to haue had grea-  
ter chere in all their life times.

The earle of Caills was appointed to be with the  
archbishop of Canturburie, the earle of Glencarne  
with the duke of Norfolke, the lord Fleming with  
the lord priue seale, the lord Sparwell with sir Antho-  
nie Holore, the lord Sumnerwell with the lord chan-  
cellor, the lord Oliphant with sir Thomas Lee, Oli-  
uer Scheler with the duke of Suffolke, Robert  
Crest with the bishop of Westminister, the lord Mon-  
mouth with sir Antonio Wingfield, the lord Mon-  
mouth with sir Rafe Sadler, George Hume with the  
earle of Hertford, the lord of Stacie with sir Tho-  
mas Weincie, the lord of Gredon with maister  
Gosswike, Henrie Sparwell with sir Richard Long,  
Thomas Craford with sir Arthur Darcie, Patrike  
Debbone with sir Thomas Wriothesleie, James  
Pirgell with sir Richard Rich, John Sparland with  
sir Edward North, the lord Greie, James Scheler,  
and John Lisle, were appointed to men of such cre-  
dit, as were thought meet to answer for their safe  
keeping.

The two and twentieth of December, tidings  
came of the king of Scots death, and upon S. Johns  
daie in Christmas weeke the foresaid lords of Scot-  
land were brought to the court, which was then at  
Orcenwich, where they had great chere, and went  
before the king to the chappell, and were lodged with  
in the court. Hereupon ye must consider, that where  
as the king of Scots had left no issue behind him in  
life but onelie one daughter, the king and his coun-  
cell perceiving a meane now offered, whereby with-  
out waere the two realmes might be united, these  
Scottish lords hauing first made the motion them-  
selues, for a marriage to be had betwixt prince Ed-  
ward and their young queene, the king required their  
helpe unto the furtherance of that matter, which  
might be a great benefitt to themselves and their coun-  
trie. This they promised faithfullie to do, and aswell  
by themselves as by their friends, to bring the same  
to effect, so much as the king could require. Where-  
upon the king was not onelie contented to release  
them home, but also highlie rewarded them with rich  
and costlie gifts of sundrie sorts, in most bountifull  
wise, as *Anglorum prelia notet verie uell, sateng:*

*Præterea ex auro captiuos torquibus ornat,*

*Et sumptum, vestes, argentum donat et aurum.*

The Scots  
depart into  
their owne  
countie.

34. 35.

The thirtieth of December they departed from the  
court, and the morrow after, eight of them dined  
with sir John Cotes then lord maior of London,  
and the rest with the shiriffes, and had verie great  
chere. On Newyears daie they departed from  
London homewards towards Scotland, and rode  
to Enfield to see the prince, and there dined that day,  
greatlie reioicing, as by their words and counte-  
nance it seemed, to behold so proper and towarlike  
an impe. From thence they kept on their iournie  
till they came to the north parts, where they found  
the duke of Suffolke the kings lieutenant there, and  
with him remained till such pledges were come forth  
of Scotland, as it was couenanted they should  
leane behind them.

The duke then after he had receiued the hostages,  
permitted them to depart, and so they returned into  
Scotland, where they were gladlie welcomed by  
their kinsmen and friends. With them went also the

earle of Angus, who had bene banished Scotland,  
and hauing remained here in England a long time,  
receiued of the kings fee, a thousand marks by yeare;  
and likewise his brother sir George Douglas, who  
had five hundred marks yearelie likewise of the  
kings gift. They were now both restored home into  
their countie, and that (as was said) by the kings  
last will. The said earle of Angus, and diuerse of  
the lords that had bene prisoners here in England,  
were made of the priue councill of the realme by the  
earle of Araine, that was chosen gouernour to the  
young queene, and of the realme, as next better ap-  
point: notwithstanding that the archbishop of saint  
Andrews, and cardinal of the see of Rome, came  
and sett vnto the king of England for the popes  
cause (and partly set on by the French king) had for-  
gea will, expelling how the king had made him  
gouernour (associated with two earles of his affinitie)  
as well of the queene as realme, contrarie to the  
lawes of Scotland. Whereupon the said earle of Ar-  
aine, according to his right (as he pretended) with  
the helpe of his friends, tooke upon him the au-  
thoritie of gouernour, and put the said cardinal in pri-  
son, and deliuered sir Robert Bowes, and the other  
English prisoners, by their bonds, according to the  
custome of the marches.

All this yeare was neither perfect peace nor o-  
pen waere betwixt England and France, but the  
merchants ships were taken and robbed on both  
parts, and at length merchants goods were seized,  
and the ambassadoes of both realmes staied. Howbeit,  
shortlie after the ambassadoes were deliuered: but  
the merchants still were robbed, and no waere pro-  
claimed. In the end of this yeare came from the go-  
uernour of Scotland as ambassadoes, sir William  
Hamilton, and James Leirmouth the secretarie of  
Scotland, whose message was so meane like, that  
they were faine to send an herald into Scotland for  
other ambassadoes, and so came hither the earle of  
Glencarne, and sir George Douglas: but what for-  
uer their answer was, sir George returned in post,  
and within twentie daies came backe againe with  
an answer that was well liked of. But shortlie after  
they brake promise, and went from that which they  
had couenanted, greatlie to their reproch.

Woad was sold verie deare in the winter season  
of this yeare, and likewise bittels both flesh and fish  
grew to an high price towards the spring, by reason  
(as was thought) of the vntemperate wet summer  
last past, causing great death among cattell. A quar-  
ter of mutton was sold for two shillings, or seuen  
grotes, a lambe at three shillings, or three and foure  
pence, which afore that time was esteemed scarce  
worth sixteen pence. Against Easter at a court  
of aldermen kept in the Guildhall the twentieth of  
March 1542, it was enacted by the lord maior and his  
brethren, that the maior and shiriffes should be serued  
at their tables but with one course at dinner and  
supper in their houses; the maior to haue but seuen di-  
shes at the most at one messe for his owne table, and  
the shiriffes and euerie other alderman but six dishes,  
upon paine to forfeit for euerie dish fortie shillings  
at euerie time when they offended in this ordinance.  
Also that the fargeants and peomen of their houses  
should haue but three dishes at dinner or supper, the  
swordbearers messe onlie excepted, which should be  
allowed to haue one dish more. It was also enacted,  
that from the feast of Easter then next ensuing, nei-  
ther the maior nor his brethren should buie anie  
crane, swan, or bussard, upon paine to forfeit for eu-  
rie foule by them so bought, twentie shillings, the of-  
fense to be tried by oth, if it should be presented.

In the beginning of this yeare, on Erinitie  
sundaie, was a new league swozne betwene the  
king

The num-  
ber of king  
Henrie to the  
earle of  
Angus.

Archbishop of  
S. Andrew  
deadlie enimie  
to H. Henrie.

The earle of  
Araine.

Sir Robert  
Bowes de-  
liuered.

Ambassadoes  
from Scot-  
land.

A death.

A necessarie &  
wholsome  
ordinance  
for mod. rati-  
on in diet.

Anno Reg. 36.  
A league be-  
twixt the king  
of England  
and the empe-  
rour.

Abt. Fl. ex l. S.  
pag. 1026.  
White meates  
licensed to be  
eaten in Lent,  
and noble men  
punished for  
breaking the  
law.

Summerfet  
an herald kil-  
led, & the offen-  
dor dieth as  
a traitor.

First iron  
pieces cast.

Creations  
of earles and  
barons.

The king mar-  
rieth the ladie  
Katharine  
Dar.

Corporations,  
franchises, &  
commonalties  
paid more as  
well of their  
lands as goods  
as appeareth  
by the statute.

Articles de-  
manded of the  
French king.

king and the emperor at Hampton court, either of them to be friends to the others friends, and enemies to the others enemies. ¶ In this yeare also a proclamation was made, whereby the people were licensed to eat white meats in Lent, but straitly forbidden the eating of flesh. Whereupon shortly after the earle of Surrie, with diuerse lords, knights, and gentlemen, were imprisoned for eating of flesh in the same Lent, contrarie to the said proclamation. The eight of Maie, one Leech, sometimes bailie of Louth, who had killed Summerfet one of our heralds of armes at Dunbar in Scotland, was hanged to Tiburne, and there hanged and quartered. And the twelfth of June, Edward Leech his brother, and with him a priest, for the same fact were likewise executed at Tiburne.

This yeare the first cast pieces of iron that ever were made in England, were made at Buckstead in Suffex, by Rafe Hoge, and Peter Walde. The third of June came to the court from the realme of Ireland, thre Irish lords, Dyrin, Macke William a Burgh, and Macke Gilpatrick. In Iulie the said Dyrin was created earle of Downon, Macke William a Burgh earle of Claunrickford, and sir Dunon Dyrin was made baron of Chankie, and so with rewards they toke leave and returned. The same moneth also, the Scottish ambassadoers returned with great rewards. The twelfth of Iulie, at Hampton court, the king married the ladie Katharine Dar, widow, late wife unto the lord Latimer deceased, and then she was nominated quene, and so proclaimed.

In the parliament holden this yeare at Westminster, a subsidie was granted to the king, to be paid in thre yeares. Euerie Englishman being worth in goods twentie shillings & upward to five pounds, paid foure pence of euerie pound. From five pounds to ten pounds, eight pence. From ten pounds to twentie pounds, sixtene pence. From twentie pounds and upward, of euerie pound two shillings. Strangers as well denizens as other, being inhabitants, doubled this summe: and euerie stranger not being an inhabitant, that was sixtene years of age and upward, paid foure pence for euerie poll. And for lands, fees, and annuities, euerie one borne within the kings dominions, paid eight pence of the pound, from twentie shillings to five pounds. And from five pounds to ten pounds, sixtene pence. From ten pounds to twentie pounds, two shillings. And from twentie pounds and upward, thre shillings; strangers still doubling this summe. The cleargie granted a subsidie of six shillings the pound, to be paid of their benefices in perpetuities in thre yeares ensuing: and euerie priest hauing no perpetuities, but an annuall stipend, paid yearelie (during the said thre yeares) six shillings and eight pence.

About the same time, the king and the emperor sent Carter and Tolson Do. kings at armes, to demand the performance of certaine articles of the French king, which if he denied, they were commanded then to desie him, but he would not suffer them to come within his land, so they returned. Whereupon the king caused the said demands to be declared to the French ambassadoer at Westminster. And in Iulie the king sent ouer sir Thos. men, under the leading of sir John Mallop, appointed to haue the generall conduction of them, accompanied with diuerse other knights, esquires and gentlemen right hardie and valiant. Sir Thomas Selmer was marshall of that armie, sir Robert Wolves treasurer, sir Richard Cromwell capteine of the footmen, and sir George Carew his lieutenant. There were likewise sir Thomas Palmer, sir John Keinsforth, sir

John saint John, and sir John Gascoigne, knights, that were capteines of the footmen. They were appointed to ioin with the emperours power, and so to make warre into France. They departed from Calis the two and twentieth of Iulie. The third of August open warre was proclaimed in London betwixt the emperor and the king of England on the one part, and the French king on the other, as enemy mortall to them both, and to all other christian princes beside, as he that had confederated himselfe with the Turke.

The armie that was sent ouer under the leading of sir John Mallop, passed south from the marches of Calis, and keeping alongst betwixt the borders of the French and Burgonion pales and confines, and joining with the emperours forces, Spaniards, Wallons, and Dutch, came at length before Landerseie, a towne latelie fortified by the French, within the borders of the emperours dominions, to the which they laid a strong siege. At length the emperor hauing dispatched his wars against the duke of Cleue, who had submitted himselfe unto him, came now to the siege of Landerseie, with a mightie power of sundrie nations, so that the towne was sore constrained and in danger to haue bene lost, if at that present the French king had not likewise with an huge armie of Frenchmen, Switzers, Lantiquenets, Italians, and others, come to the rescue, pitching downe his campe, making countenance as if he ment presentlie to giue battell: and verelie it was thought that two such powers as were there at that time so nere together, should neuer haue departed without battell. The emperor thinking surelie to fight, raised his siege, and drew his people into the field. The Frenchmen thereby espying their auantage, put as well fresh men as vittells, and all kind of munition necessarie into the towne, and in the meane while kept the emperours people occupied with hot skirmishes.

But now after the towne was thus releued, which thing the French king onelie wished to accomplish, the next daie when the emperor was readie with his armie ranged in battell to haue fought with his aduersaries, the French king put his armie also in order, but hauing no mind to come forward, he trilled south that daie, and in the night following, secretlie departed with as much haste as was possible. When the next morning had discovered the Frenchmens flight (for manie so termed this their sudden retire) it was no need to bid diuerse troops of the emperours armie to hie after them: but some made too much haste, for the French king suspecting what would ensue, appointed his eldest sonne Henrie the Dolphin to remaine behind with the reterward, accompanied with diuerse noble capteins, which ordered their people in their retire with such warinesse and heedfull skill, as the reason of warre required, that such of the emperours campe as adventured ouer rashlie, and shewed themselves more forward than wise, fell within danger of such ambushments as were by the waie couertlie laid in places of auantage: and so diuerse were taken, as sir George Carew, sir Thomas Palmer knight porter of Calis, Edward Bellingham, and others. But neuertheless a great number of such Frenchmen as could not make waie, and keepe pale with their maine troops, were snapped up, slaine, and taken in no small numbers by their enemies, who followed them as egre as tigers, and as the describer of that pursute saith:

*Imbut et gladius manante cruce Britannum.*

This was after Alhalowentide, so that now by reason the winter was farre entred, and the weather waring extreme foule, and contrarie to an armie that should lie in the fields, the emperor brake up his

Landerseie  
besieged.

The French  
king cometh  
to the rescue  
of Landerseie.

Great death  
in London.

I. Stow, pag.  
1027.

Ambassadoers  
from the emperor.

The French  
king returneth  
backe with  
his armie.

The lord  
is created earle  
of Essex.

I. S. 4. 4  
The lord  
is created earle  
of Essex.  
Abt. Fl. ex  
l. S. pag. 1027  
Fourte  
ships.  
Germane  
Gardner an  
other execu-  
ted.  
I. Stow 1006.  
Charitable



The emperor  
besieged by  
his campe.

his campe and licenced the most part of his people to depart home into their countreies, for all hope to win Landerseie at that time was cleane cut off, sith it was vittelled and newlie furnished with fresh men and munition. After that the warres were once open betwixt England and France, sundrie enterprises were attempted by the parties on either side in the marches of Calis and Bullognois, in which, for the most part, the Englishmen got the vpper hand of their enemies.

Landerseie  
besieged,

The French  
king commeth  
to the reliefe  
of Landerseie.

At one time the Frenchmen, to the number of eight hundred, comming in the night season to enter into the English pale by the turne pike at Hammes, in purpose to make some spoile in the countrie there, were assailed upon the sudden by sir George Sumner, and sir William Walgraue, latelie before come ouer with two hundred men out of Suffolke, to strengthen the English pale against the enemies, and at this time did behaue themselves so valiantlie, that they disappointed the enemies of their purpose. 20 For whereas they were entered into a lane inclosed with hedges on either side, sir Gene archers getting into the grounds on the backe side of the hedges lying alongst the lane, through which the Frenchmen were marching, placed the rafelues as they saw their advantage, and so beset their shot, that they galled the Frenchmen in such wise, that they were forced to recule in so great disorder, that other of the Englishmen comming upon them, easilie slue and took of them no small number.

Beside this, at sundrie times the Englishmen invading the countrie of Bullognois, walled the towne and villages, brought awaie great botties of goods and cattell, to the great impouerishing of the countrie. They burnt at one time the towne of Audinghen, and took the steeple of the church there, into the which were fled sir score pezzants with their wives and children, whome the Englishmen threw downe headlong out of the steeple, because they had most stubbornele refused to yeld. In this yeare a 40 great death of the pestilence reigned in London, and therefore Michellmasse terme was adourned to St. Albons, and there kept till the end thereof. The eighteenth of December the archbishop of Canturburies palace at Canturburie was burnt, and therein was burnt his brother in law, and other men.

Great death  
in London.

How, pag.  
107.

Amballadors  
from the em-  
perour.

The French  
king retireth  
backe forth  
his armie.

In Christmasse weeke came to the king lieng at Hampton court, Ferdinando Gonzaga viceroy of Sicillie, prince of Palseta, duke of Juano, the emperours capteine generall. The chiefest cause of his comming was, to appoint what time the emperours armie should be readie to invade France. He had great chere, and at his departure was rewarded with a hundred and fiftie thre ounces of gold in plate, and foure thousand and thre ounces in guilt plate, all verie curiously wrought, and all the time of his being here, his charges were borne by the king. The sundrie before Christmas, the lord William Par brother to the quene, who had married the daughter & heire of Henrie Bourchier erle of Essex, at Hampton court was created earle of Essex, & sir 60 Will. Par knight uncle to them both, was made lord Par of Hoxton, & chamberleine to the quene.

On ffele yeares daie, was sir Thomas Wriotheslie the kings secretarie made lord Wriotheslie of Wichefeld. 1544 This yeare chanced foure eclipses, one of the sunne the fourteenth of Januarie, and thre of the moone. On the seventh of March, Germaine Gardner, and Larke person of Chesseie were executed at Tiburne, for denieng the kings supremacie, & with whom was executed for other offenses one Simgleston. And shortly after Albete was likewise executed for the supremacie. In this yeare sir John Allen (who had bin twice maior of London, & of coun-

cell to the king) departing out of this life, did give to the citie of London a rich collar of gold, to be worn by the maior: which collar was first worn by sir William Lorton on St. Edwards daie, to the election of the new maior, who gave to everie ward in London twentie pounds to be distributed to the poore houtholders, besides to one hundred and twentie persons, thre score men everie of them a gowne of hyde cloth, and a blacke cap, and thre score women, to everie of them a gowne of the like cloth, and a white kerchiefe. Humfreis Bonmouth, and John Cotes which were thirtees in his maiestie, in the beginning of their yeare put awaie twelve large- 10 ants and twelve peomen, till they were forced by a court of common counsell to take them againe.

Shiriffes put  
awaie their  
officers.

In this meane while was the cardinal of Scotland delivred forth of prison, and shortly after got into his hands againe all such conclusions as were made touching the marriage betwixt the quene of Scots and prince Edward, procuring in maner all the lords and nobles of the realme to renounce that which they had promised to the king of England, as well bluerle of those whome the said king had released home out of captivitie, as others. Therewith the king took such fore displeasure, that he prepared an armie to passe into Scotland by sea, and ordered the lord Edward Seimer, earle of Hertford to be lieutenant of the north parts, and to have the leading of the same armie: who went thither in March, as well 30 for defense of the borders, as to foresee all things in order for the armie that should thus go into Scotland, whereof he was appointed generall.

The earle of  
Hertford  
lieutenant of  
the north.

When all things were in a readinesse for the navie which was rigged to set forward towards Scotland, and that the soldiers were come which were appointed to go with sir John Dudley lord Lisle, and high admerall of England in that voyage, they were embarked, and so the two and twentieth of March the said lord admerall, with sir Nicholas Pointz, and divers other knights and capteins departed from the port of London towards the north parts; and coming to Newcastle, found the earle of Hertford ready 40 with such power as was appointed to be there at a daie assigned, forth of those countreies that lie from Trent northwards. And now wanted nothing to further their iourne, but a convenient wind; which caused them to staie certeine daies at the said towne of Newcastle, and in the villages thereabouts.

The lord ad-  
merall Dudley  
leis fetherth  
forth from  
London to-  
wards Scot-  
land.

After that the earle of Hertford, and the lord admerall, accompanied with the earle of Shrewesburie, the lords Cobham, Clinton, Counters, Skinton, the lord William Howard, and manie other right valiant knights, gentlemen, and capteines, had lien with the armie and manie readie at Newcastle a certeine time, looking for a prosperous wind to set forward on their purposed iourne, at length the same came about verie fit to serve their turne, and then with all speed the soldiers were bestowed aboard, everie companie in their appointed vessels: and here 60 with by went the sailes, and forth they got into the maine seas, making their course directlie towards the Forth, a gulfe or river in Scotland, able to beate vessels fiftie miles by within the countrie. There were at the least two hundred sailes which the lord admerall had caused to come together, according to his commission, rigged, trimmed, and furnished with all things necessarie for the conduction of such an armie, esteemed to be about ten thousand men.

The armie  
set forth for-  
ward by sea  
towards  
Scotland.

The number  
of the Eng-  
lish armie.

The third of Maie they arrived in the Forth, entering betwene two Ilands, the Bas and the Paie. The next daie being the fourth of Maie, the whole armie was landed two miles by west the towne of Leth, at a place called Grantham crag. And forth 70 with the lord lieutenant putting his people in good order

The English  
armie landeth  
in Scotland.

The Scots  
offer to im-  
peach the  
Englishmens  
passage.

The Scots  
flee to Eden-  
burgh.

The English  
armie entrench  
into Litch.

The prouost  
of Eden-  
burgha re-  
quest.

The earle of  
Hertford  
answer.

Sir Christo-  
pher Poince.

Edenburgh  
entered by  
force.

order of warre, marched on towards the said towne of Litch. The lord admerall led the foreward, the lord lieutenant the battell, and the earle of Shrewsburie governed the reereward. Before they came to the towne of Litch, they found in their waie readie to impeach their passage sir thousand horsemen beside footmen. At the first the Scots made towards the Englishmen, as if they had ment to set upon the forward; but being manfully assailed by the batquebutters, five hundred in number, and shewdly by them curried and galled, they had no mind to come forward, but perceiving how willing the Englishmen were to encounter with them, after certeine shot on both sides, they made a sudden retreat, and leaving their artillerie behind them, they fled to Edinburgh.

The first man that fled (as the talke went) was the cardinal, who perceiving the deuotion which the Englishmen had to his holinesse, had no mind to followe him. With him also fled the gouernour, the earles of Huntley, Murray, and Bothwell: as for their soldiers, they were disparted, and feared the English forces as the lambe doth the wolfe, the doe the dog, or the hart the lion: to vse the words of Anglorum praelia berie fitly describing this battell, and saying:

*Exhorrent, ut dama capes, ut cyua leones.*

The Englishmen thus hauing put their enemies to flight, & seized upon their artillerie, made straight to the towne of Litch, and entered it without any great resistance, wherein they incamped themselves the same night to their most ease and aduantage, and afterwards landed their vittels and great artillerie. They found also in this towne such plenty of riches as they looked not to haue found in any one towne of Scotland.

The first of Maie they went towards Edinburgh, and as they approached nere the towne, the prouost of the same towne accompanied with one or two burgesses, and two or three officers at armes, desired to speake with the kings lieutenant, and in the name of all the towne, said that the heies of the towne should be deliuered unto his lordship, conditionally that they might go with bag & baggage, and the towne to be saved from fire. Whereunto answer was made by the said lord lieutenant, that where the Scots had so manifestly broken their promises confirmed by oaths and seales, and certified by the whole parliament, as was euidently knowne to the world, he was sent thither by the kings highnesse to take vengeance of their detestable falschood, to declare and shew the force of his highnesse sword to all such as should make any resistance unto his graces power sent thither for that purpose. And therefore he told them resolutely, that unless they would yeld by their towne franke without condition, and cause man, woman, and child, to issue forth into the fields, submitting them to his will and pleasure, he would put them to the sword, and their towne to the fire. The prouost answered it were better to stand to their defense.

Whereupon charge was given to the said prouost and officer at armes, upon their perill to depart. And forthwith the lord lieutenant sent to the forward, commanding that they should march towards the towne, which right hardily they did, and the English gunners manfully assailed the gates; namely sir Christopher Poince master of the ordinance, in such sort that the Scots were beaten from their ordinance, and the gate called Canogate beaten open with shot of the great artillerie, and there with the Englishmen entering the same gate by fine force, beat downe & slew a great number of Scots, and continually without tarrying was the great ordinance beaten by the great to the castell gates: but those that were within the castell shot so freely at the Englishmen thus approaching with their great artil-

lerie, that diuerse were slaine, the artillerie of the castell beat so direly alongest the high street, as the Englishmen came by the same. At length also one of the Englishmens culuerings was stricken, and dismounted, and thereupon they were forced to retire backe and giue ouer their enterprise of making batterie to the castell, wanting pioners, baskets, and other things necessarie for such a purpose.

This daie the Englishmen set fire in diuerse parts of the towne, but they had not leasure to mainteine it, by reason of the smoke rising and troubling them so extremly, that no great hurt could be done that daie, for that the night also came on, and so they departed backe againe to their campe at Litch. But the next daie, a certeine number of Englishmen vnder the leading of doctor Leigh, went againe to Edinburgh, and did what they could, vntill they destroyed the whole towne with fire, and so continued all that daie & the two daies next following. During all this violence offered by the English to the enemy, & nothing left but despaire of life, the women and children beholding this desolation, made such outrageous exclamations and woofull lamentations, that heauen it selfe rang with their noise, as berie pittie is described by Chr. O. in his report, saying:

*Femine! sexu gemitis ad sidera grandis  
Tolluntur strepitus, puerorum clamor in auribus,  
Nil nisi trisle fuit, facieque miserrima rerum.*

In the meane time, foure thousand light horsemen, vnder the leading of the lord Evers, came from our borders, as order was taken afore, and joined themselves with the armie thus lying in Litch, where after their comming, they did such exploits, in riding and waiking the countrey, that within fouen miles euery waie of Edinburgh, they left few places, either pile, village, or house vnburnt. And beside this, they brought great numbers of cattell daile into the armie, and met with much good stuffe, which the inhabitants of Edinburgh had for the safetie of the same conueied out of the towne.

The names of the knights made at Litch after the burning of Edinburgh by the earle of Hertford, gouernor of the kings armie there, on sundae the eleuenth of Maie, in the six & thirtieth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, in the yeare 1544, as they were deliuered to me by sir Gilbert Deshike knight, alias Carter, king of armes, are as followeth: The lord Clinton, the lord Coners, sir William Wroughton, sir Thomas Holcroft, sir Edward Dorell, sir John Luttrell, sir John Fenins, sir Thomas Waterton, sir Charles Howard, sir George Blunt, sir Peter Dewtas, sir Edward Warner, sir Rafe Bulmer, sir Hugh Cholmeleie, sir Thomas Leigh, alias doctor Leigh, sir Richard Leigh, sir Peter Leigh, sir John Leigh of Both, sir Lawrence Smith, sir William Maunslour, sir Richard Shirburne, sir Robert Stapleton, sir Thomas Holt, sir William Danenport, sir Rafe Leicester, sir Humfrie Baddorne, sir Thomas Halliuerie, sir Francis Bothome, sir John Galle, sir Leonard Beckwith, sir Thomas Cokaine, sir Peter Freshwell, sir Richard Egerton, sir Anthoine Penill, sir John Penill, sir William Katchiffe, sir George Wolues, sir Brian Bereton, sir William Bereton, sir Roger Bereton, sir Edward Warren, sir Brian Leiton, sir Robert Warfeleie, sir Thomas Talbot, sir Hugh Caluerleie, sir John Clerc, sir Richard Holland, sir Thomas Menables, sir John Constable, sir Edmund Trafford, sir John Aberton, sir Richard Cholmeleie, sir Philip Egerton, sir Hugh Willoughbie, sir Thomas Constable, sir William Woodhouse, sir Edmund Sanage, and sir Thomas Gerard.

On the fourtenth daie the Englishmen brake downe

with burnt.

The lord  
deaton.

Edinburgh  
burnt.

Donbar  
burnt.

The lord E.  
uers brought  
a power of  
horsemen  
from the bog  
derr.

Knights cre-  
ted at Litch  
by the earle of  
Hertford.

The end of  
the boiage.

Comes  
burnt in the  
same boiage.

downe the piers of the haven of Liff, and burnt everie sickle of it. This done, and having shipped their great artillerie, and taken forth all such Scottis ships as were meet to serve, appointing them to attend on their ships, they took upon them to returne home by land. Amongst other ships which the Englishmen had in Liff haven, there were two of notable fairenesse, the one called the Salamander, given by the French king at the marriage of his daughter into Scotland, the other called the Christome, made by the said Scottis king. The ballast of these two ships was cannon shot which they found in the rowne, to the number of foure score thousand. The rest of the Scottis ships being taken away together with their owne ships, which they brought with them, were for the moze part possessed with the spoile and booties of the said ships and their crewes. On the fifteenth of Aprill, their armie and their fleet departed from Liff both in one booke, the towne being set on fire and burned to the ground.

The English armie incamped that night at a place called Seaton, seven miles from Liff, where they burnt the castell, and destroyed the orchards and gardens with the moze despite, for that the lord Seaton owner of the place, was the chiefe laborer to helpe the lord cardinal out of prison. The same daie was Haddington burnt, with a great nurrie and house of friers there. The next night they incamped beside Dunbar, where they had an alarm given them, but in the morning they burnt the towne of Dunbar, and marched forth, though somewhat staid by the waite, by reason of the mist and fog, which was verie thicke, continuing all the forenoon, and because also they understood how the lords of Seton & Hume with the lord of Bouclough, and others, had assembled a power of men of warre, and were minded to impeach their passage at a streit named the Pease.

But after that the mist brake up, which was about two of the clocke in the afternone, the Englishmen came forthward, and passed the same streit without any resistance, for the Scottis lords perceiving that they were not of power sufficient to encounter with the Englishmen, minded not to put their people in their danger, but wiselie retired, suffering the Englishmen to passe at their pleasure, who that night lodged at Kanton, eight miles distant from our borders, where having overthowne a pile which stood there, they dislodged the next morrow, and the same daie being the eighteenth of Aprill, they entered into Berwick: so ending their voyage with great tole and gladnesse, not having lost past forty persons in all this tourne.

The names of the chiefe townes, castles, and places burned in this voyage, were these: the burrow and towne of Edinburgh, with the abbey called holicood house, and the kings palace adjoining to the same. The towne of Liff burnt, and the haven and piers destroyed, the castle and village of Cragmiller, the abbey of Helybottle, part of Hufkelburow towne, with the chappell of our ladie of Lauret, Preston towne and the castell, Seton castell, Haddington towne, with the friers and nurrie, a castell of Duner Sinclers, the towne of Dunbar, Lanrethton with the grange, Dilat, Wester crag, Cunderligh, the pile, and the towne, Broughton, Thesler fields, Crawnab, Wodiston, Stan house, the ficket, Beruerton, Cranent, Shenston, Parkle, Trappen, Kirkland hill, Hatherwike, Belton, east Barnes, Botoland, Butterden, Nickelwood, Blackeburne, Kanton, Bilde and the Tower, Kirkcubine, faint apnes, the quenes ferrie, part of Petin Maines, and the burnt island, were burned by the fleet on the sea. For during the continuance of the armie at Liff, the ships laie not idle, but scowling the river, burnt

diverse places, and left neither ship, craier, nor bote belonging to ante village, towne, crake, or haven, upon either side of the fowd, betwene Sterling, and the mouth of the river, unburned, or brought awaie, which space containeth fiftie miles in length. About the same time the earle of Lenox fled out of Scotland into the rebine of England, where he was right gladlie received by king Henrie, and shortly he obtained in marriage the ladie Marie Dologlas, neere to the king of England, and returned some after into Scotland by sea, accompanied with a good competent crewe of English. But finding no such friendship among his countrie men as he looked to have done, he was constrained to returne without attaining the enterprize which he had taken in hand, in hope of such assistance by his friends, as now failed him at need.

In the moneth of Aprill proclamation was made for the inhancing of gold to eight & forty shillings, & silver foure shillings the ounce. Also the lb. caused to be coined hafe monie, which was since that time called dovine, the first yeare of Edward the first, and called in the second of quene Elizabeth. In the same moneth also passed through the cite of London in warlike maner, to the number of seaven hundred Irishmen, having for their weapons, darts, and handguns, with bagpipes before them: and in faint James parke besides Westminster they mustered before the king. In June the letanie or procession was set forth in English, with commandement by the king to be generallie used in parish churches. About the same time that the armie before remembred, was set forward into Scotland under the guiding of the earle of Hertford, as before ye have heard, the king by advice of his counsell took order for the levieing of a nightie armie, to passe over into France, according to the appointment taken with his confederate, friend and colleague, the emperor, against the French king, at that present common aduersarie to them both, and not long before had entered in leagus with the Turks, as Ch. Oc. noteth:

*cum dirasadera Turcis  
Iunxerat, heu nimium res est indigna relatu,  
Christicolam facere hoc, qui religionis amanti  
Se proficiens, titulum pietatis vendidit orbi.*

There were appointed three battels, the forward under the leading of the duke of Norfolk, the battell under the guiding of the duke of Suffolke, which also was reckoned to be the kings battell, because his maiestie ment to be present with the same in person, and the reere-ward was led by the lord Russell lord priute seale. Those of the fore-ward were appareled in blew cotes garbed with red, and had caps and hosen after the same sute, partie blue and partie red, their caps made fit for their sculs, which were put in to the same. The battell in cotes, caps, and hosen, after the like fashon, but their colours were red and yello.

The duke of Norfolk and the lord priute seale, accompanied with diverse other noble men, as the earle of Surreie sonne to the said duke of Norfolk, marshall of the field, the earle of Arford, the lord Crete of Milton lieutenant of Hammes, whose name even then began to grow famous, the lord Ferrers of Charteleie, and sir Richard Deucreur his sonne and heire, that brought with them a great number of Welshmen, sir Thomas Cheint lord warden of the cinque ports, the lord Mountioie a forwardlie yong gentleman, well learned, and for his time perfect in all points and qualities fit for a noble man, sir Francis Bizian knight, one of the kings priute chamber, and no lesse affectioned to his service, than of him favoured and well esteemed, sir Thomas Poinings capitaine of Guilnes, and diverse others

See more hereof in Scotland.

Abr. Fl. ex l. Stow. 1029.

Hafe monie coined.

Irish in warlike manner passe through the cite.

Procession in English.

An armie levied to invade France.

Three battels appointed with their severall lieutenants.

The duke of Norfolk & the lord priute seale.

The lord Seaton brought a power of horsemen from the borders.

Kirkcubine created at Liff by the earle of Hertford.

Liff burnt.

Haddington burnt.

Dunbar burnt.

The end of the voyage.

Comes burnt in the same voyage.

The countie  
de Buren.

Monsieur  
de Biez.

The duke of  
Suffolke.

Bullongne  
besieged.

The king  
passeth the  
seas to Bul-  
longne.

others beside, no lesse woorthie to be remembered for their valure and merits, if time would permit to tel hearse them; passed over to Calis about Whitsun tide, and from thence marching forward to France, left Bullongne on their right hand, & keeping forth towards Puttrel, joined with an armie which the emperor had raised for that purpose, under the leading of the countie de Buren, admerall of the low countries, and so these armies being united in one, came before Puttrel, and there laid siege to that towne, being well manned and furnished with all things necessarie for defense, as well in vittels as munition. The chiefe captaine of which towne was monsieur de Biez, one of the marshalls of France, and gouverneur also in the absence of monsieur de Glandoune of Picardie, who being within Bullongne & hearing how the English armie was passed by, and drew towards Puttrel, he left Bullongne, and with all speed got him into Puttrel, not mistrusting anie thing of that policie which the king of England went about, which was, to send this armie to besiege Puttrel, to the end the Frenchmen might be kept occupied further off, while he with the residue of his power should come and besiege Bullongne, which towne standing most commodious for his purpose, he went by force to bring under his subiection.

Whereupon was the duke of Suffolke appointed with the kings armie to passe over, accompanied with the earle of Arundell marshall of the field, the lord saint John, and the bishop of Winchester, sir John Cope comptroller of the kings house, sir Anthony Browne maister of the kings horse, with diuerse other woorthie captaines, all which the nineteenth of Julie came before Bullongne, incamped on the east side of the said towne aloft upon the hill, and after for his more safetie removed into a vallie, where after manie sharpe skirmishes they first entered the base towne, being left and forsaken by the inhabitants, which hauing set fire on their fishing nets, and other such baggage, under couert of the smoke, got them vp into the high towne, before the Englishmen could espie them. After this, the old man, otherwise called *Le tour d'ordre*, standing without the towne for a direction to them that were to enter the hauen, and now being kept by sirène souldiers, was yielded by by them, upon presenting the canon before it.

The Frenchmen within the towne, being despoiled of those two places, yet spared not to shot off from their wallles and bulwokes, doing what damage they might deuise, and namelie from the castle and grène bulwoke they did much hurt to the Englishmen with their shot, whereof they made no spare, till at length they were forced to be quiet: for the Englishmen so applied them with such plentie of their shot, that the Frenchmen had no oportunitie to do them anie great hurt with their artillerie. The fourteenth of Julie, the king in person, accompanied with diuers of the nobilitie, passed the seas from Dover to Calis; and the six and twentieth of the same moneth incamped himselfe before Bullongne on the north side, within lesse than thre quarters of a mile of the towne, where he remained, till the towne was surrendered into his hands. The king being then in campe, it was a matter of ease to discerne which was he, for none of the rest came nere him in tallnesse by the head: as for his proportion of lims, it was answerable to his godlie stature and making: a memorabile description whereof, as also of his artificall armour, I find reported as followeth:

*Rex capite Henricum reliquos supereminet omnes,  
Heros præualidus sen fortia brachia pectus,  
Sensuras quas fuluo opifex incluserat auro,  
Sine virile ducis præstanti pectore corpus,  
Nulla vi domitum, nullo penetrabile ferro, &c.*

Beside the trenches which were cast, and brought in manner round about the towne, there was a mount raised upon the east side, and diuerse peeces of artillerie planted aloft on the same, the which together with the mosten peeces, was directed from within, & battered to the top the steeple of our ladies church. To conclude: the batterie was made in most forcible wise in those several places, and the wallles, towers, and castles were undermined; and the towne within so beaten with shot out of the campe, and from the mount and trench by the upper peeces, that there were verie few houses left whole therein. The towns thus standing in great distresse, there were two hundred Frenchmen and halpards, which entered under the couert of night, to enter the towne in couert of the night, which exploit they so warlike achieved, that by meanes of a priest that could speake the English tongue, they passed by the scouts, & through the watch, so as the most part of them were got vnder the trenches, yet it was knowne that they were: to the number of six score of them got into the towne, but the residue after they were once detected, being intercepted, were taken or slaine. Although this small succour somewhat relieved them within, and put them in some hope to defend the towne somewhat longer against the kings power: yet at length when a pece of the castell was blowen by, and the breaches made, as was thought reasonable, the assault was given by the lord admerall Dudley, that was comethither from the sea, which he had scouered after his returne from Scotland.

This assault was couragiously given, and to speake a truth, no lesse manfully defended: so that when the assailants had perceiued in what state the breaches stood, and what provision they within had made for defense of their towne, which undoubtedly was great (for nothing was by them omitted, that might either auantage the defendants, or annoy the assailants) those that were appointed in this sort to give the assault, were called backe, and so they retired, but not without losse on both sides, and namelie of them within. For during the time of the assault, the great artillerie did beat still upon them that presented themselves at the breaches to repell the assailants, and so diuerse of their valiant captaines and brave souldiers were slaine at this assault, & among other, captaine Philip Cose. Shortly after, the captaines within the towne, doubting to be easies assaulted, and perceluing themselves in extreme danger to lose the towne by force, if they prolonged not the sooner, by rendering it to saue themselves: they sent forth two of their chiefe captaines, monsieur Sembelmont, and monsieur de Hales, which declared vnto the king, that monsieur de Teruine gouverneur of the towne, with his retinue, was contented to deliuer the towne vnto his grace, with condition that they might passe with bag and baggage. Which request the king, like a noble and mercifull prince, freely granted: and so the next date, the duke of Suffolke rode into Bullongne, vnto whom in the kings name the keies of the towne were deliuered, & in the afternone departed out of Bullongne all the Frenchmen with heauie hearts, to the number of six thousand, as C. O. witnesseth, saing:

*Sex hinc exierant Gallorum millia gentis.*

The number of the men of warre that were strong and able to serue, were of horsemen sixte score, of footmen sixte hundred, thre score and thre; of the which number eight hundred were harquebutters, of hurt men fourescore and seuen, of women & children ninetene hundred and twentie seuen, beside a great number of aged & sicke persons, not able to depart with the others. The last person that came forth was monsieur de Teruine himselfe, who vpon

The king en-  
tereth into  
Bullongne.

The king re-  
turneth into  
England.

Bullongne  
assaulted.

The emperor  
concludeth a  
peace with the  
French king

Bullongne  
deliuered.

The number  
of them that  
were sent  
to Bullongne

The number  
of the men  
that were in  
the field

his approach to the place where the king stood, alighted from his horse, and came to the king, and after he had talked with him a space, the king took him by the hand, and he reuerentlie kneeling upon his knees, kissed his hand, and afterward mounted upon his horse, and so departed, following his companie.

The eight of September, the king hauing the sword borne before him by the lord marques Dorset, like a puissant conqueror rode into Bullongne, and the trumpeters standing on the walles, sounded their trumpets at the time of his entering, to the great comfort of the beholders. In the entering, there met him the duke of Suffolke, and deliuered to him the keies of the towne, and so he rode forth to his lodging that was prepared for him on the south side of the towne. Within two daies after, the king rode about the towne within the walles, and appointed that our ladie church of Bullongne should be taken downe, and in the place thereof a mount to be made, for the more strengthening of the towne. Finallye after he had set things in order for the safe keeping of this his towne of Bullongne, by his princely force thus wonne out of the possession of his aduersaries hands, he appointed the lord Lisle high admiral of the seas, to be his deputie of the same towne, and then determining not to stae there any longer, he took the seas, & returned into England, landing at Dover the first of October.

In this meane time, whilst the king of England laie (as ye haue heard) with his siege about Bullongne, and the duke of Suffolke, and lord priuie seale about Putterell, the emperor invaded France by Champeigne, winning diuerse castles and townes, as Comersis, Lignie, saint Desir, Chantreaux, Hyerie, and others. But at the length, meanes were made by treatie to haue the matter taken by, as in the end it was, and a peace concluded without consent of the king of England, although there was place left for him and other princes to enter into this agreement of peace. But the king of England hauing now defraied no small quantitie of treasure in these warres, beside the trauell of his owne person and his people, and hauing the thing now in a manner sure in his possession, which he chiefly went about to obtaine, that is to wit, the strong towne of Bullongne, he would not agree vnto any peace, except he might inioy that towne, at that instant redie to be deliuered into his hands. And euen now after it was to him deliuered, hearing that for certaine, the peace was concluded betwixt the emperor and the French king, he determined to breake by his camps: but neuertheless to keepe Bullongne in his possession, in despite of all his aduersaries. But here, before we proceed any further, we haue thought good somewhat to speake touching the siege which all this while continued afore Putterell, where the Englishmen and Burgonians inforced themselves by all waies and meanes they could deuise, how to confreine their enemies within the towne. On the other part, monsieur de Biez, and those that were with him in gard of the same towne, lest nothing vndone that might serue for their defense, and make to the annoiance of their enemies.

There were with monsieur de Biez within the towne, an hundred men at armes of the retinue of the constable of France, vnder the leading of the lord de la Guich an expert man of war. There were also with the lord of Genlie, foure enignes of French footmen. Count Berenger a Neapolitane with a thousand footmen Italians. Capteine Francisco de Chiaramont, a Neapolitane also, with the like number of Italian footmen. So that the towne might seeme sufficientlie furnished with men, and they wanted neither shot nor powder requisite, so that

there was no spare thereof when occasion serued on either part.

The duke of Suffolke and the lord priuie seale caused a mount to be raised, and aloft thereon were certaine peeces of artillerie planted to shot into the towne. Whereouer they compassed the walles so on each hand with their seuerall camps and trenches, that hardlie might any escape either in or out vnespied. Sir Francis Biazan was appointed with certaine bands, containing about the number of a thousand men, to lodge in a campe fortified by himselfe, ouer against one part of the towne, to stop certeine passages on that side, that no succors should enter by the same to the relæse of them within. There were skilfull men with the dailie betwixt them that sallied forth of the gates, and the Englishmen that watched and warred in the trenches, and other places, inso much that diuerse lost their liues, and some were irreconurable wounded, as *Anglorum praelia* witneseth, saing:

*Confossi sano moriuntur vulnere multis  
Disperso cerebro, faciei nulla figura.*

On a daie as sir Thomas Poinings soldours were warding in one of the trenches, an Italian secretly comming forth of the towne, fetched awaie the said sir Thomas Poinings his ensigne; and notwithstanding the pursute that was made after him, he escaped and got into the towne with it, to the great displeasure of the whole campe. But as the enemies sometimes went awaie with the aduantage of their attempted enterprises, so oftentimes againe they paid for their aduenturing ouer rashlie about the common price of the market.

But here I cannot but lament the negligence used in that season: for there is not one English writer to be found extant, that hath writtten any thing effectualle of the exploits atchieued in that toznie; so as we are dyuen to borrow of the aduersaries that haue writtten thereof, wanting other helps of our owne nation to furnish our booke herin according to our wished purpose. But neuertheless, to giue occasion to those that yet liue, and can best do it, to set forth hereafter a more perfect discourse thereof, I haue thought it not amisse to recite in part what I haue read and learned of such things as then were accounted worthy of relation, and now like to be buried in the dimme booke of oblivion, unless some fauourer of notable euent chancing in the assiegement of those two townes, Bullongne and Putterell, will put to his helping hand to report the same to posteritie.

Among other stratagems, one I remember, devised and put in practise by the lord Mountioie, as thus. The enemies had espied a place of aduantage without the towne, where vnder fauour of the shot of certaine peeces of great artillerie lodged upon some platforms or bulwarks within the towne, they might lie without the walles betwixt the Englishmens trenches and the towne ditches, and there couer themselves within a litle trench or counterscarpe made for the purpose, and out of the same be readie with their harquebusses to shot at the Englishmen, so some as any of them should once shew his head out of the trenches, to the great danger of them that warred in the same.

The lord Mountioie perceiuing this, deuised with himselfe how to rouse the enemies out of that lurking place, and withall came to the duke of Suffolke, and desired licence to put the deuise (which he had already forecass in his mind) in practise. But the duke being not willing that he should put himselfe in such danger, was loth to grant thereto, but rather perswaded with him not to attempt it: for (said he) my lord, ye may do the king better seruice than so to hazard your life, and cast your selfe awaie,

as

I mount raised.

Sir Francis Biazan.

Tiberio, that after serued the king of England.

Negligence of Englishmen for not putting their valiant doings in writing.

A stratagem of the lord Mountioie.

Bullongne assaulted.

Englishmen sent into England.

Emperors camp was with the French king.

Bullongne deliuered.

The number of them that went forth of Bullongne.

The number of them that were in Putterell.



A politike  
feat atchieued  
by the lord  
Mountioie.

The lord  
Mountioie a  
noble young  
gentleman.

The English  
archers gail  
the French  
hozsmen.

as it is beris like you should, in aduenturing vpon such a desperat peece of seruice, and therefore I would not wissh you to meddle therewith, for we shall otherwise prouide for the matter well enough. But the lord Mountioie still persisted in his sute berie earnestlie, declaring that he doubted not (by Gods helpe) but to atchiue his purpose to his god contentation without anie great danger, if that were executed which he toke to be necessarie for the accomplishment of his deuise: and that was to haue certeine peces of the great ordinance shot off that waie forth, at what time the wind shod meet to carrie the smoke full vpon the place where the Frenchmen laie. At length vpon his earnest sute, the duke gaue him licence to trie what he could do, commanding the great ordinance to be laid and charged ready to shot off as he should appoint it. Herewith the lord Mountioie taking with him fourtēne of his olde soldiors (of the which number one of them forsoke to go through with him when it came to the point) immediatlie vpon the shooting off of the artillerie, & that all the ground about was couered ouer with smoke, he came to the place where those Frenchmen laie under conert of their trench, and so displaced them, that they had no liking efflonies to lodge so nere vnto such vnfriendlie neighbors.

Manie other valiant and politike feats (no doubt) were atchiued during this siege, & happilie as worthie the rehearfall as this. But sith it was the inuention of so noble a yong gentleman, I haue esteemed it not impertinent to speake thereof, and withall to lament the losse of the inuentor, who being taken a waie hostlie after in his returne homewards, by vntimelie death, was like (if he had liued to greater yeers of exerpience) to haue proued comparable in valor to anie of his noble progenitors. But now to speake of other incidents that chanced whilest this siege remained before Sputtrell, you must understand that the most part of the vittels that was spent in the campe was brought to them either from the kings campe at Bullongne, or else from S. Omers, to conueie the same so far off, it was needfull to haue the carriage garded with good troops and bands both of hozsmen and footmen: for the French fortresses were stronglie furnished with great numbers of men of war, which vpon occasions were ready to take aduantages offered.

And as it fortuneth at one time among other, there was a conuoie of certeine wagons loden with vittels appointed to come from saint Omers, the same being garded with diuerse bands of Englishmen and Burgonions, sent thither for that purpose, the which marching forward from saint Omers, kept not so good order as had bene requisit: whereof certeine companies of French hozsmen that were abroad being auaire, set vpon the Burgonions that were attendant vpon the foremost carriages, and finding them in some disorder, easilie discomfited them, followed, and slue them in the chafe, till they came to the hindermost carriages, where sir hundred Englishmen that attended on the same, impaled themselves with their wagons, so as the Frenchmen could take no aduantage: but with shot of the English archers were so curried and galled that they were driuen to retire, and that in such hast, as they left diuerse of their companie captiues in the Englishmens hands beside those that were saire laid to take their last sleepe there on the ground. Heretofore, of the Burgonions there were saine foure hundred, and much good vittels lost, the bottoms of the hogtheads and other vessels being beaten out, and manie a good Flemish mare killed or taken. For the Frenchmen found small resistance (as before ye haue heard) till they approached to the Englishmen, by whose accusto-

med manhood, some part of the vittels of that conuoie was saued, to the releefe of the campe, which notwithstanding by losse of the residue suffered great want for the time.

Moreouer, somewhat towards the latter end of this siege, the earle of Surreie son vnto the duke of Suffolke and marshall of his field, accompanied with the lord warden of the cinque ports, and tursie other valiant capteins English & Burgonions marched forth into the countrie towards Abule, where they toke and burnt a proper towne called saint Requiers: and after comming to another towne called Aien, they found no bodie at home but women and children, for the men were departed out of it before their comming thither. When they had taken their pleasure in sacking all such goods as they found there fit to be carried a waie, they spared the towne from fire, and so departed. And thus after they had bene twos dales and two nights abroad in the countrie, they returned home to the campe with a great botie of beasts, sheepe, and other things which they had got in that vorage.

But now to conclude with this siege of Sputtrell, after the king had wone Bullongne, and understood how the emperour had agreed with his aduersarie the French king, he resolved to haue his armie to raise that siege which thus had lien before Sputtrell, and with all conuenient speed to draw toward Calis. And because it was signified that the Dolphin of France Henrie was comming forward with a great power, which had bene raised by his father the French king to resist the emperour, and now was sent vnder the conduct of the said Dolphin, to the succours of them that were besieged in Sputtrell, the king sent the earle of Arundell, sir John Coge, sir George Carew, sir John Keinsford, and others, with a chosen number of lustie soldiors vnto Sputtrell, to reinforce his armie there, that in leuieng the campe, and withdrawing backe, they might be the better able to withstand anie attempt which the enemies might put in execution to their annoyance. And beelie this was done with good aduise and necessarie consideration, for the Englishmen that had lien so long time at the siege before Sputtrell, wanting such behouefull refreshment as those were stored with that late before Bullongne, hauing the seas open, and all things at pleasure brought vnto them forth of England, were soze weakened and decayed by death and sicknesse, and now in raising their campe had manie things to loke vnto, as well for the conueieng of their ordinance, trusse, and baggage, as their feeble and diseased persons: so that if the Dolphin with his armie might haue made such speed forward as to haue overtaken them with his maine power before they had come to Bullongne, it was to be feared least he might haue put them in danger of a plaine distresse. But with such timelie foresight as was vsed the siege was raised, and the armie retired first to Bullongne, and after to Calis without losse, although the French hozsmen in great number followed, and sundrie times made proud proffers to giue the charge vpon the hindermost companies; but nothing was done to make great account of, except certeine skirmishes that were procured, and alarums giuen, as in such cases it fortuneth.

The Dolphin notwithstanding that the siege was thus raised from Sputtrell, yet he could come thither, yet he kept forward his iourneie, to prouue what he might do to recover Bullongne, which towne the king of England (as ye haue heard) had left in the keeping of the lord Lisle high admerall. The same towne being then weake, God knoweth, on all sides through batterte and minings, which by the kings power had been made, so bring it into his subiectors,

camado  
went to bafe  
Bullongne.

Saint Re-  
quiers burnt  
by the Eng-  
lishmen.  
Aien taken

In ouer-  
throw giuen  
to the French  
at bafe Bul-  
longne.

The siege of  
Sputtrell  
broken by

Montieur de  
Biez cometh  
before Bul-  
longne with  
an armie.

The Dol-  
phin cometh  
before Bul-  
longne with  
his great  
power.

The French  
men at bafe  
of the  
siege.

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and the trenches not cast downe, nor the ordinance mounted.  
The Dolphin being come befoze the towne, sent certene bands of his best soldiors by night to giue a camfado to the bafe towne. They that thus were sent, entred the same the ninth of October, about two of the clocke in the morning, where they toke the stand wat ches, and slue (beside a great number of sicke and weake persons) as well soldiors as other, befoze they could arate themselves, or well get out of their beds. But after, the Frenchmen and Italians fell to rising and breakeing bp of coffers, scattering here and there abroad, and began to fall to their bit tles, which they found there in good plentie. The Eng lishmen that were dyuen vp to the gates of the high towne, got weapons that were throwne downe vnto them forth of the same, & assembling togither, fierce ly entred in amongst the pzease of their enimies. And herewith there sallied forth of the high towne sir Thomas Poinings with a band of two hundred soldiors, the which togither with the other so besirred themselves, that they manfullie beat backe the eni mies, slue to the number of eight hundred of them, and chased the residue out of the towne, which fled ou er the sands vp to the hill, where the Dolphin him selfe stood with a great trope of horsemen about him, and durst not once come downe to the rescue of his people, for feare of the great artillerie that with plentie of bullets saluted the enimies, after that the lacke of the daie had once discovered them in sight. Amongst other that were slaine in this repulse of the Frenchmen, le seigneur de Froquesolles, another of the marshall de Viez his sons in law, and sene schall of Bullongne was one.  
Thus the Dolphin, perceiuing that it would no thing auail him to make anie further attempt a gainst Bullongne, passed forth toward Guilnes, & shortly after through want of vittels, and sicknesse which soze infested his campe, brake vp his armie, and returned into France: so that the proud enterprises of the vainglorious and most insolent French turned to their olone great shame, as C. O. tralle saith:  
*Sic Galli in magnam cesserunt dedecus ausu.*  
But shortly after Christmas came downe an ar mie of fourtene thousand, vnder the conduction of monsieur de Viez, the which the six and twentieth of Januarie incamped on the west side of Bullongne beyond the hauen, where they laie ten daies: but on the first of Februarie, the earle of Hertford, the lord admerall, as then lord lieutenant of the towne of Bullongne, the lord Greie of Wilton, sir Thomas Poinings & others, hauing assembled out of the ga risons on that side the seas, to the number of foure thousand footmen, & seuen hundred horsemen, whereof an hundred or foure score were Albanoises, issued forth of Bullongne about foure of the clocke in the morning, and comming to the place where the king had incamped during the time of the siege, they staid there, and put the mselves in order of battell: and a bout six of the clocke, it being then a low water, cap teine Edward Bezie, with three hundred shot, was appointed to passe ouer, and to giue the enimies an alarm in their campe.  
At which instant the trumpets sounded, and the drums stroke vp in the English armie, and here with they being diuided into three battels, and to ech one his gard of two hundred horsemen, beside the od hundred that attended as a defense to the residue, they shewed themselves to their enimies. The Frenchmen perceiuing this, packed aboate with all haste possible, marching toward Hardilo in two battels. Whereupon the English captains leauing their footmen behind them, and taking onclie with them the horsemen, followed with all speed after their

enimies, and comming to the bridge commonlie cal led pont de Bique, which certene English carpent ers garded with a number of harquebutters, and foure small field pieces, had forced and repaired the same that night: and so the horsemen finding it suf ficiently repaired, passed ouer, and comming to S. Estienne, they found there five hundred Dutch horse men, commonlie called Swart ritters, that were lodged there to keepe that passage: but being surpris ed on the sudden by the English horsemen, and sherpelie assailed, they were wholie distressed, and the most part of them taken prisoners, and there with left with the followers of the armie, were as ter slaine, because they knew not where to bestow them.  
But now the hill of saint Estienne being thus gained by the English horsemen, they put themselves in order of battell againe, appointing an hundred of their men at armes to follow and keepe aloofe as a stalle to relieue their fellowes in time of need, when they saw them in anie danger. The lords, to incou rage euerie one to do his dutie, rode bp and downe about the troops, & vsing manie comfortable words, desired them, that although they were but an hand full in comparison to the number of their enimies, they would yet in regard of the honour of the realme of England, make a proffer of an onset to the eni mies, that they might perceiue that there they were to giue them battell, and to follow, as they should see them their captains and gouernors to lead them the waie. Herewith forward they make towards the enimie, and overtaking them three miles on the hi ther side of Hardilo sands, they valiantlie gaue the charge, and thrusting in betwixt the two French bat tels, ouerthrew their carriages, toke their ordinance and munitions, slue and bare downe manie of them that pzeased forth to defend the same.  
Monsieur de Viez being in the fore ward, brought backe the strongest and best armed men he had to re sist his enimies, ranging them in order so, as he ment to haue inclosed the English horsemen betwixt his battels and the sea, and so to haue distressed them. But this purpose being espied first of all by the lord admerall, the Englishmen by his valiant incou ragement gaue a new charge, and breaking through their ranks by force, came backe againe vnto their hundred men of armes that kept aloofe, and there staid till their footmen might come to them, who by this time were aduanced within sight of them, but distant yet by the space of two English miles, or little lesse.  
Monsieur de Viez, perceiuing that the English footmen began thus to approach, made forward againe with his armie, so fast as was possible for his people to march, drawing still his armed men and best sol diors to the hinder most ranks, there to be readie to with stand the Englishmen, as they should offer to assaile them: and in this order the Frenchmen made away, and rested not till they came to Hardilo sands, being a place of such strength and aduantage, by rea son of the streit, that after they were once got thither, they might account themselves out of all danger, and therefore there they staid, and dispatched an he rald vnto the chieffes of the English armie, to sig nifie vnto them, that there they ment to abide and to giue them battell, if they would aduance forward to fight with them: but yet they would not in anie wise come forth of their strength vnto some euery ground, although they were earnestlie required therevnto. Whereupon the Englishmen, to light them a candle that they might see where they were, set all the villages & houses about on a light fire, con tinuing the same all that afternone, and most part of the night following, and the next morning betwixt

The comfort able words of the English captains.

The English horsemen charge the French bat tels.

The valiant order of monsieur de Viez.

The lord admerall his re die concerning the meaning of the enimies

Hardilo sands.

feure and fue of the clocke, they came backe againe vnto Bullongne with all their spoiles and prisoners.

Artillerie  
gained.

They toke in this encounter seuen peces of artillerie, two of brasse and fue of iron; also the peces of aduantage of the armour of monsieur de Wiez, beside apparell, plate, and furniture in great plentie, as well taken in the field, as also in their campe, where they left their tents standing, & all their provision of vittells wholie vntremoued. The same peces of armour were sent ouer into England to the king for a witnesse of the good successe that had thus happened to his people in this famous enterpryse, in the attacking wherof there were not past halfe a dozen Englishmen slaine, besides those that were hurt, which neither were manie, as vnder halfe a score at the most.

1545  
John Stow.

Whilost such things were in doing about Bullongne, and other places (as before ye haue heard in this twentieth and first yeare) the ships of the west countrie and other coasts of this realme waisted abroad on the seas, and toke to the number of three hundred & 80 French ships, so that the Graie friers church in London was laid full of wine, the Austine friers and Blache friers full of herring, and other fish that was taken, as the same should haue bene conueied into France. About the same season the king demanded a beneuolence of his subiects spirituall and temporall, towards the maintenance of the warres against the Frenchmen and Scots. ¶ On the twelfe of Januarie, the lord chancellour, the duke of Suffolke, and other of the kings counsell, began to sit at Wainards castell, where they first called before them the maior and aldermen, &c. And because Richard Head alderman would not agree to paie as they set him; he was commanded vpon paine to serue the king in his warres of Scotland, who departed from London the thre and twentieth of Januarie.

Great prizes  
of French  
goods taken  
by the west-  
erne ships.

Abr. Fl. ex  
I. S. pag. 1030.

Sir William  
Roch sent to  
the fleet.

Also sir William Roch alderman, for words of displeasure taken by the kings counsell, was by them sent to the fleet, where he remained till passion sundaie. On the six and twentieth of Januarie, there camped on the west side of Bullongne beyond the haven, an armie of French, to the number of eighty thouse, where they laie ten daies, and the first of Februarie were put to flight by the earle of Hertford, and sir John Droleie lord admerall, then deputie of Bullongne. On the thirtieth of Februarie, a priest was set on the pillorie in Cheape, and burnt in both cheekes with the letters F. and A. and a paper on his head, wherein was written, For false accusing: which iudgement was giuen by the lord chancellour in the Starre chamber, a notable example of iustice. Great cause haue I to witte the like to the like accuser, who neuer yet repented, but contrariwise sweareth and forswearth that he neuer did anie such act against his brother.]

Execution  
for false ac-  
cusation.

The discomfi-  
ture gotten by  
the Scots at  
Halidon rig.

In the beginning of March sir Rafe Cuers lord warden of the marches after manie fortunate rodes and forraies made into Scotland, assembled now about foure thousand men, & entering with the same into Scotland, was encountered at Halidon rig by the earle of Arraine and other Scottishmen, which so befet the Englishmen with three battels on ech side, that in the end they slue the said lord warden, with the lord Wgle, and a great number of other gentlemen and commons, beside prisoners, which they toke, so that few escaped the Scottishmens hands. Among other prisoners taken, Richard Head an alderman of London aforesaid was one. The death of sir Rafe Cuers was greatlie bemoaned: for he had shewed great proofe of his valiant prowesse at sundrie times before; namelie in this yeare past, as at the taking

The valiant  
sir Rafe Cuers  
slaine.

Head, alder-  
man of Lon-  
don prisoner.

and burning of the towne of Redwoth, which enterpryse was achieved the tenth of June, beside diuerse other exploits fortunatelie brought to passe by his high ballancie and manhood, till his hap was at this present to finish his daies: whose life though then it toke end, yet shall not his fame & good report (purchased by martiall courage, policie, and dangerous adventures) perishe or decaye; as the poet trulie saith:

*Parla labore volat et aethum bona fama per orbem,  
Hec veluti Phœbus non moritura manet.*

This yeare on saint Georges daie sir Thomas Wriotheslie lord chancellour of England was made knight of the garter. Also Trinitie terme was adourned by reason of the warres, but the eschequer and the court of the tenths were open, for those that were accomptable in either of the said courts. The thirteenth of June Robert Luken seruant to sir Humfric Brokone one of the iustices of the kings Bench, Anne Askew gentlewoman, otherwile called Anne Kine, wife to one Kine, a gentleman of Lincolnshire, and Jone Sauterere, wife to John Sauterere of London, were arreigned in the Guildhall of London, for speaking against the sacrament of the altar (as they tearmed it) contrarie to the statute of the six articles: but because no witnesse appeared against the women, nor against Luken, one onelie excepted, who was thought to accuse him rather of malice, than otherwise, they were by twelve honest substantiall men of the citie (sworne to passe vpon their indictments) clerelie acquitted and discharged.

The same daie also was a pewterer named Thomas Daie discharged, by the pardon granted in the last parlement, after he had remained in prison in Newgate the space of three yeares now past, condemned long before the date of the same pardon, for the article of surcular confession compised within the same statute. About the same time, to wit the seventh of June a great armie of Frenchmen came downe to Bullongne, and nere to the haven incamped themselves. In this armie were reckoned to be twelve thousand lanceknights, twelve thousand French footmen, six thousand Italians, foure thousand of legionarie soldours of France, & a thousand or twelve hundred men of armes, beside seven or eight hundred light horsemen. After some skirmishes not greatlie to their aduantage, they began yet to build a fort, which at length they accomplished, as after shall appeare. ¶ About the six & twentieth of June, was a great tempest in Derbyshe, where thorough trees were ouerturned, & diuerse churches, chapels, and houses were vncouered. Also in Lancashire, there fell hailstones as big as mens fists, which had diuerse prints in them, some like mens faces, some like gun holes, &c.]

The same moneth also the lord Lisle admerall of England with the English fleet entered the mouth of Saine, and came before Newhaven, where a great manie of the Frenchmen laie, to the number of a two hundred ships, and six and twentieth gallees, wherof the pope (as was reported) had sent twentieth well furnished with men and morie, to the aid of the French king. The Englishmen being not past an hundred and threescore saile, and all great ships, determined not to set vpon the Frenchmen where they laie: but yet approaching nere vnto them, shot off certeine peces of ordnance at them, and thereby caused the gallees to come abroad, which changed shot againe with the Englishmen. The gallees at the first had great aduantage, by reason of the great calme. Twise either part assaulted other with shot of their great artillerie, but suddenlie the wind rose so high, that the gallees could not indure the rage of the seas, and so the Englishmen for feare of flats were compelled to enter the maine seas, and so sailed vnto

Anno Domini  
1545  
Kuch. Gual.

June 13th  
and others  
requied and  
acquitted.

Thomas  
Daie pro-  
tector.

Martin de  
Bellair.

The new fort  
before Bul-  
logne.  
I. S. pag. 1031.

Hailstones  
figured like  
mens heads.

The English  
fleet commeth  
before New-  
haven.

The French  
fleet landed  
in the Ile of  
Wight.  
The French  
men land in  
Buller.

The Spani-  
shale down  
by negligen

Frenchmen  
killed in  
the Ile of  
Wight.

The mouth  
of the Fre  
nch.

Portsmouth where the king late, for he had knowledge by his espials that the Frenchmen intended to land in the Ile of Wight, wherefore he repaired to that coast, to see his realme defended.

After this, the eighteenth of Julie the admerall of France in misieur Daneballe holled by sailes, and with his whole nauie came forth into the seas, and arrived on the coast of Sussex before bright Hampton, and set certeine of his soldiors on land, to burne and spoile the countrie: but the beacons were fired, and the inhabitants thereabouts came downe so thicke, that the Frenchmen were driuen to flie with losse of diuerse of their numbers: so that they did little hurt there. Immediatlie hereupon they made to the point of the Ile of Wight, called saint Helens point, and there in good order upon their arrivall they cast anchors, and sent daillie firtene of their gallies to the verie haven of Portsmouth. The English nauie lying there in the same haven, made them readie, and set out toward the enimies, and still the one shot hotlie at the other: but the wind was so calme, that the kings ships could beare no saile, which greatlie grieved the minds of the Englishmen, and made the enimies more bold to approach with their gallies, and to assaile the ships with their shot even within the haven.

The twentieth of Julie, the whole nauie of the Englishmen made out, & purposed to set on the Frenchmen, but in setting forthward, thorough too much folie, one of the kings ships called the Marie Rose was drowned in the midst of the haven, by reason that she was overladen with ordinance, and had the ports left open, which were verie low, and the great artillerie unbraced; so that when the ship should turne, the water entered, and suddenlie she suncke. In hir was sir George Carew knight and foure hundred soldiors vnder his guiding. There escaped not past forty persons of all the whole number. On the morrow after about two thousand of the Frenchmen landed in the Ile of Wight, where one of their chiefe captaine named le cheualier Daur, a Breuencois was slaine with manie other, and the residue with losse and shame driuen backe againe to their gallies.

The king perceiving the great Armada of the Frenchmen to approach, caused the beacons to be fired, and by letters sent into Hamptonshire, Summersetshire, Willeshire, and into diuerse other countries adjoining, gaue knowledge to such as were appointed to be readie for that purpose, to come with all speed to encounter the enimies. Whereupon they repaired to his presence in great numbers well furnished with armor, weapon, bittels, and all other things necessaerie, so that the Ile was garnished, and all the frontiers alongest the coasts fortified with crading great multitudes of men. The French captaine hauing knowledge by certeine fishermen, whom they toke, that the king was present, & so huge a power readie to resist them, they disanchored and drew along the coast of Sussex, and a small number of them landed againe in Sussex, of whome few returned to their ships: for diuerse gentlemen of the countrie, as sir Nicholas Delham, and others, with such power as was raised, upon the sudden, toke them by the waite and quickelie distressed them.

When they had searched euerie where by the coast, and saw men still readie to receiue them with battell, they turned sterne, and so got them home againe without anye act atchieued worthy to be mentioned. The number of the Frenchmen was great, so that diuerse of them that were taken prisoners in the Ile of Wight, and in Sussex, did report that they were three score thousand. The French king advertised the emperor most vnturly by letters, that his armie

had gotten the Ile of Wight with the ports of Hampton, and Portsmouth, and diuerse other places. In August following, the earle of Hertford entered againe into Scotland with twelue thousand men, and destroyed all the townes in the middle marches, burned Coldingham abbey, and passed to the west marches, fore annoieng and indamaging the Scots, and yet neither they, nor the Frenchmen that were sent into Scotland this yeare to the aid of the Scots, vnder the leading of monsieur de Logges, Montgomerie his father, durst once come forth into the field to encounter with him.

Also in the beginning of this moneth the citie of London set forth a thousand soldiors of archers, harquebutters, pikes, and bills, which went to Dover, and so passed ouer into Calis, to serue the king in his wars on that side the seas. In the same moneth that valiant captaine sir Thomas Poinings knight, lord Poinings, and the kings lieutenant of his towne and marches of Bullogne departed this life, after he had to his great honor atchieued manie worthy enterprises in seruice of his prince against the enimies, so that his death was much lamented. A gentleman vndoubtedly deseruing to be had in perpetuall memorie: and pittie it is, that diuerse such valiant feats as he in his life time atchieued, were not committed to writing, to remaine for examples sake to posteritie.

Also in the same moneth at Gullford died the noble and valiant duke of Suffolke Charles Brandon lord great maister of the kings household, a right hardie gentleman, and yet not so hardie, as almost of all estates and degrees of men, high & low, rich and poore, hartlie beloued, & his death of them greatlie lamented: his bodie was honorablie buried at Windsor, at the kings costs. This man in his daies had done to the king and realme right agreeable seruices, as well in peace, as in wars, both in England, France, Scotland, and Ireland, he died the kings generall lieutenant of his armie then appointed to resist the Frenchmen, if they durst haue landed.

But now, whereas in this meane time we haue spoken nothing of the doings in Scotland, where the warre was still continued, the king of France sent thither certeine bands of Frenchmen, vnder the gouernement of monsieur de Logges, to aid the Scots against the Englishmen; and the king of England waged manie strangers, and sent them with certeine Englishmen to the borders, for defense of the same against the inuasions of the enimies: for after the arrivall of the Frenchmen, a great armie of Scots was raised, and approached nere to the borders, where for a certeine time they incamped, so that manie thought some notable enterprise would haue bene attempted. But after they had laine in campe a certeine time, they brake vp, and departed without attempting anye further exploit.

Shortlie after the earle of Hertford lying on the borders, as lieutenant of the north parts of England, calling to him an armie of twelue thousand men, or thereabouts, what of Englishmen and strangers, entred Scotland with the same, and burnt a great part of the pers, and Leithdale, as Kelsae abbey and the towne; Helroffe abbey & Dalborne abbey, also Jedworth abbey, and diuerse other places, townes, and villages, to the number of fise score. Kelsae abbey was defended a while by three hundred Scots, but in the end the most part of them were slaine, & taken by the strangers and others that gaue the assault. Thus the earle of Hertford fore indamaged the Scots by this inuasion, and yet neither they, nor the Frenchmen their assistants, durst come forth into the field once to encounter with him.

On the sixteenth of September a number of  
25 b b b. l. f. Scots

The earle of Hertford fought the middle marches of Scotland.

The Londoners set forth a power into France.

The death of the valiant lord Poinings.

The death of the duke of Suffolke.

His last commendation.

Monsieur de Logges sent into Scotland with certeine French bands.

The earle of Hertford invaded Scotland.

The Frenchmen landed in the Ile of Wight.

Anno Reg. 37. Rich. Greaves.

Three ships and others were acquired.

Thomas Daneballe.

Martin de Bellais.

The new fort before Bullogne. L. S. pag. 103.

Dailliesons figured like mens heads.

The English lost comittie before Newjauc.

Frenchmen.

Overthrowes  
on both sides,  
between the  
English and  
Scots.

Scots and Frenchmen attempted to enter into England on the east borders. But the Englishmen perceiving them about to passe by a certeine streit, set upon them, and slue and toke of them to the number of seven score. Among the prisoners that were taken, the lord of Humes sonne, and a French capteine were accompted chiefest. Also in another rode made into the west borders, the lord Marwels sonne, and diuerse others were taken. But at an other time about the same season also, certeine Englishmen to the number of five hundred, making their entrie by the west borders into Scotland, were discomfited by the Scots, and the more part of them either taken or slaine. Thus were they occupied as well on the borders betwixt England and Scotland, in this season, as also in the marches of Calis, Guisnes, and Bullognois, where the garrisons lying in those places, made continuall rodes & forraies into the marches of the enemies cuntry, and oftentimes chanced to encounter with some of their troops.

The capteine of Ard, monsieur de Dampierre, having got for a supplie from the French campe at Bullogne, the companie of the men of armes that belonged to the duke of Orleans, led by his lieutenant monsieur de Cauannes, chanced on a daie to encounter with the Englishmen guided by that valiant baron the lord Greie of Wilton, capteine of the towne of Guisnes, who being accompanied with a number of valiant gentlemen & soldiers, distressed their enemies, & slue the capteine of Ard the foresaid lord de Dampierre there in field. Diuerse other skirmishes and encounters chanced in that summer, on the further side the seas. And moreover, now after that the French naue was withdrawen (as ye haue heard) from the coasts about Portsmouth, that martiall chiefeine, sir John Dudley, lord Aisle, and high admerall of England, having all his ships, men, munition, & furniture readie, set forward from Portsmouth haven, to haue fought with the Frenchmen, if they had still kept the seas, but they were withdrawn home into harborough.

Whereupon the lord admerall meaning to reuenge their brauados, and presumptuous attempts made at Portsmouth, and in the Ile of Wight, approached to the coasts of Normandie, and landed with sir thousand men at Treport, burnt the suburbs of that towne, with the abbeye, and certeine villages and houses thereabouts. Also they destroyed thirtie ships, and a barke there found in the haven: and after they had wrought their pleasures, they returned to the sea, and so home, not having lost past fourtēne persons in the execution of this whole enterpryse. Of this great spoile & overthrow giuen at Treport, by the kings admerall, I find these verses remembred:

Treporte oppidum Gallie maritimum & Iohanne Dudleya prefecto regie classis divisum & flammis absumitur.

Treportem passibus equis  
Ordine seruato (qui mos est militis) intrant:  
Quibus ut quisque est, in stricto sternitur ens,  
At alius volucris traiectus membra sagitta,  
Occidit exanguis, fœdatque cruore plateas.  
Dum reclusa alius vult prospectare fenestra,  
Nec conferre pedem, nec apertis prælia Martis  
Commiscere audet, glandis transigitur ictu.  
Omne genus telorum ad cadem immittitur aram.

In this meane while monsieur de Biez, being incamped nere to Bullogne with such a puissant armie (as before you haue heard) busied about the building of a fort, there was not such diligence used therein, as was promised on his part in accomplishing the same, to the French kings great displeasure (as some write) who had meant with that armie (if this fort had bene finished at the appointed time) to haue gone to besiege the towne and castell of Guisnes: but now the time being prolonged, and not without some suspicion least monsieur de Biez cared not how

long the warres indured in that sort, so as he might command ouer so manie princes and great lords as were there under his gouernance, at length before the fort were fullie finished, he remoued to mount Lambert with the more part of the armie, pretending as though he meant to fight with the Englishmen, the which (as he said) he understood were purposed to come with a conuoy of vittells from Calis to Bullogne.

Whilest he there remained, manie princes and great lords came from the court, that late at an abbey called forest Pontier, eleuen leagues from Bullogne beyond Sputtrell, on the waie towards Abuille, in hope that battell should haue followed betwixt the English and French armies. Among other that came thither are these remembred as principall, monsieur Dangouen, monsieur Daumalle, monsieur le duc de Peuers, monsieur le conte de Launall, and monsieur de la Trimoille. Monsieur Daumalle eldest sonne to the duke of Guise, being lodged in the bantgard that was gouerned by monsieur de Bissac, chanced on a daie to be present at a skirmish, where shewing himselfe verie forward, he was stricken through the sight of his helmet, with a light horsemans staffe, that pearcing in betwixt his nose and his eie, entred halfe a foot into his head, as monsieur de Langeie writeth, and breaking off a two fingers beneath the iron, the same iron remained still within his head: but yet escaping out of the English mens hands, he came backe to the campe, had the truncheon and iron pulled out of his head, and being dressed was conueied in a litter to Piquignie, where he laie for two or thre daies in such danger, that no man looked that he should haue escaped with life.

There were manie of these skirmishes, wherein the Englishmen bare themselves so valiantlie, that the Frenchmen went awaie oftentimes with losse of manie of their noble men and best soldiers. At one time they lost the lord Menaintuille brother to the lord de Lislebonne, being slaine with stroke of lance and pike. At another time they lost likewise a yong lord of Picardie called le seigneur de Fretote. At length, after their new fort or bastillon was brought in some strength, they furnished it in most defensible wise with men, munition and vittells, naming it Monpleastre. Herewith monsieur de Biez departing from mount Lambert with part of the armie, came downe towards Calis, and entring into the English pale beside Grauelin, wan certeine bulwarks, and incontring diuerse new bands of Welchmen and others, latelie before sent ouer, distressed them, and after burnt certeine villages, forraied the cuntry almost to Sparke, and afterwards in great haile with their bowtie and pillage they turned. This enterpryse was exploited by the French men about the thirteenth daie in September.

There were with monsieur de Biez at this enterpryse the lord of Bissac, who gouerned the bantgard, and had with him his owne companie of men of armes, and the light horsemen of whome he had the generall conduct. There was also the companie of men at armes that belonged to the constable of France, led by the lord Gulch, & fiftie men of armes vnder the gouernance of the lord of Belleie, the companie also of the lord of Boisse, the companie of the lord Escars, and that of the lord de la Roch du Maine, & others. There was also monsieur de Laues generall of the French footmen, and manie yong princes and lords of high estate, as monsieur Francis de Bourbon, duc Danguen, Francis de Lorraine, duke Daumalle latelie recovered of his hurt, the duke of Peuers, and the earle de Launall that in this voiage was hurt with an harquebus shot in the armie.

Martin de Belleie, lieutenant of Langeie in his memoirs.

Monsieur de Biez forsook the English pale about Calis.

The kings thanks to his commons.

The kings promises for the well disposing of chuntries and villages.

beg the of the in the in the

P u t a t e

The



Dom. 1545.

An. Reg. 37.

The parlement.  
of Henrie the eighth.

The thre and twentieth of Nouember, a parlement began at Westminster, in the which was granted to the king a subsidie of the spiritualtie of six shillings the pound, to be paid in two yeares next ensuing: and of the temporaltie two shillings and eight pence of the pound in goods, and foure shillings of the pound in lands, to be paid likewise within two yeares. Also in this parlement all colleges, chanteries, and hospitals were committed to the king, to order, by altering or transposing the same as to him should seeme expedient, which at the prorogation of the same parlement he promised should be done to the glorie of God, and the common profit of the realme. The foure and twentieth of December, the said parlement was proroged, on which daie the king coming into the house, to giue his rofall assent vnto such acts as were passed, the speaker made vnto him an eloquent oration, to the which although the custome hath euer bene that the lord chancellor should make answer, it pleased the king at that present to make the answer himselfe, which he vttered as here ensueth.

### The kings oration in the parlement house.



Although my chancellor, for the time being, hath before this time vsed verie eloquentlie and substantiallie, to make answer to such orations as hath bene set forth in this high court of parlement; yet is he not so able to open and set forth my mind and meaning, and the secrets of my heart, in so plaine and ample manner, as I my selfe am and can doe. Wherefore I taking vpon me to answer your eloquent oration master speaker, saie, that where you in the name of our welbeloued commons, haue both praised and extolled me, for the notable qualittes that you haue conceiued to be in me: I most hartlie thanke you all, that you haue put me in remembrance of my dutie, which is to indenour my selfe to obtaine and get such excellent qualittes, and necessarie vertues, as a prince or gouernour should or ought to haue, of which gifts I recognise my selfe both bare and barren, but of such small qualittes as God hath indueed me withall. I render to his goodnesse my most humble thanks, intending with all my wit and diligence to get and acquire to me such notable vertues and princelie qualittes, as you haue alledged to be incorporated in my person. These thanks for your louing admonition and good counsell first remembred, I esteemes thanke you. Again, because that you considering our great charge, not for our pleasure, but for your defense, not for our gaine, but to our great cost, which we haue lately sustained, aswell in defense of our and your enemies, as for the conquest of that fortreffe, which was to this realme most displeasing and noisome, and shalbe (by Gods grace) hereafter to our nation most profitable and pleasant, haue frælie of your owne minds granted to vs a certeine subsidie, here in an act specified, which verelie we take in good part, regarding more your kindnesse, than the profit thereof, as he that setteth more by your louing harts than by your substance. Beside this hartie kindnesse, I cannot a little reioice, when I consider the perfect trust and confidence, which you haue put in me, as men hauing vndoubted hope and vniuersed beleefe in my good doings and iust proceedings for you, without my desire or request, haue committed to mine order and disposition all chanteries, colleges, hospitals, and other places specified in a certeine act, firmly trusting that I will order them to the glorie of God, and the profit of the common wealth. Surelie if I (contrarie to your expectation) should suffer the

ministers of the church to decaie, or learning (which is so great a iewel) to be diminished, or worse and miserable to be vntelued, you might saie that I being put in so speciall a trust, as I am in this case, were no trustie friend to you, nor charitable to mine euen christian, neither a louer to the public wealth, nor yet one that feared God, to whome account must be rendered of all our doings. Doubt not I praie you, but your expectation shall be serued, more godlie and goodlie than you will wish or desire, as hereafter you shall plainlie perceiue.

Now sith I find such kindnesse on your part towards me, I cannot chuse but loue and fauour you, affirming that no prince in the world more fauoreth his subiects than I doe you; nor no subiects or commons more loued and obeyed their soueraigne lord, than I perceiue you doe me, for whose defense my treasure shall not be hidden, nor if necessitie require, my person shall not be vndauentured. Yet although I wish you, and you wish me, to be in this perfect loue and concord, this frændlie amitie cannot continue, except both you my lords temporal, and my lords spiritual, and you my louing subiects, sturdie and take paine to amende one thing, which surelie is amisse, and farre out of order, to the which I most hartlie require you: which is, that charitie and concord is not among you, but discord and dissention beareth rule in euerie place. Saint Paule saith to the Corinthians, and the thirtenth chapter: Charitie is gentle, charitie is not enuious, charitie is not proud, and so forth in the said chapter. Behold then what loue and charitie is among you, when the one calleth an other heretike and anabaptist, and he calleth him againe papist, hypocrite, and sharpe. Are these signes of fraternall loue betwene you? No, no, I assure you that this lacke of charitie amongst your selues will be the hinderance and allwaging of the seruer betwene vs, as I said before, except this two. First, be salued, and cleerlie made whole. I must needs iudge the fault and occasion of this discord to be partly by negligence of you the fathers and preachers of the spiritualtie: for if I know a man which lieth in adulterie, I must iudge him a lecherous and a carnall person: if I see a man boast and brag himselfe, I cannot but deeme him a proud man. I see here daile that you of the cleargie preach one against another, teach one contrarie to another, inueigh one against an other without charitie or discretion: some be too stiff in their old *Mumpimus*, other be too buisie and curious in their new *Sumpimus*: thus all men almost be in varietie and discord, and few or none preacheth trulie and sincerelie the word of God, according as they ought to doe. Shall I iudge you charitable persons doing this? No, no, I cannot so doe. Alas, how can the poore soules liue in concord, when you preachers sow amongst them in your sermons debate and discord? If you they looke for light, and you bring them to darkenesse. Amend these crimes I exhort you, and set forth Gods word, both by true preaching and good example giuing: or else I, whome God hath appointed his vicar and high minister here, will see these diuisions extinct, and these enomittes corrected according to my verie dutie, or else I am an vnprofitable seruant, and an vntrue officer. Although I saie the spiritual men be in some fault, that charitie is not kept amongst you; yet you of the temporaltie be not cleare and vnspotted of malice and enuie: for you raile on bishops, speake slanderouslie of preests, and rebuke and taunt preachers, both contrarie to god order and christian fraternitie. If you know surelie that a bishop or preacher erreth, or teacheth peruerse doctrine, come and declare it to some of our counsell, or to vs, to whome is committed by God the

Charitie and concord in commonwealths be things most necessarie: but in matters of religion, charitie and concord is not enough, without veritie and true doctrine of God.

Martin de Bellare, seigneur de Langeac, in his memoirs.

Monsieur de Bellare, seigneur de Langeac, in his memoirs.

Martin de Bellare.

Things which to his commons.

Things which to his commons.

high authoritie to reforme and order such causes and  
behaviors, and be not iudges your selues, of your  
owne fantastickall opintions and vaine expostions,  
for in such high causes you may lightlie erre. And al-  
though you be permitted to read holie scriptures,  
and to haue the word of God in your mother tong,  
you must vnderstand, that it is licenced you so to do,  
onlie to informe your owne consciences, and to in-  
struct your children and familie, and not to dispute,  
and make scripture a railing and a taunting stocke  
against priests and preachers, as manie light per-  
sons doe. I am verie soie to know and heare, how  
virecurrentlie that most pretious iewel the word of  
God is disputed, rined, song, and tangled in euerie  
alehouse and tauerne, contrarie to the true meaning  
and doctrine of the same: and yet I am euen as much  
soie, that the readers of the same follow it in doing  
so faintlie and coldlie. For of this I am sure, that  
charitie was neuer so faint amongst you, and ver-  
tuous and godlie living was neuer lesse vsed, nor  
God himselfe amongst christians was neuer lesse re-  
uerenced, honored, or serued. Therefore (as I said be-  
fore) be in charitie one with an other, like brother and  
brother: loue, or ead, and serue God, to the which I as  
your supream head and souereigne lord exhort and  
require you, and then I doubt not, but that loue and  
league that I spake of in the beginning, shall neuer  
be dissolued or broken betwene vs. And to the ma-  
king of laws which we haue now made and conclu-  
ded, I exhort you the makers to be as diligent in  
putting them in execution, as you were in making  
a furthering of the same: or else your labour shall be  
in vaine, & your common-wealth nothing releued.  
Now to your petition, concerning our roiall assent  
to be given to such acts as haue passed both houses,  
they shall be read openlie that ye may heare them.

Then were they openlie read, and to manie his  
grace assented, and diuerse he assented not vnto.  
Thus the kings oration was to his subiects there pre-  
sent such comfort, that the like soie could not be vnto  
them in this world. And thus the acts read (as the  
manner is) and his assent giuen, his grace rose and  
departed. Manie proper seats of armes were ex-  
ploited and done in this meane while, betwixt the  
parties English and French about Bullongne. On  
the morrow after the feast of the Epiphanie, there  
came a conuioe of vittels towards the French fort,  
garded with three or foure thousand lancequenets;  
vnder their coronell the Keingraue and certeine  
French horsemen. The earle of Surreie then lieu-  
tenant of Bullongne aduertised thereof, made out  
with such powder as he might conuenientlie spare of  
them within Bullongne and the Old man, to cut off  
those vittels: but comming to encounter with the  
enimies at saint Eustiens, he was put to flight: sir  
Edward Poynings capteine of a band called the  
kings gard of Bullongne was slaine in that conflict  
with fiftene or sixtene other capteins, beside offi-  
cers and common soldiers. About the same time the  
Frenchmen made a volage vnto the Isle of Wasill,  
with a ship called the barke Ager, which they had ta-  
ken from the Englishmen before: and in their wate  
they met with a little craier, of the which one Col-  
ding was master, a proper man and an hardie. The  
barke perceiuing the craier to be an Englishman,  
shot at hir and botoged hir. Whereupon straitwaies  
the craier drev to the great barke, and sir or seauen  
of the Englishmen leapt into hir. In the meane time  
while the Frenchmen, without regard of perill to-  
wards themselves, looked ouer hatches to behold  
how the craier sunke there at hand before them, not  
mistrusting anie thing that the Englishmen might  
do against them, it fortuned that those Englishmen

which got by into the barke, found in the end thereof  
a great number of lime pots, which they with water  
quenched, or rather (as the nature thereof is) set them  
on fire, and threw them so thickly at the Frenchmen  
which were there aboard, that they blinded them, in  
such wise as those few Englishmen that entered the  
ship banquished the Frenchmen, and driuing them  
vnder hatches, shut the same, and brought the barke  
a waie with them home into England. In the latter  
end of March the bothell houses called the Stues on  
the banke side in Southwoike were conuerted from  
such filthy vices by the kings commandment, the  
balwds and ruffians being put out, and other persons  
of honest behauior placed in their rooms to inhabit  
in the same houses. This was done by proclamation  
and sound of trumpet by an herald of armes.

On the seuen and twentieth of Aprill being tues-  
daie in Easter weeke William Forleie pot-maker  
for the mint of the Towler of London fell all aspe-  
and so continued sleeping, and could not be wakened  
with picking, cramping, or otherwise burning what-  
soener, till the first daie of the next terme, which was  
full fourtene daies, and as manie nights or more,  
for that Easter terme beginneth not before seauen-  
tene daies after Easter. The cause of his thus sleep-  
ing could not be knowen, though it were diligentlie  
searched for by the kings physicians and other lear-  
ned men, yea the king himselfe examining the said  
William Forleie, who was in all points found at  
his waking to be but as if he had slept but one night:  
he was liuing in the Towler of London in the yere  
of our Lord God 1579.]

This yere by meanes made by the emperors com-  
missioners were appointed to meet & treat of some  
accord betwene the realmes of England & France,  
so that the king of England sent ouer to Calises,  
Cutbert Tunstall bishop of Duresme, sir William  
Paget his secretarie, and doctor Tregonell: and the  
French king sent to Ard a bishop, the chiefe president  
of Rouen, and a notarie, but no conclusion followed  
of their trauell. Whereupon the king of England  
hauing perfect knowledge how the Frenchmen in-  
tended to build a fortreffe at saint Johns rode be-  
twene Bullongne and Calis, to the great annoy-  
ance of both those places, if they might haue compas-  
sed their purpose, he meant to prevent that deuise of  
his aduersaries, sending ouer the earle of Hertford  
and the lord Lisle high admerall of England, with  
manie balliant capteins, which got the rode but two  
daies before the Frenchmen had appointed to be  
there. But when they vnderstood that the English-  
men had so prevented them, they staied about Harb-  
low, where monsieur de Bie; their generall gaue  
order to incampe, and durst not once come forward  
to assaie the English forces: so that without anie  
impeachment by land, the Englishmen built certeine  
fortresses, to wit, two at the same place of saint  
Johns rode, otherwise called Hamble Thew, and  
an other about a two miles from thence at a place  
called Blacke Hesse. There was in the earle of  
Hertfords campe beside Englishmen diuerse Fran-  
gers, Almains, Spaniards and Italians. And be-  
cause it is not much impertinent to the matter, we  
haue thought good here to set downe the whole num-  
ber of all the kings forces at that present in his paie  
that were there vnder the said earle of Hertford: the  
kings generall lieutenant. First the earle had two  
hundred, the lord William Sturton three hundred,  
the lord John Creie brother to the marques Dorset  
two hundred, the lord Baie one hundred, sir Tho-  
mas Seimer knight marshall of the host one hun-  
dred, sir Henrie Baneuet capteine of the horsemen  
one hundred, sir John Harrington treasurer of the  
armie one hundred, sir Thomas Wat master of the  
ord.

The Shire  
supplies.

Ab. Fil. ex. 15.  
William For-  
leie slept more  
than four-  
tene daies,  
and as manie  
nights with-  
out waking.

Anno Reg. 34.

3 fr  
galle

3 mu  
the C  
campe

Hamble  
Thew fort-  
ed by the En-  
glishmen.

3 fr  
mch.

1546

The Kein-  
grau.

The English  
men put to  
flight.

The barke  
Ager an En-  
glish ship re-  
couered.

The Shutes  
supplied.Ab. Fl. ex 15.  
William Fox  
leic slept more  
than four-  
tene daies,  
and as many  
nights with-  
out sleeping.

Anno Reg. 38.

3 french  
ships taken,3 names in  
the English  
ships.Humble  
Thefo forth  
ed by the En-  
glishmen.

ordinance one hundred, sir Spauris Barkleie three hundred, sir Thomas Wolcroft two hundred, sir Walter Dennis two hundred, sir George Blewet two hundred, sir Richard Cranesfield two hundred, sir George Cornwell two hundred, sir John Luttrell one hundred, sir Edmund Huslie one hundred, George Holmwood two hundred, capteine Brough-ton two hundred, capteine Palmer two hundred, capteine Chancie two hundred, capteine Windam two hundred, capteine Stukeleie one hundred, capteine Blewet one hundred, capteine Sidnam one hundred, capteine Bret one hundred, capteine Dier one hundred, capteine Evans one hundred, Spaniards fifteen hundred, Italians two hundred, Cle-ners three hundred, lancequenets under the govern-ment of their coronell Conrade Henning, common-ly called Courtpernie, three thousand. The summe of all the soldiors in Bullongne & Bullongnois were 97000. Here you must note, that whilst the Eng-lish armie laie thus in the field till the foyts of Ham-ble Thew and Blacke Pesse were in building, the French gallies were on the seas, and now and then came and approached nere to the shore, where the Eng-lish armie laie in campe, at the which they shot off their ordinance: and the Englishmen answered them againe with the like. They came also before Calke, and shot off at the towne. But the lord ad-merall being there, made out to encounter them, notwithstanding they did first much hurt, and toke awaie diuerse of the English vessels laden with bittels.

The eighteenth daie of Maie there were foure of the kings ships, and foure pinases abroad on the seas afoze the haue of Hamble Thew, and there came eightene of the French gallies to set vpon them, and so there was great shooting betwene them: and at length one of their gallies was taken, in the which were abowd fourtene score soldiors and seauen score rowlers: the rest of their gallies packed awaie. Moreover, whilst the campe laie thus at Hamble Thew, it chanced that on a daie a mutinie rose among the lancequenets against their capteine, so that they got themselves into order of battell, seized vpon the great artillerie, and shewed countenance as if they would haue set vpon the residue of the whole campe. Herevpon euerie soldior was com-manded to repaire to his ensigne, and the Spaniards came and joined with the Englishmen, readie to take such part as they did. At length by the diligence of the chieftaines, and good countenance of the Eng-lish soldiors and Spaniards the tumult was staied, and six of the principall beginners were hanged.

The one and twentieth of Maie the French armie came and incamped beyond Bullongne at the church on the hill: and the morrow after the earle of Hert-ford marched with his power to a place within two miles of them, and certeine footmen and horsemen went forth and skirmished with them; and in the meane time the artillerie ceased not to shoot off, as well from the French campe and fortresse as from Bullongne and the Old man. This daie were slaine fourtene Frenchmen and two taken prisoners; and three of the English part were likewise taken, and so the earle of Hertford returned to his campe, and left the lancequenets vpon the hill, incamped before the enemies faces, not two miles distant from them, in which place a fort was begun to be raised, which was after called the fort of Bullongne Berg. The next daie, to wit, the three and twentieth of Maie the soldiors of Bullongne and the lancequenets skirmi-shed with the Frenchmen, slue and toke of them se-uen score and aboue, of the which there were fortie that were in cotes of beluet, and diuerse also with chaines,

Here you must vnderstand, that now in this meane while by the motion of diuerse princes, a mee-ting was had of sundrie commissioners, appointed to treat of some peace, to be concluded betwixt the two kings of England and France. Herevpon there came to Guisnes for the king of England the earle of Hertford, the bishop of Winchester, sir John Dupleie viscount Lille baron of Gaupas, and high admerall of England, sir William Paget the kings secretarie, and doctor Nicholas Wotton deane of Canturburie. For the French king there came to Ard monsieur Claude Danebanlt admerall of France, being also one of the foure marshals of that realme, the bishop of Curcur, monsieur Keimund chiefe president of Rome, the secretarie Bouchetell. Diuerse times they met betwixt Ard and Guisnes, and after long debating of matters, and diuerse breakings off: yet at length the seauenth of Iune a peace was concluded, and proclaimed as well in the court as in the citie of London on Whitfundaie the thirteenth of Iune, with sound of trumpet, accord-ing to the manner: and in like sort the same daie it was proclaimed at Paris and at Rome. The chieftest article of which peace was this, that the French king paieing to the king of England 800000 crownes within the terme of eight peares, should haue Bul-longne againe to him restored, which in the meane time should remaine in the hands and possession of the king of England, as a pledge and gage for assu-rance of the said moneie.

On the seuen & twentieth of Iune doctor Crome recanted at Paules crosse: which recantation was bzged vpon this occasion. When the chanteries & col-leges were given by act of parlement into the kings hands (as is aboue remembred) which was about the moneth of December 1545, the next lent following doctor Crome preaching in the mercers chappell, among other reasons and persuations, to rouse the peo-ple from the baine opinion of purgatorie, inferred this, grounding vpon the said act of parlement: that if trentals and chanterie masses could auail the soules in purgatorie, then did the parlement not well in giuing awaie monasteries, colleges, & chan-teries, which serued principallie to that purpose. But if the parlement did well (as no man could denie) in dissolving them & bestowing the same vpon the king, then is it a plaine case, that such chanteries and pri-uat masses do nothing conferre to releue them in purgatorie. This Dilemma of doctor Crome, no doubt, was insoluble: but notwithstanding the charitable prelates (for all the kings late exhortation vnto chari-tie) were so charitable to him that they brought him *Coram nobis*, and so handled him that they made him recant his words. ¶ On the sixteenth of Iune were letters patents deliuered to sir Thomas Cheinie treasurer of the kings household, and lord warden of the cinque ports, whereby he was authorized to be the kings agent in chassening the Dolphins daughter of France named Elizabeth. A true copie of which let-ters patents is here recorded, because the said adion hath bene ignozantlie transferred from the said sir Thomas Cheinie to sir Henrie Inuenc: as appeareth in Holinsheds chronicle published 1577, pag. 1608.

A true copie of the kings letters  
patents to sir Thomas Cheinie.

**H**enicus octauus Dei gratia Anglia,  
Francia, & Hibernia rex, fidei defen-  
sor, & in terra ecclesie Anglicane &  
Hibernie supremum caput. Pradile-  
cto & fideli consiliario nostro Thome Cheinie sa-  
cri ordinis nostri garterij militi, domino gardiano  
quingue

A peace con-  
cluded and  
proclaimed.I. Stow, pag.  
1033.John Fox in  
Acts & Apo-  
stoments.D. Crome re-  
canteth at  
Paules  
crosse.Ab. Fl. ex  
manuscripto ab  
Henr. Tenant  
radiao.

quinque portuum, & hospitij nostri thesaurario salutem. Cum illustrissima princeps ac consanguinea nostra charissima domina Katharina illustrissimi principis consanguinei & filij nostri charissimi Henrici Francie Delphini christianissimi principis Francisci Francorum regis fratris, amici & confederati nostri perpetui, filij primogeniti coniunx preclarissima, nuper (diuina cooperante clementia) prolem feminam enixa sit: nos summo-  
perè cupientes pacis, amicitie, & unionis vinculum inter prefatum christianissimum Franco-  
rum regem & nos iam nuper redintegratum, fir-  
mioribus quibus possumus nexibus astrungi, adma-  
iorem ipsius corroboracionem & firmitatem, ac ut  
dicto illustrissimo filio nostro in hac parte gratifi-  
cemur, etiam compaternitatis fœdus duximus adij-  
ciendum. Quocirca ad lenandum de sacro fonte  
vice & nomine nostro dictam prolem ex prefata  
illustrissima domina Katharina dicti illustrissimi  
principis coniuge, & consanguinea nostra charis-  
sima natam, illique nomen Elisabethe imponen-  
dum, & ipsam nomine Elisabethe in illius baptis-  
mo nominandâ, caterâq; omnia & singula in præ-  
missis, & circa ea necessaria seu quouis modo oportuna nomine nostro faciendum & exercendum, etiam si maiora existant superius expressis, & mandatum de se exigant magis speciale quam superius est insertum: te commissarium ac ambasiatorem  
& procuratorem nostrum specialem ordinamus, facimus, & constituimus per presentes: promittentes nos ratum, gratum, & firmiter habituros quicquid per te gestum & procuratum siue actum fuerit in præmissis. In cuius rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste me ipso apud Greenwich sextodecimo die Iunii anno regni nostri tricesimo octauo. Henrie Rex.

The king hauing passed ouer the foresaid letters patents to sir Thomas, and he in forwardnesse to execute his charge, to the intent that his retinue and attendants should no waies offendiuely behaue themselves against the French, with whom the king was verie carefull to continue and mainteine the peace interchangeably agreed vpon and concluded, his maiestie to preuent and cut off all occasions that might anie waie impeach, interrupt, or violate this peace, commanded the lords of his counsell to direct letters withall expedition to the said sir Thomas, then vpon his vottage into France, containing a prescript forme of demeanour, which the gentlemen & yeomen attendant vpon him in France should vse, during the time of their abode in those foren parts: a copie of which letter, being a testimoniall of the king of Englands inclinable mind to peace hereafter followeth out of the verie originall, as the same was subscribed by the lords.

A copie of the said letters sent in post  
to sir Thomas Cheinie being vpon his  
vorage into France.

**A**fter our right hartie commendations to your good lordship. The kings maiestie hath willed vs to signifie vnto you, that his highnesse expresse pleasure and commandement is, ye should in his maiesties name declare to such gentlemen as accompanie you into France, that they haue in remembrance so to vse & behaue them selues among the Frenchmen as well on the waie as at the court, in such sort as they by communication vpon feats of the warre passed giue no occasion of

priuat displeasure. Wherein therefore it shall be expedient, that either they saie nothing, vnlesse they be prouoked; or in that case call the things happened fortune de la guerre, without comparison of things chanced on our part or on theirs, but turne the communication to reioise in peace. In the conditions whereof they shall pretend ignorance, without speaking of the keeping still of Bullogne, or deliuerance of it againe, but as shall please the princes for the continuance of peace, wherein by Gods grace the crueltie of warre shall be conuerted into extremitie of friendship, to the weale and commoditie of both realmes.

And forsomuch as there want not in the world naughtie men of the state of monks and friers, who for malice of the alteration of their estate here, would gladlie defame our religion towards God, as though we had with them cast out all; his highnesse expresse pleasure and commandement is, that considering at this first entrie of you, the behauiour of your companie shall be much marked and noted in matters of religion and circumstances: of the same they should therfore haue so much the more regard both to their communications and also behauiours, and not onelie in speech to forbear to dispute or intermedle with the state of their policy there, but also in their diet on the fifth daie and deuout hearing of masse, follow the order of the kings maiesties relme, so as their conuersation & behauior maie be cōfution to such as would defame this realme in the contrarie. Thus fare your good lordship right hartilie well. From Greenwich the nineteenth of Iune 1546. Your lordships assured louing friends, Thomas Wriothesleye counc. W. Saint-Iohn. I. Russell. Cuth. Duresme. Steph. Winton. Anthonie Brenne. William Petres. This letter was thus indorsed. To our assured louing friend sir Thomas Cheinie knight of the order, treasuror of the kings maiesties household, and lord warden of the cinque ports, presentlie in speciall commission from the kings maiestie into France. Hast, post hast for thy life, to Douer, Calis, or where he shall chance to be: hast, hast.

Thus farre of sir Thomas Cheinie, imployed about the kings affaires in France; namelie the chrestening of the Dolphins daughter: wherein we haue bene the more copious in words, because it hath ben published, that sir Henrie Kneuet was therunto personallie deputed: which to be vntreue, both the letters patents and the letter misliue do sufficient-  
ly proue: both which we receiued at the hands of an ancient seruitor, attendant vpon the same sir Thomas at his being in France to execute his charge in the kings behalfe. Of which word the knight when we come to the yeare and daie of his death, we will deliuer further report to his high commendation, but yet none otherwise than as by warranted intelligence we shall be directed.]

The same time was a combat fought before the French king betwixt two Spaniards, Julian Romerou, and one Poroto. They both serued the king of England in the last wars against France: but Poroto had revolted from his seruice to the French kings, and for certaine speeches which he had vttered, was challenged to fight the said combat by the said Julian, for whome sir Henrie Kneuet undertooke that he should stand to his challenge, and trie it with his aduersarie, which he now did, and vanquished him in lists; the fight being appointed on horse backe. Incontinentlie after, sir Henrie Kneuet sickened and died at Coibell, and was buried in Paris within the church of S. Paule. Whereouer, for the full establishment of the peace, and to receiue the French kings oth, the vicount Lisle lord admerall, with the bishop of Duresme, and diuerse other lords, and gentlemen,

Henrie Tennant.

A combat betwixt Julian Romerou, and Poroto.

The death of sir Henrie Kneuet.

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element, to the number of one hundred and above,  
all in velvet cotes and chaines of gold, with fine and  
forye pomeyn right semelle appointed, went into  
France, departing from Bullogne the tenth of Ju-  
ly, and came to Spelune a towne beyond Paris,  
where the French king then late, by whom and the  
Dolphin his sonne they were roialtie receiued, sea-  
led, and banketed: and hauing done that for the  
which he was sent, the said lord admerall vnderle the  
first of August toke his leaue of the French king,  
who rewarded him with a cupbord of plate all gold,  
valued at 1500 pounds. The lords also and gentle-  
men had chaines of gold giuen to them, and the peo-  
ple had two hundred crownes bestowed amongst  
them, and so the lord admerall returned into Eng-  
land. This lord admerall, during the time that he  
had to deale with the French, so valiantlie demean-  
ed himselfe, and was such a terror and astonish-  
ment to the enimie, as it is left written of him, that  
they durst not quench in his presence, but were like a  
fozt of timorous cattell, giuing roome to the raging  
lion ranging ouer the pastures with his yonglings,  
and making the verie heauens to ring with his ro-  
ring, after he hath filled his selfe with bulles fleshy,  
and laid his selfe downe to rest being wearie with  
eating; the comparison verie aptlie followeth:

*præque iracundo cedunt armenta leoni,  
Pascha cum plenus bacchante furore peragrat  
Solum cum catulis, celum, & rugibus implens  
Conspicitur, postquam ratorum carnibus atra  
sit saturata fames, lassusque recumbit edendo:  
Tantus terror erat Gallis Dupleius Heros.*

In the same moneth of August monsieur Dane-  
bail high admerall of France, accompanied with  
the bishop of Carreux, the earle of Maunell knight  
of the order, the earle of Williers, the chiefe president  
of Moan, secretaire Bouchetell, monsieur de Cana-  
ples knight of the order, monsieur de Laes knight  
of the order, monsieur de Wallerie viceadmerall of  
France, monsieur de Dese, the baron de la Gard,  
with diuerse other lords and capitaines of hono-  
r, beside two hundred gentlemen well appointed, lea-  
sed from Depe with twelve gallies and a right faire  
ship called the Sacre of Depe, and so making saile  
he sailed not anie where to take land, till he came in-  
to the Thames, where at Blacketwall he was recei-  
ued into the kings barge by the earles of Warbie  
and Clee, who brought him to Grenewich, where he  
landed, and lodged there that night.

The next daie he came vp with all his gallies,  
and landed at the Tower wharfe. Upon all the banks  
by the water side were laid peeces of artillerie, which  
shot off frellie, and so likewise did all the artillerie in  
the ships, but speciallie from the Tower was shot a  
maruellous great peale of ordinance. From whence  
being landed, they rode thorough London in great  
triumph (the maior and the crafts standing in the  
streets in verie good order) unto the bishops palace  
by Pauls, where the French admerall lodged till  
Bartholomeu euen, on which daie he was conueied  
toward Hampton court, where in the waie the  
prince hauing with him the archbishop of Yorke, the  
earles of Hertford and Huntingdon, and about two  
thousand horse, met him and imbraced him in such  
courteous and honorable wise, that all the behol-  
ders greatlie reioiced, and much marvelled at the  
said princes high wit and great audacitie, and so the  
French admerall came to the court, giuing the  
prince the upper hand as they rode. And at the utter  
gate of the court, the lord chancellor, and all the  
kings counsell receiued him, and brought him to his  
lodging.

On Bartholomeu daie the king admitting him  
to his presence, welcomed him, and in great triumph

went to the chappell, where the king receiued his oath  
to performe the articles of the league, as it was co-  
uenanted. To speake of the banquettings, huntings,  
and such like honorable sorts of interteinements, it  
were much to bitter, and hard to beleue. But on Fri-  
daie following, being the seuen and twentieth of Au-  
gust, he being rewarded with a cupbord of plate, to  
the value of twelve hundred pounds, returned to  
London, and on the sundae next ensuing toke his  
gallies and departed. Beside the kings gifts, he had  
giuen to him by the citie of London two flaggons  
guilt, and two other that were parcell guilt, valued  
at one hundred thirtie six pounds, beside wine, war,  
and torches. There were diuerse of his companie  
also that went not afoate unrewarded, hauing both  
plate, and also manie horses, and greibounds giuen  
them.

Although this peace pleased both the English and  
French nations, yet suerlie both mistrusted the con-  
tinuance thereof. And verelie the old proverbe seemed  
to be thoroughlie verified, which saith, that what the  
eye seeth, the hart rueeth: for the Frenchmen still lon-  
ged for Bullogne, and the Englishmen meant not  
willinglie to giue it ouer. For during the French  
admerals being in England, monsieur de Chatillon  
capitaine of Pontplaisier began to make a new ba-  
dilion euen at the verie mouth of the haven, na-  
ming it Chatillons garden. Whereupon that noble  
gentleman the lord Grete of Wiltton, shortly after  
appointed to be deputie of the towne and countie of  
Bullogne, percelting the great inconuenience that  
this new building would bring to the towne if it  
went forwards, did aduertise the king thereof, ear-  
nestlie beseeching his grace, that the matter might  
be thoroughlie considered of. Sir Thomas Palmer  
was the messenger.

The king vpon the intelligence, asked his coun-  
cels aduise, which onelie went wholie, that the condi-  
tions of the peace were not in anie wise to be in firm-  
ged. This resolved, secretaire Paget then knight,  
and afterwards lord, was commanded accordingly  
to draw a letter to the lord Grete, the which the king  
himselfe did signe, willing that the messenger should  
further know of his pleasure before he departed.  
Whereupon Sir Thomas Palmer, hauing his dis-  
patch at the secretaries hands, did get word to be  
giuen to the king, who presentlie sent for him into  
his priue chamber, and betwixt them two, these  
wordes: Palmer, you haue there a letter from vs to  
the lord Grete, that he do in no wise deale in the  
matter that he hath by you aduertised vs of. Not-  
withstanding, I will that you deliuer him this mes-  
sage from vs.

Bid him call to mind how that his brethren and  
himselfe not a short time, but euen from tender  
yeares, no farre off, but still nere to our person, we  
haue brought him vp, which (tell him) not vnuslie, if  
that be in him that we conceiue doth breed in vs an  
od trust of seruencie to serue vs of him, more than a  
common seruant or subiect. By that token will him  
what soeuer I haue written to the contrarie, that he  
presentlie impeach the fortification of Chatillons  
garden, and rase it if it be possible: and this my mes-  
sage shall be his clearing therein, & the seruice grate-  
fullie accepted. Sir Thomas Palmer some what a-  
stonied hereat, considering the weightinesse of the  
cause, and the contrarietie of the letter and message,  
began to put the king in mind of the small credit  
that his bare errand of right was like to haue, so that  
against that which his maiesties letters imposed.  
But the king cutting off his tales, Deliuer thou the  
message (quoth he) at his choller then be the executing  
thereof.

Sir Thomas thus dispatched, with great speed ar-  
riued

The admerall  
of France re-  
ceiveth an orb.

His gifts that  
he had of the  
king & others.

The lord  
Grete of  
Wiltton.

Sir Tho-  
mas Palmer.

King Henries  
message to the  
lord Grete by  
Sir Thomas  
Palmer.



ruied at Bullogne immediatlie vpon the opening of the gates at after none. His letters and message deliuered, the lord Greie straight assembled the council, shewed them the kings letters, which read, he caused sir Thomas to pronounce before them the message also. Euerie man was to saie his aduise: it went roundlie through the board without anie question, that the letter was to be followed, the message not to be staied on. The lord Greie hauing heard, and not replieng anie thing, willed sir Thomas to be called in againe, bad him repeat his message, and therwhilest made a cleaerke of the council to write the same *Verbatim*. This done, he praised the whole table to set their hands vnto it, which they did, and the lord Greie taking the same into his hands, without further opening, declaring his resolution, brake vp council, commanded straight the gates to be shut, gaue priuie warning, that certeine bands with armour and weapon, and likewise pioners should that night by an houre be in a readines.

Chatillions garden ouerthrowen and rased downe.

The houre came, himselfe with the warned company issued out, passed ouer the water, and without anie alarum of the enimie, did ouerthrow in thre or foure houres, what in two or thre moneths had bin raised, and so in great quietnesse returned into the towne. Presentlie he dispatched sir Thomas Palmer backe againe to the king with the newes, whose returne was so sudden, as the king himselfe being in the chamber of presence, & seeing him, said aloud: What? Will he do it or no? Sir Thomas giuing no other answer, but presenting his letters, and saying, that thereby his maiestie should know. The king againe in earnest mod, saie tell vs I saie, whether he will do it or not? When sir Thomas told him that it was done, and the whole fortification cleane rased. Whereat the king taking great ioy, presentlie called to certeine of the lords of the council that were by, and said: How saie you my lords, Chatillions garden the new fort is laid as flat as this floore. One straight amongst them gaue iudgement, that he that had done it, was worthe to lose his head. The king straight replied, he had rather lose a dozen such heads as his was that so iudged, than one such servants as had done it: and herewith he commanded, that the lord Greies pardon should presentlie be made, the which with a letter of great thanks, and promise of reward, was returned by the said sir Thomas Palmer to the said lord Greie; but the reward failed, the king not continuing long after in life: the like hap thereof had oftentimes happened vnto diuerse of his worthy ancestors vpon their due deserts to haue bene considered of, and therefore the case the lesse strange.

The lord Greies seruice bene honorably accepted of the king.

This haue I set downe the more willingly, for that I haue receiued it from them, which haue heard it reported, not onlie by the lord Greies owne mouth, but also by the relation of sir Thomas Palmer, and others that were present: the same not tending so much to the lord Greies owne praise, as to the bettering of the kings noble courage, and the great secret trust which he worthilie reposed in the said lord Greie. Here is to be noted also, lest any man should mistake the matter, as if the king dealt indirecylie herein, that his maiestie knowing how the Frenchmen in going about to build this fort, did more than they might by the covenants of the peace; and therefore was resolved at the first aduertisement thereof, to haue it rased. But yet for that it might hapilie haue bene signified ouer vnto the Frenchmen, before my lord Greie could haue accomplished the feat, he therefore wiselie wrote one thing in his letters, whereunto manie might be priuie, and sent secret knowledge by words contrarie to the contents of the same letters, so as if the messenger were tru-

sie, his pleasure might not be discovered to the hinderance or dispaipointing of the same. But now to our purpose.

The French king after this, because as yet he would not seme to breake the peace, commanded the trenches and new fortifications made about this fortreffe, called Chatillions garden thus cast downe, to be filled by his owne people, and so it rested during the life of king Henrie: but afterwards it was begun againe, and finished, as after ye shall heare. About Michaellmas in this present yeare, Thomas duke of Suffolke, and Henrie earle of Surrie that was his sonne and heire, vpon certeine surmises of treason, were committed to the tower of London, and immediatlie after Christmas, the thirtieth of Januarie, the king then lieng in the extremitie of death, the said earle was arreigned in the Guildhall of London, before the lord maior, the lord chancellor, and diuerse other lords and iudges being there in commission. Where if he had tempered his answers with such modestie as he shewed token of a right perfect and readie wit, his praise had bene the greater. Some things he flatlie denied, seeking to weaken the credit of his accusers by certeine circumstances: other he excused with interpretations of his meaning, to proue the same to be far other wise than was alleged against him.

And one speciall matter amongst other where with he was charged, was, for bearing certeine arms that were said to belong to the king, and to the prince. The bearing whereof he iustified and maintained, that (as he toke it) he might beare them as belonging to diuerse of his ancestors, and withall affirmed, that he had the opinion of heralds therein. But yet to his indictment he pleaded not guiltie: and for that he was no lord of the parlement, he was inforced to stand to the triall of a common inquest of his countrie, which found him guiltie, and therevpon he had iudgement of death: and shortly after, to wit, the 19 of Januarie, he was beheaded on the tower hill. ¶ In this moneth of Januarie, the church of the late grate friers in London was opened, and masse song there: and that daie preached at Pauls crosse the bishop of Rochester, who declared the kings gift to the citie of London, for the relieuing of the poore people, which was by patent under his great seale. Saint Bartholome was spittle, the church of the grate friers, and two parish churches, the one of saint Nicholas in the Shambles, the other saint Ewine in Fleetgate market, all to be mude on parish church of the grate friers church; and in lands he gaue for the maintenance of the same 500 markes by yeare for ever, & this church to be named Christs church, founded by king Henrie the eight.

The duke was atteinted by parlement, and the atteindor after reuerfed in the first yeare of quene Marie. The euill hap as well of the father, as of the sonne, was greatlly lamented of manie, not onelie for the good seruice which the duke had done in his daies in defense of this realme, but also for that the earle was a gentleman well learned, and knowne to haue an excellent wit, if he had bene thankfull to God for the same, and other such good gifts as he had indued him withall. The king now lieng at the point of death, made his last will and testament, wherein he not onelie yielded himselfe to almightie God, but also toke order, that during the minority of his sonne prince Edward, his executors should be counsellors and aiders to him in all things, as well concerning priuate as publicke affaires. They were firste in number, whose names were as hereafter followeth.

Thomas Crammer archbishop of Cantuarbie, Thomas Wriotheslie lord Chancellor, sir William Paulet

The duke of Suffolke committed to the tower.

The decaie of king Henrie the eight.

Henrie was 38.4 in countrey.

The earle of Surrie beheaded.

15. pag 149. King Henrie his gift to the citie of London.

The decaie of king Henrie the eight.

The duke atteinted.

All Henrie's children, & Anne, & Margaret, & Elizabeth.

The king's last will and testament.

to the kin-  
but now to

as yet he  
dominant  
about this  
off doone,  
led during  
it was be-  
heare. A  
Thomas  
durie that  
urmis of  
London,  
fiftenth of  
emities of  
Chudhall  
chancellor,  
g there in  
is answers  
of a right  
ing the grea-  
re circum-  
tations of  
otherwise

her where-  
g certaine  
and to the  
nd mainte-  
nem as be-  
withall as-  
ds therein.  
giltie: and  
he was in-  
inquest of  
thereupon  
after, to  
ded on the  
the church  
pened, and  
at Paules  
clared the  
e relieving  
under his  
the church  
is, the one  
other saint  
ude on pa-  
in lands be-  
o0 markes  
ed Chylis

nt, and the  
e of quene  
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one in his  
so: that the  
id knowne  
thankfull  
gifts as he  
heng at the  
testament,  
alnightie  
e mino:itie  
is should be  
ys, as well  
they were  
s hereafter

infurbarie,  
William  
Paulet

Paulet knight of the order, lord Saint-John, a great  
master of the household: sir Edward Selmer knight  
of the order, earle of Hertford, and high chamber-  
leine of England: sir John Russell knight of the or-  
der, lord priuie seale: sir John Dudley knight of the  
order, viscount Lisle, & baron of Paupas, high admi-  
rall of England: Cuthbert Tunstall bishop of Dur-  
ham: sir Anthony Browne knight of the order, and  
master of the horse: sir Edmund Bonacute knight  
chefe iustice of the comon pless: sir Thomas Brome-  
leie knight, one of the iustices of the kings bench: sir  
Edward North knight, chancellor of the augmenta-  
tion: sir William Paget knight of the order: sir  
Anthony Denny knight: sir William Herbert  
knight: sir Edward Wotton knight, treasurer of  
Calis: Nicholas Wotton deane of Canturburie  
and Poike.

So some as the noble king had finished his last  
will and testament, as afoze is said, he thought there-  
upon yielded by his spirit to almighty God, depart-  
ing this world the eight and thirtieth date of Janu-  
arie, in the eight and thirtieth yeare of his reigne, and  
in the yeare of our Lord 1546, after the accompt of  
the church of England; but after the accompt which  
we follow in this booke 1547, beginning our yeare  
the first of Januarie. He reigned thirtie and seuen  
yeares, nine moneths and od daies. His bodie (accor-  
ding to his will in that behalfe) was conueted to  
Windsor with all funerall pompe, and in the college  
there interred. Of this treisnoble and trespuissant  
monarch, I find these few verses, which maie serue  
in god stead of an epitaph or funerall inscription:

*Henricus princeps prope lustra peregrat octo,  
Et populum magna prudens cum laude regebat,  
Ex quo magna solistractant sceptrum Britannia  
Cum Deus omnipotens, morbo obrepente, moueret  
Hinc emigrandum de vita. Proh dolor ingens!  
Quod pia plebs lachrymis quam tristibus ora rigant?  
Quam grauius regni priores plangere cubantem?  
Anglia tota iacet maribus, lacubris & anens,  
Nil opus apportant medici, nil profuit herba  
Qua solent humanis membris adferre salutem,  
Pharmaca nil profunt, praebeatur potius fustis  
Heu nulla tristis mors est medicabilis arte.*

This noble prince was right fortunate in all his  
doings, so that commonlie whatsoeuer he atten-  
ted, had good successe, as well in matters of peace as  
of wars: Of personage he was tall and mightie, in  
his latter daies somewhat grosse, or as we term it,  
beuillie: in wit and memorie verie perfect of such  
maiestie tempered with humanitie, as best became  
a noble and high aristate: a great fauourer of lear-  
ning; as he that was not ignorant of good letters  
himselfe: he was of great magnificence and libera-  
lty, in somuch that Iohn Leland that worthy anti-  
quarie, hauing tasted of his royall bountyfullnesse,  
hath left vs these testifies to the world in a proper e-  
pigram which I will not omit, least I should wil-  
fullye keele a manifest protestation of his thank-  
fulnesse to his most excellent maiesty.

*Ante suos Phœbus radios, ante huc mundum  
Definet, & claras Cynthia pulchra faces:  
Ante suet rapidum, deitæ, sine pectus, insequor  
Spinifer & nullam sentio habebit quem  
Ante sacra quercus cessabunt spargere ramos,  
Florida sollicita pingere prata manu:  
Quam rex diue tuum labatur pectore noster  
Nomen, quod studijs portus & auribus.*

And the same Iohn Leland, who deseruedlie had  
tasted the fruits of the kings largesse, was not unac-  
quainted with the fame of his renowne, which had  
made it selfe knowne by restles flight to nations far  
and neare, some to their smart hauing felt the valor  
of his forces, and others submitting themselves for

fear of utter desolation. Whereupon he became a  
terroze to his enemies, and yet none more desirous of  
peace than he, if by any other meanes (besides vio-  
lence) the same might haue bene obtained. Suffici-  
ent cannot be said in his high & merited commendation,  
considering that as his victories were singular,  
so were they also manifold; and hard it is for the pen  
of a cunning rhetorician to paint him out according  
to his dignitie: howbeit the said Iohn Leland hath  
left in writing a proper epigram, deuised in praise of  
his most excellent king, by way of comparison, to  
his immortall commendation, as here followeth:

*Quantum punicis nouo rosetis  
Cedunt vere suis rubeta spinis?  
Quantum lilio amoenioris hortus  
Gemma omnes alia nitore cedunt:  
Quantum cetera punicis decoro  
Malis poma quidem rubore cedunt:  
Quantum confertis breues myrica  
Concedunt quog gloria cupressus:  
Quantum stellis ero repressa tellus  
Cala mole sua & nigrore cedit:  
Tantum omnes alij, celebritate,  
Fama, nomine gloriaq, vera  
(Et mittam ingenij valentioris  
Lumen, flumina, fulmen atq, vires  
Rari iudicij tui perennet)  
Concedunt tibi principes sereni:  
Henrice, o patria tua columna  
Talis, qualis erat celebris illa  
Olim quam extulit Henricus triumphans.*

Comparatio  
gloriam Henrici  
officij regis  
potentissimæ.

Of lerned men that liued in the daies of this most  
famous prince, we find manie, as first Iohn Colet  
deane of Paules, and founder of the schole there, he  
was borne in London of honest parents; William  
Lillie borne in the town of Widsam in Hampshyre,  
and was the first schoolmaster of Paules schole af-  
ter it was erected: Thomas Linacer, or rather Lin-  
ker, borne in Warbie, a learned physician, and well  
sene in the tongue; John Skelton a pleasant poet,  
Richard Pace that succeeded Iohn Colet in the  
rome of deane of Paules, John Fisher bishop of  
Rochester of whome ye haue heard befoze, Thomas  
More borne in London of whome mention likewise  
is made in the life of this famous king; William  
Hozman borne in Salisburie viceprouost of Eaton  
college, a learned man, as by his works it appeareth;  
John Frith borne in London, William Tindall, of  
whom two persons ye haue heard likewise in the  
life of this king; Robert Wakefield excellentie  
sene in tongue, John Kalfall a citizen and stationer  
of London, Christopher Saint German an excel-  
lent lawier, Robert Barnes of whom also we haue  
made mention befoze.

Sir Thomas Eliot knight, Edward Lee archbi-  
shop of Poike, John Leland a diligent searcher of  
antiquities, Anne Askew wrote certaine treatises  
concerning her examinations; sir John Bourchier  
knight lord Berners translated the chronicles of sir  
John Froissard out of French into English, Willi-  
am Chubs, Henrie Standish a frier minor and bi-  
shop of Saint Asaph wrote against Erasmus for his  
translation of the new testament, to his small praise  
as he handled the matter; Thomas surnamed Philo-  
melus a Londoner an excellent poet, William  
Crocine verie expert in both tongue Greeke and La-  
tine, Thomas Spenser a Carmelite frier borne in  
Poitrich, Henrie Bullocke, William Latimer,  
Pong a monke of Hamfeste, Arnold of London  
wrote certaine collections touching historிக்கal mat-  
ters, Thomas Lupset a Londoner a learned pong  
man departed this life in the six and thirtieth yeare of  
his age about the yeare of our Lord 1532, he wrote  
sundrye verknous treatises; William Skelton chan-  
celloz

cello: of Poike, John Sowle a Carmelite frer of London and a docto: of diuinitie, John Bateman son a Charterhouse monke & prio: of his house at London, Richard Whitford.

Thomas Attourborne in Dorsetholke and fellow with Willeie in suffering persecution vnder cardinal Wolseie, Henrie Bradshaw borne in Chester where he was professed a blacke monke wrote the life of saint Werborough and a certeine chronicle, John Palsgrau a citizen of London wrote instructions for the perfect vnderstanding of the French tong, John Skuiss a Cornishman wrote certeine abbreviations of chronicles with a treatise of the warres of Troie, Anthonic Fitzherbert a iudge wrote an abridgement of the lawe, John Aitleton wrote also of the principles of the law but he liued before this season, Willfride Holme wrote a treatise of the rebellion in Lincolnshire and in the forth after the maner of a dialog, John Constable an excellent poet and rhetorician, John Hillier, Edward for student in the kings college in Cambridge was aduanced to the bishops see of Hereford and was imploted in diuerse ambages from king Henrie the seventh both into Germanie and Italie.

John Lambert *alias* Nichols borne in Dorsetholke, of whome ye haue heard in the historie of this king, how he suffered for the controuersie of the sacrament; George Fulberie, John Hooker, Thomas Lanquet wrote an epitome of chronicles and also of the winning of Bullongne, John Shepre, Leonard Cor wrote diuerse treatises, one in English rhetoricke wherof Bale maketh no mention; Thomas Soulmon borne in the Ile of Cernseie verie studious in histories as by his writings and notes it appeareth, John Longland bishop of Lincoln, Maurice Chancie a Charterhouse monke, Cutbert Tunstall bishop of Duresme, Richard Samson, Alban Hill a Welshman an excellent physician, Richard Croke verie expert in the Greke tong, Robert Whittington borne in Staffordshire nere to Lichfield wrote diuerse treatises for the instruction of Grammatians, John Albrige bishop of Carleill, John Russell gathered a treatise intituled *Super iure Cesaris & Papae*, he wrote also commentaries in *Canticis*; William Kote, Simon Fith a Kentishman borne wrote a boke called the supplication of beggers.

John Potwell and Edward Potwell Welshmen wrote against Luther, Edward died in Smithfield for treason in denieng the kings supmacie in the peare 1540; John Houghton gouernour of the Charterhouse monks in London died likewise for treason in the peare a thousand five hundred thirtie and five; John Riches being an aged man, forsaking the order of a frer Minor, which he had first professed, embraced the gospel; George Bulken lord Rochford, brother to quene Anne, wrote diuerse songs and sonnets; Francis Wigod knight borne in Dorsetshire wrote a boke against the cleargie intituled *De impropriationibus*, and translated certeine booke from Latine into English, he died for rebellion in the

peare a thousand five hundred thirtie and seauen; Richard Wille, Henrie Pooleie lord Pooleie, wrote diuerse treatises, as comedies and tragedies, the life of sectaries, and certeine rithmes; William Wote, uille *alias* Thin restored Chaucers woikes by his learned and painfull corrections.

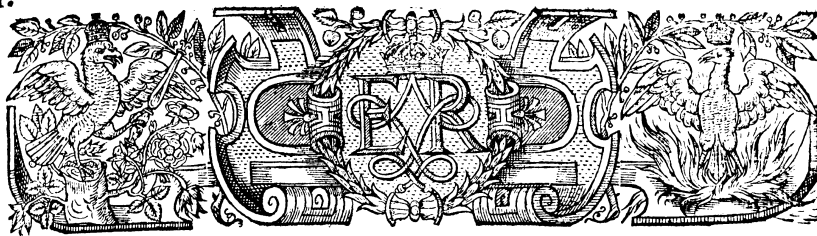
John Smith sometime scholemaster of Beiton, Richard Turpine borne of a worshipfull familie in England & seruing in the garrison of Calis wrote a chronicle of his time, he died in the peare a thousand five hundred fortie and one, and was buried in saint Nicholas church in Calis; Sir Thomas Mordaunt knight, in whose praise much might be said, as well for his learning as other excellent qualitties met for a man of his calling, he greatly furthered to enrich the English tong, he wrote diuerse matters in English meter, and translated the seauen penitential psalmes, and (as some write) the whole psalter, he died of the pestilence in the west cuntry, being on his iourneie into Spaine, whither he was sent ambassador from the king vnto the emperor, in the peare a thousand five hundred fortie and one; Henrie Howard earle of Surrie, sonne to the duke of Dorsetholke, delighted in the like studies with sir Thomas Mordaunt, wrote diuerse treatises also in English meter, he suffered at Tower hill, as in the historie of this king before ye haue heard.

John Field a citizen and latwyer of London wrote sundrie treatises, as his owne answers vnto certeine articles ministred to him by sir Thomas More, the bishop of Rochester, Rastall, and others; when he was in prison for religion, he wrote also a treatise of mans freewill, *De seruo hominis arbitrio*, and collections of the common lawes of the land, &c: Tristram Keuell, Henrie Binklow a merchant of London wrote a little boke, which he published vnder the name of Robertke Hozs, and also a complaint vpon London, &c: Robert Shingletan borne of a good familie in Lancashire wrote a treatise of the seauen churches, and other things, as of certeine prophecies, for the which (as some write) he suffered at London, being consist of treason in the peare 1544; William Barreie a Welshman wrote a boke intituled *Speculum inuenum*.

Of strangers that liued here in this kings daies, and for their woiks which they wrote were had in estimation, these we find recorded by master Bale: Barnard Andreas a Frenchman borne in Colouise an Augustin frer, and an excellent poet; Adrian de Castello, an Italian of Corneto a towne in Tuscanie, he was commended vnto king Henrie the seventh by the archbishop of Dorset, and thereupon was first made bishop of Hereford; and after resigning that see, was aduanced to Bath and Wells; Andreas Ammonius an Italian of the citie of Luca, secretary to the king, wrote diuerse treatises; James Calco an Italian also of Pavia in Lombardie, by profession a Carmelite frer, an earnest defender of the diuorse betwixt the king and the ladie Katharine Dowager, disprouing the marriage betwixt them to be in any wise lawfull.

Thus farre the right high and renowned Henrie the eight, sonne and successor to Henrie the seventh.





## Edward the sixt, sonne and successor to Henrie the eight.



After it had pleased al-  
mightie God to call to  
his mercie that famous  
prince king Henrie the  
eight, the parlement as  
yet continuing, and now  
by his death dissolved, the  
executours of the said  
king, and other of the no-  
bilitie, assembling them-

Edward  
proclaimed.

selues together, did first by sound of trumpet in the  
palace of Westminster, and so through London,  
cause his sonne and heire prince Edward to be pro-  
claimed king of this realme by the name of Edward  
the sixt, king of England, France, and Ireland, de-  
fender of the faith, and of the churches of England  
and Ireland the supream head, he being yet but  
nine yeares and od moneths of age: he was thus pro-  
claimed the eight and twentieth of Januarie, in the  
yeare of the world 5513, and after the birth of our  
Lord 1547, according to the accompt of them that  
begin the yeare at Christmasse; but after the accompt  
of the church of England, in the yeare 1546, about  
the nine and twentieth yeare of the emperour Charles  
the first, the thre and thirtieth of Francis the first of  
that name king of France, and in the sixt yeare of  
the reigne of Marie quene of Scotland.

1547

Shortlie hereupon the earle of Hertford with o-  
ther of the lords resorted to Hatfield, where the yong  
king then late, from whence they conducted him with  
a great and right honorable companie to the Tower  
of London. During the time of his abode there, for  
the god gouvernement of the realme, the honour and  
suretie of his maiesties person, his uncle Edward  
earle of Hertford, was by order of the counsell, and  
the assent of his maiestie (as one most meetest to oc-  
cupie that roome) appointed gouernour of his roiall  
person, and protector of his realmes, dominions and  
subiects, and so proclaimed the first of Februarie by  
an herald at armes, and sound of trumpet through  
the citie of London in the vsuall places thereof, as it  
was thought expedient.

The earle of  
Hertford cho-  
sen protector.

The first daie of Februarie the earle of Hertford  
lord protector, adorne king Edward with the order  
of knighthood, remaining then in the Tower, and  
therewith the king standing by, called for Henrie  
Hubbeshorne lord maior of the citie of London,  
who coming before his presence, the king took the  
sword of the lord protector, and dubbed the said Hub-  
beshorne knight, he being the first that euer he  
made. The seauenteenth of Februarie the lord protec-  
tor was created duke of Summerset, the earle of  
Essex was created marquesse of Northampton,  
the lord Lisle high admerall of England was crea-  
ted earle of Warwick and high chamberlaine of  
England, sir Thomas Wriothesley lord chancellor  
was created earle of Northampton, sir Thomas

Lord protec-  
tor made duke  
of Summerset.

Seimer was aduanced to the honour of lord of Sud-  
leie and high admerall of England, which office the  
earle of Warwick then resigned, sir Richard Rich  
was made lord Rich, and sir William Willoughbie  
was created lord Willoughbie of Barrham, sir  
Edmund Sheffield was made lord Sheffield of But-  
terwike; and as saith a late writer of this action:

*Et quisque est ditior potentior, autius honore,  
Et noua virtutis sumens insignia fulget.*

At the same time great preparation was made for  
the kings coronation, so that the foure and twentieth  
of Februarie next ensuing, his maiestie came from  
the Tower, and so rode through London vnto West-  
minster, with as great roialtie as might be, the  
streets being hong, and pageants in diuerse places e-  
rected, to testifie the good willes of the citizens, reioi-  
sing that it had pleased God to deale so fauourable  
with the English nation to grant them such a to-  
wardlie yong prince to their king and soueraigne  
thus to succed in place of his noble father. ¶ Now as

The king ri-  
deth through  
London to  
Westminster.

he rode through London toward Westminster, and  
passed on the south part of Pauls churchyard, an Ar-  
goline came from the battlements of the steeple of  
Pauls church vpon a cable, being made fast to an  
ancho; by the deanes gate, lieng on his breast, aiding  
himselfe neither with hand nor foot, and after ascen-  
ded to the middelt of the cable, where he tumbled and  
plaid manie prettie toies, whereat the king and the  
nobles had good pastime.]

Abr. Fl. ex  
L.S. pag. 1036.

Pauls steeple  
late at ancho;.

The morrow after being Shrouesundaie and the  
five and twentieth of Februarie, his coronation was  
solemnized in due forme and order, with all the roial-  
tie and honour which therevnto appertained. Shortlie  
after the coronation, to wit, the first of March, the erte  
of Southhampton, lord chancellor of England, for  
his too much repugnancie (as was reported) in mat-  
ters of counsell to the residue of the counsellors a-  
bout the king, was not onelie depriued of his office  
of chancellor, but also removed from his place and  
authoritie in counsell, and the custodie of the great  
seale was taken from him, and deliuered vnto sir  
William Paulet lord Saint-John, that was lord  
great master of the kings household.

Edward  
crowned.

The lord  
chancellor  
discharged of  
his roome.

Also shortlie after his coronation, the kings ma-  
iestie by the aduise of his uncle the lord protector, and  
other of his priuie counsell, minding first of all to  
seeke Gods honor and glozie, and thereupon inten-  
ding a reformation, did not onelie set forth by cer-  
teine commissioners, sundrie intunditions for the  
remouing of images out of all churches, to the sup-  
pressing and auoiding of idolatrie and superstition  
within his realmes and dominions, but also caused  
certeine homilies or sermons to be drawne by sun-  
drie godlie & learned men, that the same might be  
read in churches to the people, which were afterward  
by certeine of these commissioners sent forth as vi-  
sitours, accompanied with certeine preachers, the-  
roughout

Chemises.

Cccclij.

The commu-  
nion in both  
kinds.

IS pag. 1036.  
D. Smith  
recanted.

Rich. Crafston.

Chieftaines  
in the armie.

roughout the realme, for the better instruction of the people, published and put in use. At Easter next following, he set out also an order thorough all the realme, that the supper of the lord should be ministered to the laic people in both kinds. ¶ On the fifth tenth of Maie doctor Smith recanted at Paules crosse.]

All these things done concerning religion (as before is said) the lord protector and the rest of the counsell, calling to mind the evil dealing and craftie dissimulation of the Scots, concerning the matter of marriage betwixt the kings maiestie, and the queene of Scotland (which marriage as ye have heard, in the five and thirtieth yeare of king Henrie the eight, was by authoritie of parlement in Scotland fullie concluded) thought it not to stand with the kings honor to be in such maner by them deluded, and withall considering how greatlie it shuld turne to the quietnesse and safetie of both realmes to haue these two princes contained in matrimonte, they did devise sundrie waies and meanes how the same might be brought to passe, and the rather (as some doo write) for that king Henrie (before his death) had giuen them in speciall charge by all indentours to procure that the said marriage might take place, as whole wishing by the coniunction of those two yong princes, the uniting of the two kingdoms in perpetuall amitie and faithfull league of loue; as our poet saith:

*Oportet coniugio duo regna coire fideles,*

*Aeternam pacem hinc aeternaque federa iungi.*

But the lords of Scotland were so inuiegled and corrupted by the French king, and abused by cardinal Beton, archbishop of saint Andrews, and other of their clergie, that they not onelie shanke from that which they had promised, but also sought to destroye those that favored the king of Englands part: whereupon a great and puissant armie was now prepared to passe by land into Scotland, and likewise a nauie to passe by sea to attend upon the same: whereof the great gallie and foure and twentie tall ships were thoroughlie furnished with men and munition for the warres, besides manie merchants ships and other small vessels, which serued for carriage of vittells, and other necessaries.

But now to shew what noble men and other were ordeined officers, and assigned to haue the conduction as well of the armie by land, as of the fleet by sea; ye shall vnderstand, that first the duke of Summerset, lord protector, toke vpon him to go himselfe in person, as generall of the whole armie, and capteine also of the battell of middle-ward, wherein were foure thousand footmen. The marshall erle of Warwicke appointed lord lieutenant of the same armie, led the fore-ward containing thre thousand footmen. The lord Dacres gouerned in the reere-ward, where in were other thre thousand footmen. The lord Greie of Wiltton was ordeined high marshall of the said armie & capteine generall of all the horsemen, being in number six thousand. Sir Rafe Sadler knight treasurer of the armie. Sir Francis Brian knight, capteine of the light horsemen, in number two thousand.

Sir Rafe Wane knight lieutenant of all the men of armes and demilances. Sir Thomas Darcie knight capteine of all the kings maiesties pensioners, and men at armes. Sir Richard Leigh knight deuiler of the fortifications. Sir Peter Helotas knight capteine of the harquebutters, which were in number six hundred. Sir Peter Gamboa knight, capteine of two hundred harquebutters on horsebacke. Sir Francis Fleming knight was master of the ordinance. Sir George Blaag & sir Thomas Wolceroff commissioners of the musters. Edward Shelleie, the lord Greies lieutenant of the men of

armes of Bullongne, who was the first that gaue the onset in the date of battell, and died most honorable in the same. John Wyenne capteine of the pioners being in number a thousand foure hundred. Thomas Audeleie and Edward Chamberleine harbingers of the field.

The lord Edward Clinton admerall of the fleet: sir William Woodhouse knight his viceadmerall. There were in the armie of great ordinance fifteene paces, and of carriages nine hundred carts, besides manie wagons, whereof the commissarie generall was George Ferrers. As some as the armie by land was in a readinesse, and set forward to come to Berwicke at a date appointed, the nauie likewise toke the sea, and by the helpe of Gods god guiding had so prosperous speed in their passage, that they arrived at Berwicke in time convenient, wither vpon the thirtieth of August being tuesday, the lord protector came, and laic in the castell with sir Nicholas Strelleie knight, capteine there. The next date commandement was giuen that euerie man shoud provide himselfe for foure daies vittells to be caried forth with them in carts.

On thursdaie the first of September the lord protector, not with manie more than with his owne band of horsemen, rode to a towne standing on the sea coast, a six miles from Berwicke within Scotland called Almouth, whereat there runneth a riuer into the sea, which he caused to be founded, and finding the same well able to serue for an haue, caused afterwards a foztresse to be raised there, appointing Thomas Cotter, that was marshall of Berwicke, to be capteine thereof. On fridaye, all sailing the counsell departed the towne of Berwicke, and incamped a two flight shots off, by the sea side, toward Scotland. And the same daie the lord Clinton with his fleet toke the seas from Berwicke, to the end that in case the wind shoud not serue them to keepe course with the armie by land; yet were it but with the declining of tides, they might vpon anie need of munition or vittells be still at hand, or not long from them.

The same daie the earle of Warwicke, and sir Rafe Sadler treasurer of the armie, came to Berwicke from Petercastell, where they had staid till then, for the full dispatch of the rest of the armie, and the next daie the earle of Warwicke incamped in field with the armie. On which daie a proclamation with sound of trumpet was made by an herald in thre euerrall places of the campe, signifying the cause of the coming of the kings armie at that present into Scotland, which in effect was, to aduertise all the Scottish nation, that their coming was not to deprive them of their liberties, but to aduance the marriage already concluded and agreed vpon betwixt the kings maiestie of England and their queene, and no hostilitie ment to such as shoud shew themselves furtherers thereof. On the fourth of September being sundaie, the lord protector came from out of the towne, and the armie raised, and marched that daie a six miles, and camped by a village called Koston in the baronrie of Boukendall.

The order of their march was this. Sir Francis Brian capteine of the light horsemen, with foure hundred of his band, tended to the skout a mile or two before. The carriages kept along the sea coast, and the men at armes and demilances diuided into thre troops, answering the thre wards, rid in arraye directlie against the carriages a two flight shots asunder from them. The thre sot battels kept order in place betwixt them both, the fore-ward foremost, the battell in the middell, the reere-ward hindermost, each ward hauing his trope of horsemen and gard of ordinance, his aid of pioners for amendment of waies,

The lord Clinton was the first that came to Berwicke.

The lord protector caused Almouth to be founded.

Sir Rafe Sadler was treasurer of the English armie.

The proclamation.

The order of the armie in marching.



17.

An. Reg. I.

waies, where need should be. The first of September they marched an eight miles, untill they came to the peath, a clough or ballie, running for a six miles west freight eastward, and toward the sea a twentie score yode from banke to banke above, and a five score in the bottome, wherein runnes a little river. Stape is this ballie on either side, and deepe in the bottome.

The Scots had cast trenches ouerthwart the side waies on either side, in manie places, to make the passage more cumbersome: but by the pioners the same were sone filled, and the waie made plaine, that the armie, carriage, & ordinance were quite set ouer sone after sun set, & there they pitched downe their campe. Whilest the armie was thus passing ouer this cumbersome passage, an herald was sent from the lord protector, to summon a castell, that stood at the end of the same ballie, a mile from the place where they passed downe towards the sea. Matthew Hume capteine thereof, a brothers sonne of the lord Humes, vpon his summons required to speake with the lord protector. It was granted, and he came, whome the lord protector handled in such sort with effectuall words, putting him in choise whether he would yeld, or stand to the aduenture, to haue the place wome of him by force, that he was contented to render all at his graces pleasure.

And so being commanded to go fetch his compaignie out of the house, he went and brought them, being in all one and twentie persons. The capteine and six other were staied and commanded to the keeping of the marshall, the residue were suffered to depart whither they thought good. After this surrender, the lord John Greie brother to the marques Dorset, was appointed to seise & take possession of the house, being capteine of a great number of demilances, as for his appoyued worthinesse and balliance right well he might, agreable to the deserued report remaining of him in print in foiren speech as followeth:

*Grain heros  
Ob summam belli cataphractis praeiit artem.*

The spoile was not rich sure, but of white bread, oaten cakes, and Scotch ale indifferent good store, and some bestowed among my lordes soldiors; for swordes, bucklers, pikes, pots, pans, yarne, linnen, hempe, and heaps of such baggage, which the countrie people there about had brought into that pile, to haue it in more suretie, the soldiors would scarce vouchsafe to stope and take the same vp.

In the meane time the lord protector appointed the house to be ouerthstone, which by the capteine of the pioners was done, though with some trauell, by reason the walles were so thicke, and the foundation so deepe, and thereto set vpon so craggie a plot. Tuesdaye the first of September, the armie dislodged and marched forward. In the waie as they should go, a mile and an halfe from Dunglas northward were two piles of holds, Thoznton & Anderwiike, set both on craggie foundations, & diuided a stones cast a funder by a deepe gut, wherein ran a little river. Thoznton belonged to the lord Hume, and was kept by one Thom Trotter, who vpon summons giuen him to render the house, lockt vp a sixtene poze soules like the soldiors of Dunglas fast within the house, toke the keyes with him, commanding them to defend the place till his returne, which should be on the morrow, with munition and releefe: and this done, he and his pickers pryckt (as saith maister Patten) quite their waies.

Anderwiike pertained to the lord of Hambleton, and was kept by his son and heire, whome of custome they call the master of Hambleton, & eight more gentlemen for the most part, as was reported. The lord protector at his comming nigh, sent vnto both these

places, which vpon summons refusing to render, were freight assailed; Thoznton by batterie of sone great peeces of ordinance, and certeine of sir Peter Helwas hackbutters, and Anderwiike by a sort of the same hackbutters, who so well beset them, that where these keepers had rammed by their oute doores, cloied and stopt their staires within, and kept themselves for defense of their house about the battlements, the hackbutters got in, and fired them vnderneath, whereby being greatlie troubled with smoke, they cried for mercie, which the lord protector meant to grant them; but yet the messenger came, the hackbutters were got vp to them, & killed right of them aloft: one leapt ouer the walles, and running more than a furlong, was after slaine without in a water.

The pile of  
Anderwiike  
sone.

All this while at Thoznton was the assault on the English part, and the defense by them within stoutlie continued: but at length when they perceived in what danger they stood, and how little able they were to helpe themselves, or to anniole the assailants, they pluckt in a banner which they had hong forth, in token of defiance, and put forth a white linnen clout tied to a stickes end, crying all with one tune for mercie: but hauing answer by the whole voices of the assailers that they were traitors, and that it was too late, they pluckt in their stickes, and set vpon againe their banner of defiance, and shot off, hurled stones, & did what else they could with great courage of their side, & small hurt of the assailants. Wherefore perceiving that they could not long keepe out, being on the one side battered, and mined on the other, kept in with hackbutters on ech side, and some of the Englishmen being got into the house below, for they hauing shot vp themselves also in the highest of their house, pluckt in againe their banner, and cried estones for mercie, but being answered generallie by the assailants, that they should neuer loke for it, they fell to make this petition, that if they should needs die, they might rather suffer by hanging, and so reconcile themselves to God, than to die in malice with so great danger of their soules.

This sute was so furthered to the dukes grace by sir Miles Partridge that was nere at hand when they made this sute, that it was granted; and they comming forth, humbled themselves, and without more hurt they were but commanded to the prison marshall, who kept them for a time, and were after released. The house was shortly after so blowen with powder, that more than the one halfe of it fell freight downe to dust and rubbish, the rest stood all to shaken with rifts and chinks. Anderwiike also was burned, and all the houses of office, and stacks of coine about them both. While this was in doing the dukes grace, in turning but about, saw the fall of Dunglas, which likewise was vndermined and blowen vp with powder.

Sir Miles  
Partridge.

Thoznton  
yelded.

The piles of  
Thoznton  
and others  
defaced.

This done, about none the armie marched, and passing by Dunbar, the castell sent them diuerse shots of artillerie, but all in vaine. The Scotch pickers shewed themselves in the field with proffer of skirmish, but to no great purpose, one of them being killed with a shot of one of Bartheulls men an hackbutter on horsebacke. The armie hauing marched that daie a ten miles, lodged at night nere vnto Tantallon, and had a blind alarm. Marching the next morning a two miles, they came to a river called Lin, where there is a stone brydge, named Lin-ton brydge of a towne thereby on the right hand as the armie marched, and standing eastward vpon the same river: the horsemen and carriages passed thorough the water, for it was not verie deepe, and the footmen ouer the brydge. The passage was strict for an armie, and therefore the longer in setting ouer.

Tantallon.

Lin-ton  
brydge.

CCCC. liij. Beyond.

Wales castle.

Beyond this bridge about a mile westward upon the same river, on the south side standeth a proper castle called Wailes, pertaining to the earle of Bothwell, but kept as then by the gouernours appointment, who held the earle in prison. Out of this castell as the lord protector passed forward in following the foreward, there were roundlie shot off (but without hurt) six or seven peeces, the which before that (though some of the armie had bene verie nigh) yet kept they all couert. In the meane time rose a thicke mist, which caused a great disorder in the rereward, by reason they could not see about them. The earle of Marwick therefore doubting least the enemies, who had been picking vp and downe nere to the armie, and offered skirmish the same morning, should now by occasion of the mist attempt some feat to the annoyance of the Englishmen in their passage, his lordship himselfe scant with firtene horses (whereof Barteuill, and John de Ribaud Frenchmen were two, seven or eight light horsemen more, and the rest being his owne seruants) returned toward the passage to see the arrate againe.

A subtle planne of the Scots.

The Scottish horsemen perceiuing our horsemen to haue passed on before, and thinking (as the truth was) that some capitaine of honor did staie for the looking to the order of this rereward, they keeping the south side of the river, did call ouer to some of the armie, to know whether there were anie noble man nigh there? They were asked whie they asked? One of them answered, that he was such a one whose name the Englishmen knew to be honorable among the Scots, and would come in to the dukes grace, so that he might be sure to come in safetie. Some young soldiers nothing suspecting the craftie falshood of the Scots, told him that the earle of Marwick was nigh there, by whose tuition, he should be safetie brought to my lord protectors presence. They had cand their lesson & fell to their practice, which was this. Hauiug come ouer the water, in the waie as the earle should passe, they had colouched about two hundred of their pickers, and had sent forth beside to search where my lord was, whome when they had found, part of them pickt verie nigh, whome ten or twelue of the earles small companie did boldlie encounter, and droue them well nigh home to their ambush, fleeing perchance not so much for feare as for falshood, to bring them within their danger. But hereby informed that the earle was so nigh, they sent out a bigger number, and kept the rest more secret vpon this purpose, that they might either by a plaine onset distresse him, or else by fainting of sight to haue trained him within danger of their ambush. And thus instructed, they came picking toward his lordship apace. Whie (quoth he) & wilt not these knaues be ruled? Giue me my staffe. The which then with so valiant a courage he charged at one (as it was thought) Dandie Car, a capitaine among them, that he did not onelie compell Car to turne, and himselfe chased him about twelue score together, all the waie at the speares point, so that if Cars horse had not bene exceeding good and wight, his lordship had surely run him through in this race; but also with his little band caused all the rest to flee amaine. After whome as Henrie Clane, a gentle man of the said earles, and one of his companie did fiercelie pursue foure or fise Scots, suddenlie turned, and set vpon him, and though they did not altogether escape his hands free, yet by belwing and mangling his head, bodie, and manie places else, they did so cruelie intreat him, as if rescue had not come the sooner, they had slaine him outright. Here was Barteuill run at sideling, and hurt in the buttocke, and one of the Englishmen slaine: of Scots againe none slaine, but three taken prisoners, wherof

The manlie courage of the earle of Marwick. Dandie Car.

Henrie Clane.

Barteuill hurt.

one was Richard Bartwell, and hurt in the thigh, who had bene long in England not long before, and had receiued right manie benefits, both of the late kings liberalitie, and of the earle of Marwick, and of manie other nobles and gentlemen in the court beside.

But to conclude, if the earle of Marwick had not thus valiantlie encountered them, per they could haue warned their ambush how weaklie he was guarded, he had bene beset round about by them per he could haue bin aware of them, or rescued of other. Whereas hereby his lordship vndoubtedlie shewed his wanted valor, saved his companie, and discerned the enimie. As Barteuill the Frenchman that daie had right honestlie serued, so did the lords right honorable acquite it: for the earle of Marwick did get him a furlong, and desired he was, straight after laid and conueied in the lord protectors owne chariot. The rest that were hurt were here also dyed,

20 Scots and others.

The armie hauiug marched that same daie nine miles, incamped at night by a towne standing on the frith called Lang Raddrie. The next morning being thursdaie the eight of September, in time of the dislodging of the English camp, signe was made to some of the ships (whereof the most part and chieftest laie a ten or twelue miles in the forth, beyond vs, ouer against Lielh & Edenborough) that the lord admerall should come a shore, to speake with the lord protectors. In the meane time, somewhat earlie as our gallie was comming toward vs, about a mile and more beyond our campe, the Scots were verie busie, waiking here on thore toward them with a banner of saint George that they had, so to traine them to come on land there: but the earle of Marwick some disappointed the policie, for making toward that place where the lord admerall should come on thore, the Englishmen on the water by the sight of his presence, did some discern their friends from their foes.

The lord admerall hereby came to land, and riding backe with the earle into the lord protectors order was taken, that the great ships should remoue from before Lielh, and come to lie before Goukelborough; and the Scottish campe which laie there in field already assembled, to resist the English power that marched thus towards them. The smaller vessels that were vittellers were appointed to lie nere to the armie. The lord admerall hereby, being returned to the water, & the armie marching onward a mile or two, there appeared aloft on a hill, that laie longwise east and west, and on the south side of them, vpon a six hundred of their horsemen pickers, wherof some within a sight shot, strealtie against the Englishmen, shewed themselves vpon the same hill, & more further off.

Toward these, ouer a small bridge that laie ouer a little river there, verie hardlie did ride about a dozen haquebutters on horsebacke, and held them at baie so nise to their noses, that whether it were by the goodnesse of the same haquebutters, or the badnesse of them, the Scots did not onelie not come downe to them, but also verie courteously gaue place, and fled to their fellowes. The armie went on, but so much the slower, because the waie was somewhat narrow, by meanes of the forth on the one side, and certaine marshes on the other. The Scots kept alwaies pale with them, till there were shot off two field peeces twise, wherewith there was a man killed, and the leg of one of their horses stricken off, which caused them to withdraue, so that the Englishmen saw no more of them, till they came to the place where they meant to incampe, for there they shewed themselves againe aloft on the fore remembred hill, standing

Lang Raddrie.

Order taken for the placing of the ships.

The Scottish pickers shew themselves.

Dom. 1547.

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Order taken  
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the Scots  
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themselves.

standing as it were to biete and take muster of the  
armie; but when the lord Greie made towards them,  
minding to know their commission, they wisely  
wert their waie, and would not once abide the rea-  
soning.

Little else was done that daie, but that George  
ferrers, one of the duke of Summerlets gentle-  
men, and one of the commissioners of the cariages  
in the armie, perceiving where certeine Scots were  
got into a cane under the earth, stopping some of the  
vents, and setting fire on the other, smothered them  
to death, as was thought it could be none other, by  
consequence of the smoke breaking forth at some of the  
other vents. The English ships also taking their  
leane from before Lieth, with a scoze of shot or more,  
and as they came by saluting the Scots in their  
campe also, with as manie, came and laie according  
to appointment. The armie having marched this  
daie about a fine miles, incamped at Salt Preston  
by the forth. On Fridaie the ninth of September,

the English armie lieng in sight & view of the Sco-  
tish campe, that laie two miles or therabouts from  
them, had the forth on the north, and the hill last re-  
membered on the south, the west end whereof is called  
Fandide Brate, on the which standeth a forie castell,  
and halfe a scoze houses of like worthinesse by it, and  
had westward before the Englishmen, the Scots li-  
eng in campe. About a mile from the English  
campe were the Scots horsemen verie busie, prank-  
ing vp and downe, & faine would haue bene a coun-  
sell with the Englishmens doings; who againe, be-  
cause the Scots seemed to sit to receiue them, did di-  
ligentlie prepare that they might come go to them,  
and therefore kept within their campe all that daie.

The lord protector and the counsell sitting in con-  
sultation, the capteines and officers providing their  
bards, store of vittels, and furniture of weapons, for  
furtherance whereof our vessels of munition and  
vittels were here already come to the shore. The  
Scots continued their brauerie on the hill, the which  
the Englishmen not being so well able to beare,  
made out a band of light horsemen, and a trope of  
demilances to backe them: the Englishmen and  
strangers that serued among them, got vp aloft on  
the hill, and thereby of euen ground with the enimie  
rode straight toward them with good speed and order,  
whom at the first the Scots did boldly countenance  
and abide: but after, when they perceived that our  
men would needs come forward, they began to  
picke, and would faine haue bene gone, ver they  
had told their errand. But the Englishmen hasted so  
speedilie after, that euen straight they were at their  
elbowes, and did so frontlie then besseire them, that  
what in the onset at the first, and after in the chase,  
which lasted a thre miles twelue to as far as the fur-  
thest of their campe on the south side, they had killed  
of the Scots within a thre houres, about the num-  
ber of thirtene hundred, and taken the maister of  
Hume, the lords Humes sonne and heire, two priests  
and six gentlemen, whereof one by sir Jaques Gra-  
nado, and all vpon the highest and twelue highest  
of the hill toward the Scots, within the full sight of  
their whole campe.

On the English part one Spanishe haquebutter  
hurt, and taken sir Wase Bulmer knight, Thomas  
Comer marshall of Berwik, and Robert Crouch,  
all capteines of severall bands of the English light  
horsemen, and men of right good courage and appo-  
inted service, & at this time distressed by their owne  
too much forwardnesse, and not by the enimies force.  
To conclude, of sixtene hundred horsemen for their  
aid, and five hundred footmen to lie close in am-  
bush, and to be readie at need, which came that mor-  
ning out of their campe, there returned not home a

hauie seven hundred, and diuerse of those sore hurt,  
and among other, the lord Hume himselfe, for hast in  
the flight, had a fall from his horse, and burst the ca-  
nell bone of his necke, that he was faine to be caried  
straight to Edenborough, and finallye there departed  
this life of that hurt. So that it is true which C. O.  
saith, that in this skirnish manie a good rider was  
dismounted, their horses with curie saddles and  
loose bridles running by hill and downe dale, as if  
they had bene sturke mad, and to conclude (saith he)

—equi lassurus in hosti

Tergo alius summo tellurem vertice pulsans.

Then after this, the lord protector, and the earle of  
Warwicke, and other of the counsell, with a small  
gard, mounting by the hill where the slaughter had  
bene made, about halfe a mile southward from the  
Scottish campe, toke full view therof, the plot where  
they laie, so chosen for strength, as in all their coun-  
trie (some thought) not a better, saue on the south by a  
great marish, & on the north by the forth, which side  
they fenced with two field peeces, and certeine haque-  
butter a croke, lieng under a turffe wall, Eden-  
borough on the west at their backs, and eastward  
betwixt the Englishmen and them stronglie defen-  
ded by the course of a riuer called Esk, running  
north into the forth, which as it was not verie deepe  
of water, so were the banks of it so high and steepe,  
as a small sort of resistants might haue bene able  
to keepe downe a great number of commers vp.  
About a twelue scoze from the forth, ouer the same  
riuer, is there a stone bridge, which they did keepe al-  
so well garded with ordinance.

When the lord protector, and the earle of War-  
wicke had viewed euerie thing, as they thought expe-  
dient, they returned home towards their campe, a-  
longst before the campe of the enimies, within lesse  
than two slight shots, entring into a lane of thirtie  
foot broad, fenced on either side with a wall of turffe,  
an ell of heighth. The Scots did often shot at them  
in the waie as they passed thus homewards, without  
hurt, saving the killing of an horse among thre  
hundred, the rider escaping else harmelesse. And as  
the dukes grace was passed twelue halfe the waie  
homewards, a Scottish herald with a cote of his  
princes armes vpon him (as the manner is) and with  
him a trumpetter, ouertooke them.

The herald declaring this message to the lord  
protector, pretended to come from the gouernour, to  
inquire of prisoners taken, and therewith to proffer  
honest conditions of peace. And after he had told his  
tale, then began the trumpetter, and said, how he  
was sent from the earle of Huntley: App lord my  
maister (saith he) hath willed me to shew your grace,  
that because this matter maie be the sooner ended,  
and with lesse hurt, he will fight with your grace for  
the whole quarell, twentie to twentie, ten to ten, or  
else himselfe alone with your grace man to man.  
The lord protector hauing kept with him the lord lie-  
tenant, had heard them both thoroughlie, and then in  
answering, spake somewhat with louder voice, than  
they had done their messages. Wherevpon they that  
were the riders by, thinking that his grace would  
haue it no secret, were somewhat the bolder to come  
nearer, the words whereof were vttered so expedientlie  
with honour, and so honourable with expedition,  
that the standers by were moued to doubt whether  
they might rather note in them the promptnesse of a  
singular prudence, or the boldnesse of a noble cou-  
rage: and they were thus.

Your gouernour maie know, that the speciall  
cause of our coming hither was not to fight, but  
for the thing that should be the locale, both of vs and  
you. For God we take to record, we mind no more  
hurt to the realme of Scotland, than we do to the  
realme

The lord  
Hume hurt  
with a fall in  
the chase.

A Scottish  
herald decla-  
reth a message  
to the duke of  
Summerlet.

The lord pro-  
tectors an-  
swer.

realme of England, and therefore our quarell being so good, we trust God will prosper vs the better. But as for peace, he hath refused such conditions at our hands, as we will neuer proffer againe: and therefore let him looke for none, till this waie we make it: and thou trumpet, saie to thy maister, he saimeth to lacke wit so to make this chalenge to me, being of such estate, by the sufferance of God, as to haue so weightie a charge of so pretious a ietwell, the gouernance of a kings person, & then the protection of all his realims, whereby in this case I haue no power of my selfe, which if I had, as I am true gentleman, it should be the first bargain I would make: but there be a great sort amongst vs his equals, to whom he might haue made this chalenge without refusal.

The earle of Warwikes request and message to the earle of Huntley.

Then quoth the lord lieutenant to them both, He sheweth his small wit to make this chalenge to my lords grace, and he so meane, but if his grace will giue me leaue, I shall receiue it: and trumpet bring me word thy maister will so do, and thou shalt haue of me an hundred crownes. Saie (quoth my lords grace) the earle of Huntley is not meet in estate with you, my lord: but herald saie to the gouernor, and him also, that we haue bene a good season in this countrie, and are here now but with a smaller companie, and they a great number, and if they will meet vs in field, they shall be satisfied with fighting inough: and herald bring me word if they will so do, and by my honour I will giue the a thousand crownes. He haue a proud sort among you, but I trust to see your pride abated shortly, and of the erle Huntleys too: I wis he is a glorious young gentleman.

The order of war touching heralds violated.

This said, the earle of Warwike continued his request, that he might receiue this chalenge: but the lord protector would in no wise grant it. These messengers had their answers, and therewith leave to depart. The Scots in midst of this message, doing contrarie to the order of warre, which as it granteth safetie to heralds and trumpetters, to passe betwixt armie and armie: so during the time of any such message, as this was, hostile on both parts ought to cease, but it skilled not. On the morow after, they had their guns taken from them (as saith maister Patten) and put into their hands that could vse them with more good manner. But now concerning the message of the herald, it was thought that he was sent therewith, not for that it was beleued of them, that it would be accepted; but rather that whilst he was doing his errand, he might suruey the English powder: or else for that upon refusal of the offer, they might vse the victorie (whereof they accounted themselves assured) with more crueltie.

Theaine doubt of the Scots.

If nothing they doubted more, than least the Englishmen would haue bene gone backe, and gotten to the water, before they should haue encountered them, and therefore they had appointed to haue giuen the English armie a canifado in the night before the daie of the battell: but peraduenture, vnderstanding that the Englishmen had warning of their intention, and were provided for them if they had come, they staied and came not at all. But in the morning, they were by verie timelie, and being put in order of battell, they marched straight towards the English campe, against whom then, though they saw the English horsemen readilie to make: yet could not be persuaded, but that it was for a policie to staie them, till the English footmen and carriages might fullie be bestowed a shipboard, and that for the same purpose the English ships were come backe from before Lieth.

Ordinance planted against the enimie.

In the night of this daie, the dukes grace appointed, that earle in the next morning part of the ordinance should be planted in the lane (where men

tion before is made) vnder the turre of the wall, next to their campe, and some also to be set vpon the hill nie to Andzelske church afore remembred: and this to the intent we should with our shot cause them either wholie to remoue their campe, or else much to annoie them in that place where they laie. It was not the least of the Englishmens meaning also to win from them certeine of their ordinance, that laie nearest vnto this church. And herewith the same morning, being the tenth of September, and Saturday, somewhat before eight of the clocke, the English armie dislodged, & marched straight toward the church of Andzelske, as well for intent to haue incamped nere the same, as for placing their ordinance, and other considerations afore remembred.

The Scots either for feare of the Englishmens departing, or hope of their spoiling, were out of their campe comming toward them, passed the riuer, gathered in arais, and well nere at this church, per the Englishmen were halfe waie to it, so quite disappointing the Englishmens purpose. Which at the first seemed verie strange in their eies, as altogether beside their expectation, as they that thought they would neuer haue forsaken their strength, to meet them in the field. But after it was knowne that they did not onelie thus purpose to do, but also to haue assailed them in their campe, as they laie if they had not bene stirring the timelier, and hauing caused all their tents to be let flat downe to the ground, per they came out, because none should lie lurking behind them in their campe, and as well the nobles as other, leaving their horses behind them (except such as were appointed to serue on horsebacke) marched on with their souldiours on foot.

They came speedilie forwards on both sides, the one till then no whit aware of the others intent: but the Scots indeed with a rounder pace betwene two hillocks, betwixt the Englishmen and the church, mistred somewhat by in, at whome as they staied, the English galle shot off, & slue the maister of Grefine, with fife and twentie others nere by him, and therewith so skard foure thousand Irish archers, brought by the earle of Argile, that where (as it was said) they should haue bene a wing to the foreward, they could neuer after be made to come forward. Herby on did their armie hastily remoue, & from thence declining southward, toke their direct waie toward Faulside braie. Of this, sir Rafe Blane, lieutenant of all the English horsemen, first of all, or with the first, noting it, quicklie aduertised the lord protector, who thereby did readilie conceiue their meaning, which was to win the hill, and thereby the wind and sunne, the gaine of which thre things (as is thought) whether partie in fight of battell can hap to obtaine, hath his force doubled against his enimie.

In all this enterpasse, they used for haste so little the helpe of horse, that they plucked forth their ordinance by draught of men, which at that present began strilie to shot off towards the English armie, whereby it was perceiued they ment more than a skirmish. Herewith euerie man began to applie him selfe in his charge and dutie which he had to do. And herewith the lord protector, and other of the counsell on horsebacke as they were, fell straight in consultation. The sharpnesse of whose circumspect wisdoms, as it quicklie espied out the enemies intents, so did it among other things promptlie prouide them in remedie, to prevent them (as needfull it was) for the time asked no leisure.

Their deuise was, that the lord Greie of Willton, marshall of the armie, with his band of Bolleners, and with the lord protectors band, and the earle of Warwikes, all to the number of eightene hundred horsemen, on the left hand on the east halfe, and sir Rafe

Saturday, the tenth of September, the daie of the battell.

The English men & Scots march the one armie toward the other.

The galle shot off, & slue the maister of Grefine, with fife and twentie others nere by him, and therewith so skard foure thousand Irish archers.

Consultation of the English horsemen on horsebacke.

The deuise of the lord protector, and other of the counsell.

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Kase Wane, with sir Thomas Warcie capteine of the  
penfioners, and men of armes, and the lord Jfity-  
waters, with his band of demulances, all to the num-  
ber of fiftene hundred, to be readie and euen with  
the lord marshall, on the west halfe. And thus all  
these together afore to incounter the enemies afront,  
whereby either to breake their arae, and that waie to  
stop them of their gate, and force them to fraie, while  
the fore-ward might wholie haue the hill side, and  
the battell and rere-ward be placed in grounds next  
that in order, and best for aduantage. And after this,  
that the same horsemen should retire vp to the hill  
side to come downe in order afresh, and inest them  
on both sides, whilest the foot battells should occupie  
them in fight afront.

The lord  
Scots re-  
sist to the  
top protecto.

Which enterprife, though it seemed right dange-  
rous to the assailers, yet was it not more wiselie de-  
vised by the counsell, than valiantlie and willinglie  
executed of the lord marshall, & the others. For euen  
there taking their leaues of the counsell, the said  
lord marshall requiring onelie, that if it went not  
well with him, the dukes grace would be good to his  
wife & children, he said he would meet those Scots,  
and so with their bands the foresaid capteins toke  
their waie, and made towards the enemy. By this  
time were the fore-wards on either part aduanced  
within two sight shots in lumber. The Scots came  
on so fast, that it was thought of the most part of the  
Englishmen, they were rather horsemen than foot-  
men. The Englishmen againe were led the more  
with speed, to shew that they were as willing as the  
Scots to trie the battell. The master of the ordinance  
to their great aduantage plucked vp the hill at that  
instant certeine peeces, and some after planted two  
or three canons of them welnigh upon the top there,  
whereby hauing so much the helpe of the hill, he might  
ouer the Englishmens heads shot niest at the eni-  
mie. As the lord protector had so circumspectie taken  
order for the arae and station of the armye, and for  
the execution of euerie mans office beside, he being  
perfectlie appointed in safre armour, accompanied  
onelie with sir Thomas Chaloner knight, one of the  
clerkes of the kings priue counsell, got him to the  
hight of the hill, to carrie by the ordinance, where he  
might best surueie the whole field, and succour with  
aid where most he saw need, and also by his presence  
to be a defense to the thing that stood weakest in  
place, and also most in daunger, the which how much  
it stood in stead, anon ye shall heare further.

The Scots  
are here vpon  
the sudden,

As he was halfe vp the hill, the erle of Warwicke  
was ware the enemies were all at a sudden state, and  
stood still a good while, so that it seemed to him that  
they perceiving now their owne follie in leauing  
their ground of aduantage, had no will to come anie  
further forward, but gladlie would haue bin whence  
they came. The reasons were these. First because at  
that time, beside the full muster of the English foot-  
men, of whome they thought there had bene none  
there in field, but all to haue bene either thipt, or a  
shipping; then they saw plaine that the Englishmen  
were sure to haue the gaine of the hill, and they the  
ground of disaduantage out of their hold, and put  
from their hope: and hereto, for that their herald  
gaue the lord protector no warning, the which by him  
(if they had ment to fight it out) who would not haue  
presumed that for the estimation of their honoz, they  
would little haue stucke to haue sent; and he againe,  
and it had bene but for his thousand crotons, would  
right gladlie haue brought: Well yet how so euer  
their meaning changed, finally considering belike  
the state they stood in, that as they had left their  
strength too soone, so now to be too late to repent, vp-  
on a change of countenance, they made hastilie for-

ward againe, and (as it seemed) with no lesse stout-  
nesse of courage, than stronglie in order, whose man-  
ner, armour, weapon, and order in fight in those  
daies and also before (though now somewhat chan-  
ged as well as amongst other nations) was as in-  
sueth.

Harquebutters had they few, and appointed their  
fight most commonlie alwaies on foot. They used to  
come to the field well furnished, with sacke and skull,  
dagger, buckler, and swords, all notable bryde and  
thin, of exceeding good temper, and vniuersallie so  
made to slice, as hard it is to deniue the better: here-  
to euerie man his pike, and a great hercher wapped  
twisse or thysle about his necke, not for cold but for  
cutting. In their arae toward the joining with the  
enemie, they thrust so nie in the fore-ranke, shoul-  
der to shoul-der, together with their pikes in both hands,  
streight afore them, and their followers in that or-  
der so hard at their backs, laeing their pikes ouer  
their foregoers shoul-ders, that if they do assaile vn-  
disseuered, no force can well withstand them.

Standing at defense, they thrust shoul-ders like,  
wise so nie together, the fore-ranks well nie to knee-  
ling scope low before, for their fellows behind, hold-  
ing their pikes in both hands, and there with in their  
left their bucklers, the one end of their pike against  
their right foot, the other against the enemye breast  
high, their followers crossing their pike points with  
them before, and thus each with other, so nie as place  
and space will suffer, through the whole ranks so  
thicke, that as easilie shall a bare finger pearce  
through the skin of an angrie hedgehog, as anie in-  
counter the front of their pikes. Thus prouided, they  
(I meane the Scots) addressed themselves to incounter  
inflamed with a heat of furious hatz, but not  
advised whether the cause were iust or vniust, for  
the which they were vp in armes: which foolish mad-  
nesse the poet pointeth at, and painteth out, saeing:

*Arma Scotus poscit, valida contendere vi vult,*

*Is nec habet pensū sit id equum an profus iniquum.*

The lord marshall notwithstanding, whome no  
danger detracted from doing his enterprife, with  
the companie and order afore appointed, came full in  
their faces from the hill side towards them. Where-  
with waied it verie hot on both sides, with pittifull  
cries, horrible roze, and terrible thundering of guns,  
beside the daie darkened aboue head with smoke of  
the artillerie, the sight and apperance of the enemye  
euen at hand before, the danger of death on euerie  
side else, the bullets, pellets and arrowes flieng each  
where so thicke, and so uncerteinlie lighting, that  
no where was there anie suretie of safetie, euerie  
man stricken with a dreadfull feare, not so much per-  
chance of death, as of hurt, which things though they  
were but certeine to some, yet doubted of all, affe-  
red crueltie at the enemies hands, without hope of  
mercie, death to die, and danger to fight.

The whole face of the field on both sides vpon this  
point of joining, both to the eie and to the eare so hea-  
uie, so deadlie, lamentable, furious, outragious, ter-  
rible, confuse, and so quite against the quiet nature  
of man, as if to the nobilitie the regard of their ho-  
nor and fame, to the knights and capteines the esti-  
mation of their worship and honestie, and general-  
lie to them all the naturall motion of bounden du-  
tie, their owne safetie, hope of victorie, and the fauour  
of God, that they trusted vpon for the equitie of their  
quarrell, had not bene a more vehement cause of  
courage, than the danger of death was cause of feare,  
the verie horrour of the thing had bene able to haue  
made anie man to forget both prouesse and policie.  
But the lord marshall and the others, with vnfent  
mind and courage warlike and quicklie continued  
their course towards them. The enemies were in a  
fallow

The order of  
the Scots in  
warres both  
touching their  
furniture and  
disposition.

The incommen-  
ter is verie  
hot betwix  
both sides.

The face of  
the field at the  
point of join-  
ing.

Consultation  
of the Eng-  
lish lords on  
how to backe.



fallow field, whereof the furrowes laie sidelong toward the Englishmen, next to whome by the side of the same furrowes, & a stones cast from the Scots, was there a crosse ditch or slough, which the Englishmen must needs passe to come to them, wherein manie that could not leape ouer stucke fast, to no small danger of themselves, and some disorder of their fellows.

The order of  
the Scottish  
battels.

The enimie perceiuing the Englishmen fast to approach, disposed themselves to abide the hunt, and in this order stood still to receiue them. The earle of Angus next to the Englishmen in the Scottish foreward as capteine of the same, with an eight thousand men, and foure or fve peeces of ordinance on his right hand, and a foure hundred horsemen on his left. Behind him westward, the gouernour with ten thousand Inland men (as they call them) the choicest soldiers counted of their countrie. And the earle of Huntlie in the rere-ward, twelnie even with the battell on the left side with eight thousand. The foure thousand Irish archers as a wing to them both, last indeed in order, & first (as they said) that ran awaie. The battell and also the rere-ward were garded likewise with their ordinance according.

The Irish  
archers on  
a wing.

Edward  
Shelleie.

The lord  
John Greie.

Edward Shelleie lieutenant vnder the lord Greie of his band of Bullenens, was the first that passed ouer the slough. The lord Greie himselfe next, with the lord John Greie and others in the foremost ranke, and so then after two or thre rankes of their former bands. But badlie yet could they make their race, by reason the furrowes laie trauctie to their course. That notwithstanding, and though also they were nothing likelie well to be able thus affront to come within them to do them hurt, as well because the Scottishmens pikes were as long or longer than their staves, as also for that their horses were all naked without bards, whereof though there were right manie among them, yet not one put on, for as much as at their comming forth in the morning, they looked for nothing lesse than for battell that daie: yet did those worthe gentlemen, the lord Greie of Wiltton, the lord John Greie, and maister Shelleie with the residue, so valiantlie & stronglie giue the charge vpon them, that whether it were by their prowesse or power, the left side of the enimies that his lordship did set vpon (though their order remained vnbroken) was yet compelled to swate a good waie backe, and giue ground largelie, and all the residue of them beside to stand much amazed.

The English  
horsemen re-  
pelled.

Beside this, as the Englishmen were twelnie at their enimies, they stood verie bzaue and bzaggging, shakng their pike points, & crieng: Come lounds, come here likes, come herelikes; and such like rhytlike they used. But though (saith maister Patten) they meant but small humanitie, yet shewed they thereby much ciuilitie, both of faire plaie, to warne per they stroke, and of formall order, to chide per they fought. The English capteines that were behind, perceiuing at eie, that both by the vneuenesse of the ground, by the sturdie order of the enimie, and for that their fellows were so nie and streight besore them, they were not able to anie aduantage to mainteine this onset, did therefore according to the denise in that point appointed, turne themselves, and made a soft retire vp toward the hill againe. Howbeit, to confesse the truth, some of the number that knew not the preperped policie of the counsell in this case, made of a sober aduised retire, an hastie, rash, and vnaduised flight: howbeit, without capteine or standard, & vpon no cause of need, but of a mere vndiscretion and madnesse. A madnesse indeed, for first the Scots were not able to pursue, because they were fatigued; and then if they could, what hope by flight to farre from home in their enimies land, where was

no place of refuge?

The valiant lord Greie, Edward Shelleie, little Preston, Hampton, and Terringham, Bullenens, Katcliffe, the lord Fitzwaters brother, sir John Cleres sonne and heire, Hauleie a gentleman of right commendable prowesse, Digs of Kent, Ellerker a pensioner, Segraue: of the duke of Summersets band, Standleie, Woodhouse, Constie, Hogill, Pozris, Denis, Arthur, and Atkinson, with other in the fore-ranke, not being able in this earnest assault, both to tend to their fight afoze, and to the re-  
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tative behind: the Scots againe well considering hereby how weake they remained, caught courage afresh, ran sharplie forward vpon them, and without anie mercie, slue the most part of them that abode furthest in pzeale a fir more of Bullenens, and other than before are named, in all to the number of twentie fir, and most part gentlemen. My lord Greie yet and my lord John Greie, and likewise my lord Edward Seimer (as some grace was) returned  
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again; but neither all in safetie, nor without cut-  
tent markes they had bin there: for the lord Greie with a pike through the mouth was rased a long from the tip of the tong, and thrust that waie verie  
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dangerouslie more than two inches in the necke; and the other two had their horses vnder them with swords soze wounded. Like as also a little before this onset, sir Thomas Darcie vpon his approach to the enimies, was striken glansing wise on the right  
40  
side, with a bullet of one of their field peeces, and thereby his bodie bzased with the botwing in of his armour, his sword hilts broken, and the forefinger of his right hand beaten flat. Euen so vpon the parting of this fraie, was sir Arthur Darcie slayt at with  
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swords, and so hurt vpon the wedding finger of his right hand also, as it was counted for the first part of curing to haue it quite cut awaie.

Gentlemen  
slaine.

The lord  
Greie hurt.

About the same time, certeine of the Scots ran on hastlie to the kings standard of the horsemen  
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(the which sir Andrew Flammoche bare) and lateng fast hold vpon the stasse therof, cried, A king, a king, that if both his strength, his hart, and his horse had not bene good, and here with somewhat aided at this pinch by sir Rafe Coppinger a pensioner, both he had bene slaine, and the standard lost, which the Scots neuertheless held so fast, that they brake and bare awaie the nether end of the stasse to the burrell, and intended so much to the gaine of the standard, that sir Andrew (as hap was) scaped home all safe, and else  
70  
without hurt. At this businesse also the lord Fitzwaters, both earle of Suller and lord chamberleine to the queenes maiestie, capteine there of a number  
80  
of demilances was vnhorst, but some mounted againe, scaped yet in great danger, and his horse all belwen. Hereat further were Caluerleie the standard-bearer of the men at armes, and Clement Panton a pensioner, thrust each of them into the leg with  
90  
pikes, and Don Philip a Spaniard into the knee, diuerse others maimed and hurt, and manie horses soze wounded beside.

The lord  
Fitzwaters  
slaine.

Caluerleie &  
Clement Panton.

Don Philip &  
Spaniard.

By this time had the English foreward accordingly gotten the full vantage of the hilles side, and in respect of their march stood sideling toward the enimie: who neuertheless were not able in all parts to stand full square in arraie: by reason that at the  
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west end of them vpon their right hand, and toward the enimie, there was a square plot inclosed with turfes (as their maner of fencing in those parts, as well as in diuerse other is) one corner whereof did let the square of the same arraie. The battell in good  
110  
order next them, but so as in continuance of arraie, the former part thereof stood vpon the hils side, the taile vpon the plaine, and the rere-ward wholie vpon the plaine. So that the placing and countenance  
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of

The placing  
of the English  
vanguard.

The battell.

The rere-  
ward.

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of the English armie in this wise, they shewed them-  
selves in maner to compasse in the Scots battells,  
that they should no waie escape them: but how little  
able they were to do it with power and number, you  
may easilie coniecture.

Those horsemen that were so repelled, and in  
their comming backe disorderlie brake their arraie  
from the residue, ran so hussilie through the ranks of  
the English fore-ward as it stood, that it did both dis-  
order manie, feared manie, and was a great incon-  
venience to the entinie. The worthie earle of Mar-  
10 boke, who had the guiding of this fore-ward, right  
valiantlie had conducted the same to their standing,  
and there did berie noble incourage and comfort  
them with such cherefull words, offering to live and  
die among them, that doubtlesse his presence, de-  
monstrating himselfe in such manlike sort, stood the whole  
company in great stead. Neither wanted there the  
chearefull diligence of those capteines, with whome  
his honor was furnished in that fore-ward likewise  
to incourage their bands, nor the worthie behavout  
of other in the battell and rere-ward, everie one ac-  
cording to his calling, shewing such proofe of his du-  
tie, as the most part certeinlie deserved to have their  
names registred in the kalender of fame, where no  
rust of cankered oblivion might fret out the remem-  
brance of their commendable demeanours: and  
therefore if anie among them should haue shewed  
anie lacke of courage, their dyspaise had bene the  
more, sith by others they saw such worthie example  
giuen, and were to stand upon this resolution, to  
have harts hardened against all hazards in a iust  
cause, whereof they hoped almightie God had under-  
taken the managing and direction, unto whome they  
had committed the same; as the poet truelie saith:

*Iusta Deo commissa Anglorum causa tonanti,  
Audaces animos fecit impavidosq; pericli.*

But sith there were so manie that did well, & ther-  
foze deserving a longer processe to be made of their  
high valiances shewed in that dangerous seruice,  
than this volume may permit, I will proceed to the  
battell. The Scots were somewhat disordered with  
their comming out about the slaughter of the Eng-  
lishmen, the which they did so earnestlie follow, that  
they toke not one to mercie. The dukes grace plac-  
ing himselfe (as ye haue heard) on the hill of Faur-  
side braie, and therewith perceiving the great disor-  
der of the stragling horsemen, that had in the retire  
broken arraie, hemmed them in from further strai-  
eng, whome sir Rafe Wane, and others of the cap-  
teins sone after with great dexteritie brought into  
good order and arraie againe, and with all the rest of  
the strengths of the whole armie, by the policie of the  
lords, and diligence of everie capteine and officer be-  
side, were so litlie and apilie applied in their feat,  
that where this repulse giuen by the entinie to the  
horsemen was doubted of manie, to turne to the  
whole losse of the field, the same was wrought and  
advanced according as it was devised, to the great  
certeinie of gaine and victorie. For first at this  
slough, where most of the horsemen had stood, sir Pe-  
ter Spewtas capteine of all the harquebutters a foot  
did berie valiantlie conduct & place a good number of  
his men in maner hard at the faces of the entines,  
whereunto sir Peter Camboa a Spaniard, capteine  
of two hundred harquebutters, Spaniards, and Ita-  
lians on horsebacke did readilie bring his men also,  
who with the hot continuance of their shot in both  
parts, did so frontlie fraie the entines, that they could  
not well come further forward: then the archers that  
marched in arraie on the right hand of the footmen,  
and next to the entines, pricked them tharpelie with  
arrows as they stood. Therewith the master of the  
ordnance, to their great annoiance, did gall them

with halle shot and other out of the great ordnance,  
directlie from the hill top, and certeine other gun-  
ners with their peeces a flanke from the rere-ward,  
most of the artillerie and mistue engines then who-  
lie thus at once, with great puissance and beheimen-  
cie occupied about them, herewith the full sight of the  
Englishmen, all shadowed from them before by the  
horsemen, and dust raised, whome then they were  
ware in such order to be so nere upon them, and to  
this the perfect arraie of the horsemen againe com-  
ming contragrouse to set on them afterly, miserable  
men, perceiving themselves then all too late, how  
much too much they had overshot themselves, began  
suddenlie to shrink.

Their gouvernour and other the principall capteins  
that had brought them to the bargaine, toke their  
horses and fled amaine, which other perceiving did  
quicklie follow, and with the foremost of that crue  
their Irishmen, and therewith turned all the whole  
rout, cast downe their weapons, ran out of their  
wards, off with their iackes, and with all that euer  
they might, betoke them to the race that their gover-  
nour began. The Englishmen at the first had found  
them (as that could scape so manie eies) and tharp-  
lie and quicklie with an vnuerfall outcrie, they fle,  
they fle, pursued after in chase so egerlie, and with  
such fiercenesse, that they overtoke manie, and spar-  
red indeed but few, that when they were once turned,  
it was a wonder to see how sone, and in how sun-  
drie sorts they were scattered. The place they stood on  
like a wood of staves strewed on the ground, as ru-  
thes in a chamber, unpasseable (they laie so thicke) for  
either horse or man. Here at the first had they let  
fall all their pikes, and after that, everie where scat-  
tered swords, bucklers, daggers, iackes, and all  
things else that was of anie weight, or might be any  
let to their course: which course among them, three  
waies speciallie they made, some along the sands by  
the Irish towards Litch, some straight towards Ed-  
denburgh, whereof part through the park there (in  
the wallies whereof, though they be round about of  
sint stone, yet were there manie holes already  
made) and part of them by the high waie that leadeth  
along by the abbaye of Holierood house; and the resi-  
due and most part of them towards Wakest, which  
waie by means of the marish our horsemen were  
worst able to follow.

Sundrie shifts, some sheld, some soze, made  
they in their running: diuerse of them in their cour-  
ses, as they were ware they were pursued but of  
one, would suddenlie start backe, and lath at the legs  
of the horse, or soine him in the bellie, and sometime  
did they reach at the rider also, whereby Clement  
Passon in the arme, and diuerse in other parts of  
their bodies otherwise in this chase were hurt. Some  
other laie flat in a furrow as they were dead, there-  
by past by of the Englishmen untouched, and (as  
was reported) the earle of Angus confessed he con-  
ched in that sort till his horse hapt to be brought him.  
Other some were found to skate in the river, courting  
downe his bodie under the root of some willow tree,  
with scant his nose above water for breath. Some  
for lightnesse cast awaye shoes and doublets, and ran  
in their shirts, and some were seene in this race all  
breathlesse to fall flat downe, and haue run them-  
selves to death.

Before this, at the time of the onset, which the  
English horsemen gaue, there came eastward five  
hundred of the Scottish horsemen by along this Faur-  
side braie, straight upon the English ordnance and  
carriage. The lord protector (as ye haue heard) most  
speciallie for doubt hereof, placing himselfe by the  
same, caused a pece or two to be turned toward  
them, with a few shots whereof they were sone tar-  
ned

The Scots  
fle and are  
tharpelie pur-  
sued.

The entinie  
cast awaye  
their maniti-  
on and furni-  
ture the light-  
ner to fle and  
be gone.

The earle of  
Angus.

Parson Heble  
one of the lord  
protectors  
chaplains.

ned also and fled to Wakeh. But had they kept on their purpose, they were provided for accordingly. For one parson Heble a chaplain of his graces, and two or three other, by and by discharged four or five of the carts of munition, and therewith bestowed pikes, bills, bowes and arrowes, to as manie as came; so that of carters and other, there were some weaponed about a thousand, whome parson Heble and the other did verie handsonlie dispose in arraie, and made a pretie muster.

The manner of  
the slaughter.

To retorne now after this notable stretching of their footmens weapons, began a pittfull sight of the dead corpses, lieng disperfed abrode, some their legs off, some but hough, and lest lieng halfe dead, some thrust quite through the bodie, others their necks halfe a funder, manie their heads clouen, with other thousand kinds of killing. After that, and further in chase all for the most part killed, either in the head, or in the necke, for the horsemen could not well reach them lower with their swords. And thus with blood and slaughter of the enimie, this chase was continued five miles in length, westward from the place of their standing, which was in the fallow fields of Wndeske, untill Edenburgh parke, and well nigh to the gates of the towne it selfe, and unto Liff, and in breadth nre four miles, from the Forth sands up to ward Wakeh southwards: in all which space, the dead bodie laie as thicke as a man may note cattell grafsing in a full replenished pasture. The river ran all red with blood (a signe of great slaughter) so that in the same chase were slaine to the number of ten thousand men, some saie about foureteene thousand, as I doe find by this report concerning the battell:

The number  
of Scots  
slaine.

*Millia bis septem sunt morte absumpsa Scotorum,  
Cetera pars certam querit fugiendo salutem.*

To conclude, considering the smalnesse of the Englishmens number, and shortnesse of the time (which was scant five houres, from one till well nigh six) the mortalitie was so great (as it was thought) the like afore time had not bene scene. One great cause whie the Englishmen spared so few of them, was thought to be their tyrannous vow by them made (which the Englishmen certainly heard of) that whensoever they fought and ouercame, they would kill so manie, and spare so few: a sure proofe whereof they plainelie had shewed at the first onset given, where they killed all, and saved not a man that came within their danger. An other respect was, to revenge their great and cruell tyrannie shewed at Banlar hough, where they slue the lord Cuers, whome otherwise they might haue taken prisoner and saved, and cruellie killed as manie else of our men as came into their hands. An other occasion also was their armor among them so little differing, all clad alike in sacks couered with white leather, doublets of the same, or of fustian, and most comithonlie all white hosen, not one with either chaine, bryoch, ring, or garment of silke, unlesse chains of latten drawne foure or five times along the upper stocks, or to vse master Pattens words, the thighs of their hosen and doublet sleeves for cutting.

Banlar  
hough.

The apparell  
of the Scots.

This lacke for difference in apparell was the chiefest cause that so manie of their great men and gentlemen were killed, and so few saved. The outward shew, the resemblance or signe, whereby a stranger might discern a poore man from a gentleman, was not among them to be scene: as for words and godlie profers of great ransoms, were as rife in the mouths of the one as the other. And it came here to passe, that after at the examination and counting of the prisoners, there were found taken about twentie of their common countrie people, to one of their gentlemen, whome no man need to doubt the Englishmen had rather haue spared than the other, if they

could haue scene anie difference betwene them in taking. And yet verelie considering the case as it stood, the Englishmen shewed more grace, and toke more to mercie, than the respects before mentioned might seeme to haue required. For beside the earle of Huntlie, who in god armor appointed like a gentleman of anie among them, but could not then escape because he lacked his horse, and layned to be taken by sir Rafe Glane, and beside the lord of Deyster, Hobbie Hambleton capteine of Dunbar, the master of Sanpole, the lord of Wilmings taken by John Bzen, a brother of the earle of Castils, and besides one Pontrell, taken by Cornelius comptroller of the ordnance in the armie, and one Camals an Irish gentleman, and beside manie other Scottish gentlemen more, taken by diuerse others.

The prisoners reckoned in the marshals booke were numbred to aboute fiftene hundred. Touching the slaughter, sure they killed not so manie, as for the time & opportunitie they might, if they had minded crueltie. For the lord protector moved with pitie at the sight of the dead bodies, and rather glad of victorie than desirous of slaughter, some after (by gelle) five of the clocke, fraid the standard of his horsemen at the furthest part of their campe westward, & caused the trimpets to sound a retreat. Whereat also sir Rafe Sadler treasurer (whose great diligence at that time, and readie forwardnesse in the chieft of the fraie before, did worthilie merit no small commendation) caused all the footmen to staie; and then with much trauell & great paine made them to be brought in some order againe: which was a thing not easilie done, by reason they all as then were somewhat busie in applieng their market, the spoile of the Scottish campe, where was found god provision of white bread, ale, otencaks, otemeale, mutton, butter in pots, chese, and in diuerse tents god wine also, and in some tents among them was found some silver plate and chalices, which with god deuotion ye maie be sure were plucked out of their cold clouts, and thrust into their warme bosoms.

The plot of their campe called Edmonston codge, nigh Silberton a place of the lord of Wilmings, halfe a mile beyond Hushelburgh, and four miles on this side Edenburgh, occupied in largenesse with diuerse tents and tenticles, that stood in sundrie places out of square, about a miles compasse, wherein as the Englishmen upon the sound of the retreat somewhat assembled, they all with a loud and entire outcrie and hallowing, in signe of gladnesse and victorie, made an vniuersall noise and shout, the shrillnesse whereof (as after was reported) was heard unto Edenburgh. It was a wonder to see, but (as they saie) make hands make light toke: how some the dead bodies were stripped out of their garments stark naked, even from as farre as the chafe went, unto the place of the onset, whereby the personages of the enimies might by the waie easilie be viewed and considered, the which for the talnesse of their stature, cleannesse of skin, bignesse of bone, with due proportion in all parts was such, as the beholders, if they had not scene it, would not haue believed that there had bene so many of that sort in all their countrie. Among them laie manie priests, and kirkmen, as they call them, of whome it was huted that there was a whole band of three or foure thousand, but it was found afterwards not to be altogether so.

Among other battnets, standards, and pennons, a banner of white sarsenet was found, vnder which it was said these kirkmen came, whereupon was painted a woman with hir haire about hir shoulders, kneeling before a crucifix, on hir right hand a church, after that written in great Romaine letters,

in Reg. 1.

The earle of Huntlye taken.  
Other prisoners taken.

The number of the prisoners.  
The lord protektor not without slaughter.  
The spoile of the Scottish campe.

The shew of the sign of the cross.  
The shew of the sign of the cross.

The banner of the papist.

*Afflictae sponsae ne obliuiscaris.* It was said that this was the abbat of Dunfermlings banner, but whether it was his or the bishop of Dunkels, the gouernours brother, who (as was said) were both in the field, his meaning was, to signifie that the church made intercession to Christ hir husband, not now to forget hir his sponse, being at that time afflicted and persecuted by the Englishmen. But whose denisse soeuer it was, it maie seme, that this church comming thus to battell, full appointed with weapon, and garded with such a sort of deacons to fight, howsoeuer in pain-ting he had set hir out, a man might well thinke, that in condition, he had rather framed hir like a curst queane, that would plucke hir husband by the pate, except he had hir will; than like a meke sponse, that went about humbly by submission and prayer to des-ire hir husbands helpe, for redresse of thyngs amisse. But now to leaue this paelat with his *Afflictae spon-sae*, and to make an end with this battell. There was upon fawrside braie, a little castell or pile, which was herie buile all the tyme of the battell, as anie of the Englishmen came nigh it, to shot at them, with such artillerie as they had; which was none other than of handgouns and harquebuts, & of them not a dozen neither. A litle hurt they did, but as they saw their fel-lowes in the field thus dyen and beaten abate be-fore their faces, they plucked in their peeces, and cou-ched themselves withur all mute: but by and by the house was set on fire, and they for their god wils burned and smothered withur. Thus (saith master Patten) throughe the fauour of Gods bountie, by the valliance and policie of the lord protektor, by the for-ward indouour of all the nobles and counsell there be-fore, and by the willing diligence of euerie cap-taine, officer, and true subiect else, they most valiant-ly wan the victorie ouer their enemies; of whome such slaughter was made in the field, as ye haue heard, amongst whome (as the prisoners reported) beside the lord Fleming, the lard of Loghestuare, the master of Greim, the master of Arkin, the mas-ter of Wglebie, the master of Auendale, the master of Rouen, and manie other of noble birth amongst them, there were of lards, lards sons, and other gen-tilmen slaine aboue twentie six hundred, & among the prisoners also there were manie gentlemen, spe-ciallie of name these: the earle of Huntlye lord chan-celler of the realme, the lord of Deffer, Hobbie Ham-ilton captaine of Dunbar, the master of San-pole, the lord of Wlimes, and a brother of the earle of Camis. Two thousand by lurking and lying (as they had bene dead) escaped awaie in the night all malmed and hurt. Herewith of weapons and armor more was found than the Englishmen did bough- safe to giue carriage for: & yet were there conueied thence by ship into England, of sacks speciallie and swordes, aboue thirtie thousand.

This night the Englishmen with great gladnesse and thanksgiuing to God (as god cause they had) a-bout seauen of the clocke pitched their campe at Codgebuckling braie, beside Winkerlongh, and a mile beyond the place they camped at before. Now after the battell, among other questions, one was moued who killed the first man that daie in the field, the glorie whereof one Jeronimo an Italian would glablie haue had, a gentleman sure that had serued that daie right valiantlie: howbeit it was after well tried, that Cutbert Spulgrau, a gentleman of the earle of Marthwicks, deserued the praise of killing the first enimie that died that daie, who right hardilie slue a gunner at his pece in the Scots foreward, per-euer they began anie whitt to turne. As for the oddi-narie soldiors, it was a pleasure vnto them to make rehercall of their aduentures pass, and to record that dangers (in maner inenitable) they had esca-

ped, according to the poets report in that case, saying:  
*res est meminisse laboris*  
*Præteriti iucunda: grauis effugisse periculum*  
*Summa recordari securamente voluptas.*

The next daie being sundae the eleuenth of Sep-tember, somewhat before none, the armie remoued, & marching along the forth side toward Lieth, about thre of the clocke in the after none pitched their field, a picke shot on this side that towne on the southeast halfe, somewhat shadowed from Coten-burgh by a hill, but yet the most part of it laie with- in the full sight and shot of the castell there, and in di-stance somewhat aboue a quarter of a mile. The lord marshall, and the most part of the hostmen were bestowed and lodged in the towne of Lieth. The dukes grace, the lord lieutenant, and the rest of the armie in the campe. On tuesdaie the thirtenth of September, the smaller vessels of the English fleet burned Binkorne, and a towne of two standing on the north thore of the Forth against Lieth.

In the after none the dukes grace roved by the forth a six or seuen miles westward, as it runneth into the land, and toke in his waie an Island there called saint Comins ins, which lieth foure miles be- yond Lieth, and a good waie nether the north thore than the south, yet not within a mile of the nearest. It is but halfe a mile about, and had in it an abbey, but the monks were gone: fresh water enough, and store of conies, and is so naturallie strong, that but by one waie it can be entred; the plot whereof the lord protektor considering, did quicklie cast to haue it kept, whereby all traffike of merchandize, all com-modities else comming by the forth into their land, and vnterlie the whole vse of the forth it selfe, with all the hauens vpon it, should quite be taken from them.

The next daie the lord protektor riding backe a-gaine eastward, to view diuerse thyngs and places, toke Waketh in his waie, where a house of Cecoge Dowglas did stand, and comming somewhat nere it, he sent Summer set his herald with a trumpet to know who kept it, and whether the keepers would hold or yeld it to his grace: Answer was made, that there were thre score persons within, whome their maister lieng there saturday at night after the bat-tell, did will that they, the house, and all that was in it, should be at his graces commandement. Where-vpon the chiefe came, and in name of all the rest humbled himselfe to the dukes will. From thence his grace passed to the place where the battell had bene stricken, and so by Spuskilburgh returned backe to the campe.

On thursdaie being the fiftenth of this moneth, the lord Clinton high admerall, taking with him the gallie whereof Richard Broke was captaine, and foure or five other smaller vessels besides, as well ap-pointed with munition and men, roved by the forth a ten miles westward, to an haue towne standing on the south thore called Blacke Hesse, whereat to-ward the water side is a castell of a pretie strength; as nigh whereunto as the depth of the water would suffer, the Scots for safegard had laid the Marie Willoughbie, and the Anthonie of Newcastle, two tall ships, which with extreme iniurie they had stol-len from the Englishmen before time, when no war was betwixt vs: with these laie there also an other large vessell called the Wolfe, and seauen more, wher-of part laden with merchandize. The lord Clinton and his companie with right hardie approach, after a great conflict betwixt the castell and his vessels, by fine force wan from them those thre ships of name, and burnt all the residue before their faces.

The firtenth of September the lord of Wilmston a Scottish gentleman came to the dukes grace from

The Eng-lish armie was camped by Lieth.

S. Comins ins.

The castell of Waketh.

Blacke Hesse an haue towne on the south thore of Scotland.

Three ships of name wane from the Scots.

Sir John  
Luttrell.  
So Comms  
ins kept with  
a garrison of  
Englishmen.

their counsell for cause of communication, and retur-  
ned againe to them, hauing with him Porrie an  
herald and king at armes of ours, who found them  
with the old quene at Sterling. On saturdaye the  
seauententh of September, sir John Luttrell in  
the after none departed toward saint Comms ins,  
hauing with him an hundred harquebutteres, fiftie  
pioners, & two rowe barks well furnished with muni-  
tion, and thre score and ten mariners to remaine  
there, & keepe that from inuasion of the enimies, a-  
gainst whom the English were so sharplie whetted,  
that when they came to encounter, they gaue profe  
of their manhood by wounds and bloudshed, accor-  
ding to the report of C.O. in these verses following :

*Anglorum pectora Mauris*

*Belliger exacuit, crescent ad vulnera vires.*

The earle of  
Bothwell.

In the time whilste the armie laie thus in the  
campe betwene Lieth and Edenburgh, manie  
lards and gentlemen came in to the lord protector  
to requyre his protection, the which his grace to whome  
he thought good did grant. This daie came the earle  
of Bothwell to his grace, who hauing bene kept in  
prison by the gouernour, the night after the battell  
was set at libertie, and comming thus to the lord  
protector, was frienblie welcomed and interteined;  
and hauing this night supped with his grace, he de-  
parted.

Lieth burned.

Lieth was set on fire this saturdaye, whereas it  
was meant, that there should haue bene but one  
house onelie burnt, belonging to one Barton that  
had plaid a slipperie part with the lord protector. But  
the soldiors being set a worke to fire that house, fired  
all the rest. Sir great thys also that laie in the  
hauen, which for their age and decaye were not so  
apt for vse, were likewise set on fire and burnt. On  
sundaye the eightenth of September, the lord pro-  
tector (for considerations mouing him to pittie) ha-  
uing all this while spared Edenburgh from hurt,  
did so leaue it, but Lieth and the ships burning, some  
after seauen of the clocke in the morning, caused the  
campe to dislodge, and as they were raised and on  
foot, the castell shot off a peale, with chambers hard-  
lie and all, of foure and twentie peces. Passing that  
daie seauen miles, they camped earlie for that night  
at Craintoun by a place of the lard of Wymmsoun.

The armie  
dislodged.

Craintoun.

The same morning the lord protector made mas-  
ter Andzew Dupleie knight, brother to the earle of  
Warwicke, dispatched my lord admerall and him by  
ships full fraught with men and munition toward  
the winning of an hold in the east side of Scotland  
called Broughticrag, which stood in such sort in the  
mouth of the riuer of Taie, as that being gotten,  
both Dundee, saint Johns towne, and diuerse other  
townes standing vpon the same riuer the best of the  
countrie in those parts, set vpon the Taie, should  
either become subiect vnto this hold, or else be com-  
pelled to forgo the whole vse of the riuer, for hauing  
anie thing comming in or outward. The lord ad-  
merall, and the said sir Andzew sped themselves  
with such good successe and diligence in that enter-  
pryse, that on the wednesdaye following, being the  
one and twentieth of September, after certeine of  
their shot discharged against that castell, the same  
was yielded vnto them, the which sir Andzew did  
then enter, and after kept, as capteine to his high  
passe and commendation.

Broughtic-  
rag yielded  
to the Eng-  
lishmen.

Lawder.

But now to the armie. On mondaie the nine-  
teenth of September, they marched ten miles, and  
incamped a little on this side a market towne called  
Lawder. Here as they were settled in their lodging,  
the herald Porrie returned from the Scottish coun-  
cell, with the lard of Wymmsoun, and Rose their he-  
rald, who vpon their sute to the lord protector, obtai-  
ned that sue of their counsell should haue his graces

safe conduct, that at anie time and place within six-  
tene daies, during his abode in their countrie, or at  
Berwicke, the same sue might come and commune  
with sue of the English counsell, touching matters  
in controuersie betwene them. Rose the herald de-  
parted earlie with his safe conduct, the campe raised,  
and that daie they went seauen miles till as far as  
Hume castell, where they camped on the west side of  
a rockie hill that they call Hare crag, standing about  
a mile westward from the castell.

Here they did so much by the way that they ment  
indeed to win the castell by force, if otherwise they  
might not haue it, causing a certeine number of  
harquebutteres vpon appointment before to beset the  
castell, and to watch that none should passe in or out,  
that in the end, the ladie of the house, and other that  
were within in charge with it, yielded it vp to the  
lord protector's hands: for the ladie doubting the losse  
of hir son that was prisoner with the Englishmen,  
hauing the first daie bene with the lord protector,  
and got respite till the next daie at none, in the  
meane time consulted with hir sonne, and other hir  
friends the keepers of the castell, returned at the  
time appointed the next daie, being the one and twen-  
tith of that moneth, and made sute for a longer respite  
till eight of the clocke at night, and therewith safe  
conduct for Andzew Hume hir second son, and John  
Hume lard of Colban Knokos, a kinsman of hir  
husbands, capteins of this castell, to come and speake  
with his grace in the meane while. It was granted  
hir. Wherevpon these capteins about thre of the  
clocke came to the lord protector, and after other co-  
uenants (with long debating on both parts) agreed  
vpon, the and these capteins concluded to giue their  
assent to render the castell, so far forth as the rest of  
the keepers would therewith be contented, for two or  
thre within (said they) were also in charge with keep-  
ing it as well as they, for knowledge of whose minds  
the duke sent Summerfet his herald with this ladie  
to the castell vnto them; who as the herald had made  
them pise to the articles, would faine haue had let-  
sure for foure and twentie hours longer, to send to  
their lord to Edenburgh, where he laie hurt (as be-  
fore you haue heard) and in danger of death, which  
followed of the fall that he caught at the first daies  
skirmish before the battell, to know his will and ple-  
sure in this point of rendering vp the castell: but be-  
ing wiselie and sharplie called vpon by the herald,  
they agreed to the couenants afore by their ladie and  
capteins concluded on: whereof part (as the sequelle  
the next daie in the morning by ten of the clocke  
with bag and baggage, as much as they could carie,  
leauing all munition and vittels behind them in the  
castell. Howbeit, to be assured of them, the lord pro-  
tector prouiding ech waie to be readie for them, cau-  
sed eight peces of ordinance fensed with baskets of  
earth to be planted on the southside toward the cas-  
tell within power of batterie, and the harquebutteres  
to continue their watch and ward.

On thursdaye morning being the two and twen-  
tith of September, the lord Greie was appointed to  
receiue the rending of the castell into his hands, and  
sir Edward Dupleie now lord Dupleie after to be  
capteine there. They both departed to it, and at the  
time set Andzew Hume, and foure other of the chie-  
fest there with him came out, and yielding the castell,  
deliuered the keyes to the said lord Greie: his lord  
ship causing the residue to come out then, sauing sir  
or seuen to keepe their baggage within, who all were  
in number seuentie and eight, entred the same with  
master Dupleie, and diuerse other gentlemen with  
him. He found there indifferent good store of vittels,  
and wine, & of ordinance two bassard culuerings, one

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Hume castle

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one sacre, also three falconets of brass, and of iron  
eight peeces beside. The keeping of this castell the  
lord Greie betaking unto sir Edward Dupleie ac  
cordingly returned to the campe. This done, the  
next daie being fridaie, and the three and twentieth of  
September, they dislodged, and went that morning  
to Rockesburgh, incamping in a great fallow field,  
betwixt Rockesburgh and Kelseie, standing east  
ward a quarter of a mile off. Here at Rockesburgh  
they began to build a fort within the compasse of an  
old ruinous castell, the plot and site whereof standeth  
naturallie verie strong, upon a hill east and west of  
an eight score in length, and three score in breadth,  
drawing to a narrownesse at the east end, the whole  
ground whereof the old walles did yet inuiron. Be  
side the height and hardnesse to come to, it is strong  
lie fenced on either side with the course of two great  
rivers, Tuet on the north, and Twed on the south,  
both which joining somewhat nigh together at the west  
end of it. Tuet by a large compasse about the fields  
(in which the campe laie) at Kelseie, doth fall into  
this Twed, which with great depth and swiftnesse  
runneth from thence eastward into the sea at Ber  
wikke. Over this betwixt Kelseie and Rockesburgh  
there hath bene a great stone bridge with arches, the  
which the Scots in times past haue all to broken, be  
cause the Englishmen should not that waie come to  
them.

Some after the lord protector's surueie of the plot,  
and determination to do as much in deed for ma  
king it defensible, as thornesse of the time & season  
of the yere could suffer (which was) that one great  
trench of twentie foot broad with depth according,  
and a wall of like depth, breadth, and height, should  
be made crosse within the castell from the one side  
wall to the other, and fortye foot from the west end:  
and that a like trench and wall should likewise be cast  
a trauesse within, about a coits cast from the east  
end, and hereto that the castell walles on either side  
where need was, should be mended with turffe, and  
made with towps, as well for shooting directlie for  
ward as for flanking at hand: the worke of which  
dewile did make that (beside the safegard of these  
trenches and walles) the keepers should also be much  
defended from the enemies force by both the end  
walles of the castell: the pioners were set a worke,  
and diligentlie applied in the same.

The lord of Hesseforth, and manye other lards and  
gentlemen of Tuidall and the pers, hauing come  
and communed with the lord protector, and the coun  
cell, made an assurance, as it were a truce for that  
daie, till the next daie at night; and on the next daie,  
while assurance lasted, these lards and gentlemen be  
ing the chiefest in the whole pers and Tuidale, came  
in againe, whome the dukes grace with wisdomme  
and policie without bloodshed did win then unto the  
kings obedience, for the which they did willinglie  
then receiue an oth: whose names in part insue.  
The lord of Hesseforth, the lord of Ferniburgh, the  
lord of Grenehead, the lord of Henthill, the lord of  
Huntleie, the lord of Markeston by Perrie, the  
lord of Bonedwoth, the lord of Dymelton, the lord  
of Paulestaine, the lord of Warmesleie, the lord of  
Linton, the lord of Egerston, the lord of Parton,  
the lord of Polu, the lord of Keddel, the lord of  
Keameride. George Crombull, John Hollibur  
ton, Robert Car of Greiden, Adam Birton, An  
drew Birton, Andrew Heith, Sander Spur of  
Greiston, Marke Car of Littledon, George Car  
of Faldenside, Alexander Pakdowell, Charles Ro  
therford, Thomas Car of the Pire, John Car of  
Peththorne, Walter Holliburton, Richard Han  
ganfar, Andrew Car, James Douglas of Camers,  
James Car of Perkington, George Hoppingle,

William Dymelton of Enmerden, John Crimi  
slow. Manye more there were beside, but outpas  
sed by maister Patten, for that they remained in the  
register with these, as he saith. The duke of Sum  
merfet tended the furtherance of the worke so much,  
that he forbare not to laie his owne hand to the  
spade and shouell, thereby to encourage others: so as  
there were but few lordes, knights, and gentlemen  
in the field, but with spade, shouell, or mattocke did  
therein their parts.

The five and twentieth of September being sun  
daie, the Scots began to bring vittels to the campe,  
& were so well intreated and paid for the same, that  
during the time of the Englishmens abode there,  
they wanted not of the commodities which their  
countrie could minister. The eight and twentieth of  
September a Scottish herald accompanied with cer  
taine frenchmen, that were perchance more desi  
rous to marke the armie than to wit of their wel  
fare, came and declared that within a seauen night  
after, their commissioners, to whome safe conduct  
had bene granted, should come and commune with  
our counsell at Berwikke, whose comming the earle  
of Marlowe, and sir Rafe Sadler with other the  
commissioners appointed, did so long while there a  
bide. But what the Scots ment by breaking promise  
I cannot saie, howbeit come they did not, & therfore  
escaped not the iust note of dissimulation, howbeit  
else they could colour the matter in their owne ex  
cuse.

The same daie after none, the duke of Summer  
set adorned with titles of dignitie diuerse lordes,  
knights, and gentlemen, the names and promotions  
of whom maister Patten hath set downe out of the he  
ralds booke, as followeth: Sir Rafe Sadler treasu  
rer, sir Francis Blane capitaine of the light horse  
men, sir Rafe Wane lieutenant of all the horse  
men: these knights were made banerets, a digni  
tie aboue a knight, and next to a baron. The lord  
Greie of Wilton high marshall, the lord Edward  
Selmer the duke of Summersets son, the lord Tho  
mas Howard, the lord Malbrike a Cleuelander, sir  
Thomas Dacres, sir Edward Hastings, sir Ed  
mund Widges, sir John Chin, sir Miles Partridge,  
sir John Conwoite, sir Giles Wole, sir Rafe Bag  
noll, sir Oliver Laurence, sir Henrie Gates, sir Tho  
mas Chaloner, sir Francis Fleming master of the  
ordnance, sir John Gresham, sir William Ship  
with, sir John Wals, sir George Blaag, sir Willi  
am Francis, sir Francis Knolles, sir William  
Thornburrow, sir George Wolward, sir James Will  
ford, sir Rafe Copinger, sir Thomas Wentworth,  
sir John Peruen, sir Nicholas Strange, sir Charles  
Sturton, sir Hugh Alkue, sir Francis Salmin, sir  
Richard Lounleie, sir Parmaduke Conestable, sir  
George Audleie, sir John Wolcroft, sir John South  
woth, sir Thomas Danbie, sir John Talbot, sir  
Rowland Clarke, sir John Wolleie, sir John Fox  
ker, sir Christopher Dies, sir Peter Pegro, sir Alan  
zo de Wile, sir Henrie Husleie, sir James Granado  
Wabander, sir Walter Bonham, sir Robert Brand  
ling master of Newcastell, and made knight there at  
the duke of Summersets returne.

But now that Rockesburgh was sufficientlie  
made defensible (the which to see it seemed the duke of  
Summerfet had bowed before he would thence de  
part) his grace and the counsell did first determine  
that my lord Greie should remaine upon the boy  
ders there as the kings lieutenant, and then toke or  
der for the forts: that sir Andrew Dupleie capitaine  
of Broughticrag had left with two hundred sold  
ers of harquebutters & others, and a sufficient num  
ber of pioners for his works: sir Edward Dupleie  
capitaine of Hume castell threescore harquebutters,  
fortie

The diligence  
of the duke of  
Summerfet  
to further the  
fortification  
to Rockes  
burgh.

A Scottish  
herald.

Creation of  
banerets,  
knights, &c.

Banerets.

Knights.  
Edward  
Selmer the  
duke of Sum  
mersets son.

Sir Francis  
Fleming.

Order taken  
for defense of  
the fort gain  
ed and built  
in this doage.

The armie re-  
turneth home-  
wards.

The danger  
of the soldiers  
in passing the  
river of  
Tweed.

Knights  
made.

In situation  
made into  
Scotland.

Annan  
church burnt.

The castell of  
Dunblane.

The homilies  
& paraphrase  
of Erasmus.

The lord pro-  
tectors re-  
turne.

fortie horsemen, and a hundred psoners: sir Rafe Bulmer, capteine of Rokeburgh thre hundred soldiers of barquebutters and others, and two hundred psoners. As things were thus concluded, and warning giuen ouer night on this wednesdaie being Michaelmasse euen, on the next morrow being Michaelmasse daie euerie man fell to packing apase and got them homewards, passing ouer the Tweed there with some trouble and danger also, by reason of raine that latelie fell before, & had raised the streame, which being swift of it selfe, and the chanel breuen in the bottome with great stones made the passage cumbersome, so that manie as well horsemen as footmen were in no small perill as they passed thorough, and one or two drowned, and manie carriages ouerthrowne, and in great hazzard of losing.

The duke of Summerset rode freight to Peter-castell, and thence homewards. The earle of Marwick, my lord Greie, and sir Rafe Sadler, with diuerse other rode to Berwick, to abide the coming of the Scottish commissioners. In the meane time of their tarieng there, the earle of Marwick made sir knights; sir Thomas Penill the lord Penills brother, sir Andrew Cobbet, sir Anthonie Strelleie, sir Arthur Panering, sir Richard Werneie, sir John Bertheuille. After that the earle of Marwick had taried for the coming of the Scots the full terme of the appointment, which was untill the fourth of October, and perceiued they came not, the next daie he departed homewards.

Here ye haue to vnderstand also, that in part of the meane time whilst the duke of Summerset was in doing of these exploits in Scotland (as ye haue heard rehearsed) the earle of Lenor, and the lord Wharton warden of the west marches, with an armie of fise thousand men, entred Scotland on that side, and first passing two miles after a bate and a nights defense, they wan the church of Annan, toke seuentie & two psoners keepers of the same, burnt the spoile for lumber of cariage, and caused the church to be blowne by with powder, passing thence a fiftene miles within the land, they wan the castell of Dilke, the which they left furnished with munition and men, and so returned. But of this ye shall find more in the historie of Scotland, by the sufferance of God, where we intreat of the doings there in this yeare.

Thus much haue I collected out of master Pattens booke, or rather exemplified the same, not much digressing from his owne words, except where I haue bin forced to abridge his worke in some places, wishing to haue inserted the whole, if the purpose of this volume would haue so permitted, as well for the full vnderstanding of euerie particular point, by him remembered, as also for his pleasant and apt manner of penning the same. Whilst the lord protector was abode thus in wars against the Scots, the lords of the counsell that remained at home, chieselie by the good and diligent calling on and furtherance of the archbishop of Cantuarburie, and others of the cleargie, toke order for the advancement of religion, causing the bookes of homilies and the paraphrase of Erasmus to be set forth and had in churches.

At the coming backe of the lord protector from his iourneie into Scotland, the citizens of London determined to haue receiued him with great triumph: but he hearing thereof, forbade them in anie wise so to do: for (said he) if anie thing hath bene done to the honour of the realme, it was Gods doing, and therefore willed them to giue him the praise. Neuerthelesse the mayo and aldermen, with certeine of the commoners in their lueries and their hoods, hearing of his approach to the citie, the eight daie of October met him in Finnesburie field, where

he toke each of them by the hand, and thanked them for their good wils. The lord mayo did ride with him till they came to the pound in Smithfield, where his grace left them, and rode to his house of Shene that night, and the next daie to the king to Hampton court. The fourth daie of Nouember began a parlement, called and holden at Westminster, which continued till the foure and twentieth of December next following, & was then proroged. In this parlement, all colleges, chanteries, and free chapels were giuen to the king, and the statute of the six articles was repealed, with diuerse others tending to the like end. Moreover, during this parlement visitors being appointed to visit in London, the firstenth of Nouember began to take downe the images in Paules church: and shortly after all the images in euerie church, not onelie through London, but also throughout the whole realme, were pulled downe and desaced.

The lord protector and others of the counsell, considering now in what sort they had got forthold in Scotland, by reason of such peeces as they had taken and fortified within the realme, did deuise for the more suertie of those places, which they had already got, and the better to bying the rest of the countrie vnto reason, to haue some holds also moze within the land, and therefore first they caused a fort to be builded at Lowder, where sir Hugh Willoughbie was appointed capteine with a convenient garrison of soldiers to keepe it. Beside this, it was thought expedient to fortifie the towne of Haddington, whereupon the lord Greie lieutenant of the north parts, with sir Thomas Palmer, and sir Thomas Holcroft, were appointed to go thither with a convenient number of men of warre & psoners to see that towne fenced with trenches, rampiers, and bulwarks, as should seeme to his lordship necessarie and behouefull; who therefore entring into Scotland the eightenth of Aprill, passed forth to Haddington, where he began to fortifie, and there remained to see the worke brought to some perfection. During his abode there, diuerse exploits were both balliantlie attempted and luckilie achieved by his martiall conduct and politike direction, as occasions offered might moue him, which I would gladlie haue set downe at large, if I could haue come to the true vnderstanding thereof; but sith I cannot get the same, in such full manner as I haue wished, that yet which I haue learned by true report (as I take it) I haue thought good to impart to the reader.

The eight and twentieth of Maie, his lordship wan the castell of Pester, after he had beaten it right sore with terrible batterie of canon shot for the time it lasted, and therewith hauing made a reasonable breach for the soldiers to enter, they within yielded with condition to haue their liues saued: which the lord Greie was contented to grant to them all, one onelie excepted, who during the siege uttered blasphemous words of the king, abusing his maiesties name with vile and most opprobrious termes. They all coming forth of the castell in their shirts, humbled themselves to my lord Greie (as became them) and vpon strait examination who should be the raler that was excepted out of the pardon, it was knotowne to be one Hewton a Scot: but he to saue himselfe, put it to one Hamilton, and so these two gentlemen accusing one an other, the truth could not be decided otherwise than by a combat, which they required, and my lord Greie there vnto assented, and pronounced iudgement so to haue it tried: which he did the rather, because all men doe seeme resolute in the triall of truth (as in a verie good cause) by losse of life to gaine an endlesse name; as one saith:

*Mors perennanda vitæ ut fama perennius alatur.*

A combat  
ought be-  
tweene them.

Hamilton  
vanquished  
and slain.

Hewton re-  
warded by  
lord Greie.  
Hewton  
slaine by his  
counterparties

Haddington  
fortified by  
the lord Greie.

Dunblane  
burnt by  
him

Pester castell  
wonne.

Wipian Fel-  
well in the  
flower of  
fame.

The fir-  
ling pre-  
sent an  
in aid of  
Scots.

Hewton and  
Hamilton  
scottish gen-  
tlemen accuse  
each other.

Wrought  
rag betw

fn. Reg. 2.

3 parlement.

1548

Lowered & re-  
tified.  
Sir Hugh  
Willoughby.

Prison re-  
ended by my  
and Gigg.

Madington  
fortified by  
the lord Grei

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Hafkel:  
bargh barent.

Yester cast N  
swone.

Ulpian Ful-  
well in the  
flower of  
fame.

Newton and  
Hamilton two  
Scottish gen-  
tlemen accuse  
each other.

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Monſieur de  
Deſſe general  
of the French  
armie.  
He landeth  
at Lieth.

The French  
men resolve to  
besiege Har-  
dington.

th The French  
re armie com=  
ot meth befoze  
s Wadington.

cept They plant  
their artillery

the The earle of  
reat Argile.  
Tha: Monsieur  
Tha: Thanelle

kets badingto  
nted battered,

of

of daie began to shoot off, and discharged that present daie three hundred and fortie shots. But after they perceived that they did little hurt to the fortifications of the towne in that place where this batterie was laid: the next night, the baskets & peeces of artillerie were remoued lower, and not past three score paces from the ditches of the towne, where the next daie two hundred shots were discharged against the rampire. To conclude, they made such breaches in sundrie places for easie entrie into the towne, that it was greatlie marvelled vpon they durst not assaie to give a generall assault.

They lodged so neare within the verie ditches, that there were deuised certeine plummetts of lead, tied with cords to a truncheon of a staffe, like to an handstaffe of a baile; wherewith the soldiers that watched and warded within the towne on the rampire, sene diuerse of the Frenchmen being their lodged within their ditches. Thus notwithstanding that the Frenchmen with their artillerie had broken downe the fortifications, so as the breaches were made verie reasonable and easie for them to enter; yet durst they not presume once to give the assault: for the Englishmen although their powder was spent, and that for want of matches they were constrained to teare their shirts, and vse the same in stead of matches; yet they shewed themselves so valiant in defending the towne thus beaten & made weake on each hand, that there was no hope left to their aduersaries to win it of them by force. Although the French power on the one side, and eight thousand Scots on an other had so inuironed it, that the Englishmen within were giuen to most hard shifts, for want of things necessarie & requisite for their maintenance and defense of that towne.

But yet whilst they remained thus in such distresse and necessitie of things, two hundred Englishmen under the conduct of capteine Windham, Warham Seintleger, and John Car of Marke, found means one night to passe through all the watches on that side where the Scots laie, and entering the towne, and bringing with them great plenty of powder, and other necessities, greatlie relieved them within, & so encouraged them, that they seemed to make small account of their enemies forces. Whereupon within few daies after, the Scots (sine or six hundred light horsemen onelie excepted) brake vp their campe and returned home. After this, my lord Greie remaining at Berwik, ment to make a voyage himselfe in person for the reliefe of them that were thus besieged in Haddington. Now when all things were so farre in a readinesse as the next daie he ment to haue set forward, letters were brought that night from the court, willing him to perforce that seruice by a deputie, and to staie himselfe till the coming of the earle of Shrewesburie, who was appointed with an armie to come verie shortly as generall into those parties.

My lord Greie hereupon appointed in his stead sir Robert Bowes, and sir Thomas Palmer, to go thither, who coming to Dunglas, left there certeine bands of footmen, and with the horsemen being in number thirtene hundred (whereof seuen hundred lances were appointed vnder the charge of sir Thomas Palmer) they rode forward to accomplish their enterpryse: but the French capteins hauing knowledge of their coming, they provided the best they could to repell them, appointing foure ventins or ensignes of lanceknights to keepe a standing watch that night in the trenches, and the like number of French ensignes to watch about their campe. All the other of their bands were commanded to take rest, but yet with their armour on their backs.

Their generall monsieur de Desse himselfe, monsieur de Pailleraie admerall of their fleet, monsieur Dandelot cozenell of the French footmen, Piero Strozzi cozenell of the Italians, the Keinsgraue cozenell of the lanceknights, and all other the noble men and capteins of honour among them were all night long in armour, traueilling by and downe, some on horsebacke, and some on foot, to visit the watches and scouta, set in places and waies by the which they suspected that the Englishmen ment to come. The lord Hume riding abroad to learne what he might of the Englishmens demeanour, earlie in the morning returned to the campe, and certified monsieur de Desse, that they were at hand. Whereupon were the Scottish and French horsemen that kept the scout called in, and monsieur Dandelot with great expedition ranged his battell of footmen in order, and so likewise did the Keinsgraue his Almans.

The Englishmen diuided into two bands came and shewed themselves in the sight of the towne, and charging such Scots and Frenchmen as came forth to encounter them, gaue them the ouerthrow at two seuerall charges: but finallie presuming to farre vpon their good lucke thus chancing to them in the beginning, followed in chase those that fled before them, untill at length they were inclosed and shut vp betwixt the French footmen on the one side, and the Almans on the other. And herewith the Scottish horsemen under the conduct of the lords Humes & Dune, & the French horsemen led by monsieur de Ctauges their generall, being assembled together effronces, after they had bene so repelled, were now ready to come forward againe: and perceiuing their footmen so to haue inuironed the Englishmen, that they were not able to recover themselves, nor to get out of danger, but by disordering their ranks to take them to flight, followed amaine, so that those which escaped the Frenchmens hands were taken by the Scots that pursued them in chase, so that few were saved that were not either slaine or taken. My lord Greie lost threescore and twelue great horses, and an hundred geldings, with all the men vpon them, armed with his lordships owne furniture, onelie foure or five of his men came home, of the which Thomas Cornwallis now growne porter to the quenes maiestie was one, and Robert Car elquier an other then page to my said lord Greie.

The vnadvised rashnesse of sir Thomas Palmer was thought to be the chiefe occasion of this distresse of those horsemen, who after they had done sufficientlie for that time, would needs haue them to giue a new charge, and so were discomfited. After this ouerthrow and chase of our horsemen, the armie that was lenied to passe into Scotland was halsted forward with all speed possible: for although before the coming of the English horsemen, the French, by an aduertisement giuen that they meant to come, had plucked backe their great artillerie, and sent the same vnto Edinburgh, keeping onelie with them six field-pieces, and herewith remoued their campe further off from the towne: yet by foresailing bitels and all other necessarie things from them within, they were giuen to such distresse, that they must of force haue left the towne to the enemies, if some power had not come within a while to remoue the siege that laie thus to annoie them.

When therefore the armie was come to Newcastell, & the earle of Shrewesburie generall lieutenant of the same was there arrived, they passed forward to Berwik, and from thence marched straight towards Haddington. The number of the Englishmen and strangers was reported at the point of fiftene thousand, whereof three thousand were Almans brought

The valiantie  
of the Eng-  
lishmen.

Success  
entering the  
towne.

Sir Robert  
Bowes sent  
to succour  
Haddington.

The lord  
Hume.

Dandelot.

Monsieur C.  
tauges.

The English  
horsemen re-  
sisted.

\* Quene  
Elizabeth.

The French-  
men remoue  
their campe.

The earle of  
Shrewesburie  
generall of  
the armie.  
The number  
of soldiers  
tho the same  
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Corrad  
Spencer  
of the  
Almans.

The French  
armie  
from before  
Haddington.

The French  
armie  
at Haddington.  
The earle of  
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generall of  
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The earle of  
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The number  
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der the conduct of a right worthy and expert chief  
taine, namede Conrad Hemming, commonlie cal  
led Costpenie. Beside this armie by land, there was  
also furnished forth a fleet by sea, under the conduct  
of the lord Clinton high admerall of England, and  
other capitaine of great experience in affaires and  
service by sea. This fleet was appointed to keepe  
course with the armie by land, that the one might be  
cuer in sight of the other. Monsieur de Delle aduer  
tised of the coming forward of this armie, durst  
not abide their coming; but raised his field, and  
retired with his armie toward Edinburgh: howbeit  
they were no sooner dislodged, but that a great troupe  
of the English horsemen were got within sight of  
them, and coasted them all the waie as they marched  
for the space of seven or eight miles, in maner to as  
farre as Wyndelburgh, where the Frenchmen staid,  
and encamped in a place chosen forth to their most  
advantage.

The earle of Shrewsburie, and the lord Greie  
with the armie coming unto Haddington, were  
suddenly received of the capitaine and soldours with  
in: where it might appeare how valiantlie they had  
defended that towne during the siege, being so desti  
tute of all things necessarie for their reliefe; and the  
fortifications so weak, that if the noble prowlle of  
their worthy generall sir James Willford, and the  
incomparable manhood of the rest of the capitaine  
and soldours had not supplied all other wants, it  
was thought impossible that they should haue defen  
ded the place so long a time against such forces as had  
bene there imploied against them. But such was the  
bravante valiantie of that noble crue and garrison,  
that even the verie enemies themselves could not  
but yeld high commendations to the capitaine and  
soldours for the hardie forwardnesse and manhood,  
which at all times they had found and tried in them  
at all points of service, when they came to deale with  
them. And verilie their same deserveth to be had in  
memorie for ever, not onelie for their worthy achie  
vements exploits, done by force of hand, to the beating  
backe and repelling of the enemies, but also for their  
patient sustaining of hunger, thirst, continuall wat  
ching, nakednesse, sickenesse, and all other such ca  
lamities and miseries, as want of things necessarie  
for the reliefe and maintenance of mans life is wont  
to bring, to those that are inclosed in such wise by the  
enemie. All which extremities they were well content  
to susteine, so that it might turne to the benefit and  
renowne of their countrie, in comparison whereof  
they esteemed all things else verie vile and contemp  
tible, were the same neuer so good, as the poet saith:

*Tantus amor patrie mortalia pectora tangit,  
Natalisque soli, pro quo bona cetera ferunt.*

The noble earle of Shrewsburie could not for  
beare to see the cares, to understand and perceiue that  
such worthy soldours should suffer such great di  
stresse, whose valiant hearts could not be quailed  
with any afflictions. Thus with mournfull imbray  
cings intermixed with pittifull regards they met. The  
earle entering the towne, furnished it with new  
bands of men, good store of vittels, munition, and all  
other things convenient, and as then thought requi  
sist. Thus having refreshed the towne, within  
two daies after he passed forth towards the enemies,  
appointing by the aduise of that noble chieftaine the  
lord Greie, certaine bands of horsemen to keepe  
themselves close together in ambush, and to send a  
sot to the French campe, to trie if they might  
traue the Frenchmen out of their strength. And as  
then wished, it partlie came to passe: for diuerse of  
their horsemen issued forth of their campe, and prof  
fered the skirmish. The Englishmen suffered them  
selves to be chased, untill they had got their enemies

within danger of their ambush, and then whirling a  
bout, gaue them the charge, inforcing them to make  
their carcer backe, with more than an easie gallop; so  
that hauing the Frenchmen thus in chase, they slue  
and toke diuerse, and among the prisoners were  
two capitaine, Pierre Longue, and one Lucinet.  
The others that escaped, returned with this losse to  
their campe.

In the meane time, whilst these things were thus  
in doing, there came to the aid of the Frenchmen  
fourteen or fifteen thousand Scots, accounting  
herewith the Irish Scots which came with the earle  
of Argile. These Scots were scarce lodged, when  
suddenly the earle of Shrewsburie and the lord Greie  
came with their armie divided into three battels of  
footmen, garded with two troops of horsemen, pre  
sented themselves before the faces of their enemies  
in the same place, where their anant curours the daie  
before had shewed themselves to draw forth the  
Frenchmen. Here the armie thus ranged in arraie  
of battell, staid about the space of an houre, looking  
if the enemies durst haue come forth to haue giuen  
battell: but when they perceived that by no means  
the Frenchmen meant to forsake their strength, they  
returned backe to their campe. The English nauie  
being entered now into the fozth, was not idle: for  
coming to West Island they set fire on foure ships,  
which they found there, and after passing by Airth  
saluted them within the towne with cannon shot,  
and after intending to burne saint Spinet, were re  
pelled from thence by the lord of Dune, and after re  
turned to attend on the armie. The earle of Shrews  
burie, and my lord Greie hauing executed so much  
as their commission would beare, and refreshed Ha  
dington with all things needfull, departed home  
wards; and coming to Dungalas, began there to  
build a fortreffe. The English Almans as the armie  
passed by Dunbar, burned the towne. These Almans  
also, and certaine bands of Englishmen, as well  
horsemen as footmen, were left at Dungalas, untill  
the fozth there begun was in some strength. The  
earle of Shrewsburie with the rest of the armie came  
backe into England. My lord Greie remaining on  
the borders lieutenant of the north parts, after the  
earle of Shrewsburie was returned home, assen  
bled all the horsemen then lieng on the borders, and  
being backed with the Almane footmen, entered a  
gaine with the same horsemen into Scotland, bur  
ning and wasting in the countries of Tindall, and  
Liddesdall, for the space of twentie miles, both  
house, coigne, haie, and all other things that came  
within their reach, and after returned without in  
counter.

The ninth of October being tuesday, monsieur de  
Delle, with his Frenchmen and Almans, came in  
the morning long before daie to Haddington, mean  
ing to haue toome the towne by stealth. And verilie  
the enterprize was gouerned in such secret maner,  
that the Frenchmen had killed the English scouts,  
and were entered the bafe court, yer any alarm  
was raised: and hauing slaine the watch, some of  
them ran to a place behind a church, where the Eng  
lishmen had their vittels and munitions, and some  
thrust by to the towne gate, inforcing with great vio  
lence to breake it open, crying with noise and shouts,  
Victorie, victorie, whereof in deed they accounted  
themselves then assured. And questionles the Eng  
lishmen being thus awakened out of their sleep on  
the sudden, were in some great disorder; so that ma  
nie of them came running forth without other ar  
mour or apparell, their shirts excepted; & others ran  
they wist not well whither, nor where to take heed.  
But yet as the Frenchmen were thronged together  
at the gate to breake it open, a Frenchman (as the it

The French  
men chased.

The armie of  
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Frenchmen.

The earle of  
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The French  
men durst not  
come forth of  
their campe.

Ships burn  
ed.

A fortreffe  
built at Dun  
glas.

The lord  
Greie enter  
eth againe  
into Scot  
land.

A camfado  
giuen to Ha  
dington.



The Frenchmen repelled.

Writers do report that serued within the towne, but as other saie Iberlo captaine of the Italians, with his match light gaue fier to a double canon, that laie readie bent against the gate, so that the same shooting off, made such a lane among the Frenchmen, that they were glad to giue place, and with such a fearefull crye, that those which were behind, not understanding what losse their fellows before had sustained, byake their arraie and fled amaine.

Parliament.

The Englishmen herewith passed through a priuie posterne into the base court, and comming vpon them with their halberds, and blacke bills, slue of them great plentie, and drove the rest that escaped ouer the wall in such hast, that hapie was he that could tumble ouer first. Monsieur de Wesse yet gathering them together againe, gaue that morning thre sharpe assaults to the towne, but was repelled with great losse, for they caried awaie with them sixtene carts and wagons laden with hurt persons and dead carcasses, besides thre hundred that were found in the base court, which they could not come to, after they were beaten out, to take awaie with them. And thus was monsieur de Wesse constrained to returne, repenting himselfe of that his bold attempted enterprise, hauing lost no small number of his Frenchmen and Almans, being slaine in the place. In this meane time, the kings maiestie summoned his high court of parlement, to be holden vpon prorogation at Westminster the fourth of Nouember, where it continued till the fourteenth of March next ensuing.

Dundee spoiled.

In the meane time, the proceedings for the Scottish wars was not forgotten, wherupon in the deepe of the winter, there were conueied certeine bands of the English lancequenets, and some number of Englishmen, both horsemen and footmen by sea vnto Broughtierag; and passing from thence vnto Dundee, a two miles from thence, entred the towne, and began to fortifie it: but shortly after by the comming of the French armie with monsieur de Wesse, they left it, first spoiling the houses, and after set them on fire at their departure. The Keinsgraue colonell of the Almans, and monsieur de Etanges, being sent by monsieur de Wesse before, entred Dundee, and lodged within it. Within two daies after their comming thither, they toke certeine of their bandes, and going south did view and surueie the new fort, which the Englishmen had begun to make on the hill, a small distance from the castell. But the Englishmen and their Almans issuing south against them, were at their elbowes yer they were halfe well aduised that they were got so neare them, whereby being driuen hastilie to retire, they hardlie escaped out of danger, being so hotlie pursued, that if the Keinsgraue had not shewed his approued ballancie, guided with no lesse policie than manhood, the whole troupe had bene (as was thought) utterlie distressed.

The Keinsgraue constrained to retire.

1549  
Sir Thomas Seimer sent to the tower.

Anno Reg. 3.

In Christmasse this yere the castell of Hume was recovered out of the Englishmens hands, through treason of certeine assured Scots, that vsing to bring bittels to the Englishmen that kept it, had marked all the manner of the scouts and watches, with the places of the wall where the clime was most easie. Wherupon in the night season, certeine of the Scots secretlie comming into the ditches, got vp to the height of the wals, and entring the place, slue and toke vpon the sudden all that were within it. The firste of Januarie, sir Thomas Seimer baron of Sudleie, lord admerall, and brother to the duke of Summerfet lord protector, was arrested and sent to the tower, and after by authoritie of parlement he was attainted, and the twentieth of March next ensuing, in the third yere of this kings reigne beheaded

at tower hill. Moreover in this parlement, the vse of the masse was cleerlie prohibited, and a booke for the vniformitie of diuine seruice, and right administration of the sacraments, was set forth and established.

As haue heard how the Frenchmen fortified the towne of Dundee, where monsieur de Etanges, with his companie of horsemen lieng in garrison chanced in a skirmish to be taken by the Englishmen that laie in Broughtierag, to the great relieving of them that toke him, and no lesse greefe of the French and Scots. For the tried ballancie that was throughlie knowne to rest in him. Moreover, the Englishmen that kept the towne of Haddington all this while against the enimies, could not come by anie bittels, but onelie by a conuoe of some conuent power to gard the cariages that brought the same from the borders. And as it fortuned at one time when the conuoe came and passed by Dunbar, a skirmish was proffered by the French which laie within that castell in garrison. And as sir James Willford that was there amongst other vpon this occasion (according to his wonted ballancie) directed himselfe verie forward and egre against the enimie, he was inclosed by an ambush, which the Frenchmen had laid on each side the street within the towne, but he could by no means escape out of their hands, that hauing his horse there slaine vnder him, was taken prisoner euen by a Calceigne of the countrie of Balque named Bellique, that wone no small commendation for that his good hap, in taking such a prisoner, whose name for his often approued prowesse was verie famous euen among the enimies, who saw well inough a resolutenesse in the man rather by perillous aduentures to purchase the perpetuallitie of renowne, than by defect of courage or negligent seruice to lose both life and fame. Which perissasion should enter into the hart of euerie seruitor in the field, if they will be counted right balliant indeed, considering that he which in his life time doth performe nothing worthe memorie, is like a plaier entring vpon the stage, but shewing nothing either in spech or in action, as the poet verie fittlie saith:

*Qui nullum facinus tota memorabile vita  
Ediderit, obscuri homines migrare videntur  
Hinc, ut qui frustra nil dixerit histrio scena.*

Some haue written that he was taken through default of those that were appointed to follow him, sith he undertooke to charge the enimie, in hope that by them he should haue bene assisted. But suerlie those that had the charge of this conuoe, doubting by aduenturing too far, to put all in hazard, thought it wisdome rather to suffer the losse of one, than to ieopard the whole; not perceiving which waie to remedie the matter at that present. Now after that the generall of Haddington was thus taken prisoner, to the great grieefe vndoubtedlie, not onelie of all the garrison there, but also of all such as tendered the aduancement of the kings maiesties seruice, sir James Crofts was thought a man most meet to supplie the place, and therefore by the lord protector and others of the councell was ordeined generall of that towne of Haddington, and the garrison there, in which rowe he bare himselfe so worthilie, as if he should not be suspected of flatterie, for that he liued yet, and in such credit (as the world knoweth) might moue my selfe matter to saie rather much than sufficientlie inough in his due and right deserved commendation.

The king by the aduise of his councell meaning to prosecute the wars in Scotland, with great forces retained a new power of lancequenets, and other strangers, vnder the conduct of diuers sundrie capitaines: but in the meane time the French king mean-

Sir James Willford taken prisoner.

Carl Eng lish the men, their name

Shir has ball

Sir James Crofts generall of Haddington.

Carl Eng lish the men, their name

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L. Reg. 3.

ning to breake with the king of England, thought to haue stolen the fortreffe of Bullognberg, so that a chosen power of men of warre, to the number of seven thousand, vnder the conduct of monsieur de Chatillon, being sent doctone about that exploit on the daie at night, came forward with their ladders, and all other furniture meet for the purpose, approaching about the houre of midnight nere to the fort, with in the which were not at that time manie aboute three hundred and fiftie soldiers, vnder the gouernement of sir Nicholas Arnalt knight generall of that peece, a capteine of great courage, and no lesse diligence in his charge.

And as it chanced, there were among the Frenchmen three or foure Englishmen, which hauing matched themselves in marriage with women of that countrie, after the peace was concluded betwixt France and England, were discharged out of the king of Englands wages; and remaining with their wiues, got interteinment among the Frenchmen, and were with monsieur de Chatillon, now committing towards this enterprisse. Whereupon one of the same Englishmen named Carter, that had a foretime giuen intelligence to the said sir Nicholas of the Frenchmens doings, so farre as he might learne and vnderstand the same, would gladlie haue aduertised sir Nicholas Arnalt of the Frenchmens purpose at this time: but monsieur de Chatillon kept the matter so secret, that Carter nor any of the other Englishmen had knowledge thereof, till they were now marching forward, so that Carter could not get a waie from them, till they were approached within lesse than a quarter of a mile of Bullognberg, and then slipping aside from among them, came running so fast as he might towards the fort, crying; Wolues, wolues, as loud as his voice would serue, & so gaue the alarm to them within the fort.

One of the soldiers called Morgaine Deaton, that chanced to be there at hand in scout with three or foure other, straight knew him, and brought him to the draw-bridge, where sir Nicholas Arnalt caused him to be drawn by betwixt two pikes, vnto whom he declared how the Frenchmen were at hand, meaning to assaile his fort now vpon the sudden, in hope so to surpise it. Herewith, it needed not to will sir Nicholas to bestirre him, to cause euerie man to make readie, and place themselves as was thought most expedient. And vndoubtedlie the noble courage of that worthy gentleman, furthered much, to cause euerie capteine and soldier vnder him, to put a waie all feare, and to haue a regard to do his dutie, for the receiuing of the enemies; so as they seemed glad of the occasion, whereby they might trye the pise of their accustomed manhood against the enemy, that thus came to steale on them without warning, in purpose to kill euerie man that fell into their hands, if their intention had taken place, making now such hast forward, that before the Englishmen could be well readie with their armour and weapons in their appointed places, the Frenchmen were got to the ditch, and appointing three thousand of their numbers, the most part gentlemen and double payes, with targets, battell ares, and pistols, to haue the first scale, saluted them within vpon their verie approach, with seven hundred harquebuts shot at the first vole.

The Englishmen by order giuen by sir Nicholas, kept themselves close, till the Frenchmen by their scaling ladders, which they brought with them, and had quicklie raised against the walles, began to mount by, and enter vpon them; at which instant, off went the flankers. Those of sir Nicholas Arnalts monts discharged verie well at the first, but at the second vole the morters burst. Albeit there were fix or seauenteen peeces that were planted aloft on the same

mont, of the which the one discharged five & twentie shot by the maister, and the other seven and twentie by his maistrie. Sir Nicholas Arnalt here being accompanied with his capteins and soldiers about him, stood at defense so stoutlie as was possible, doing so baliantlie, that their fame deserueth to liue for euer. There were burst vpon the faces of the enemies (ouer and beside the shot that was bestowed among them) to the number of fiftene hundred pikes and blacke bills. The Frenchmen verelie stucke to it to the uttermost, and did what laie in the verie last point of their powers to enter vpon the Englishmen, suppling still the places of their dead and wearie men with fresh succors.

Carter that came to bring word of their coming, with a pike in his hand, stood at the place of the bulworne where they thus gaue the assault, & fought right baliantlie, giuing manie wounds, and receiuing some againe: for he was hurt both in the thigh and arme, who fuerlie of a private soldier (if he were private and ordinarie) seemed verie seruiceable at all assaies, considering into what desperat adventures and hazards he did as it were cast himselfe, esteeming lesse the losse of life and lim, than the reproch and dishonour of his countrie, the glorie & renoume thereof (about all worldlie things which are but temporary) all men are naturallie bound with might & maine both to seeke and saue; as one verie well saith;

*Nascimur ut patriam vltimam operaque iuuenus.*

Sir Nicholas Arnalt himselfe was hurt with a pike in the nose. Capteine Warren standing on the same bulworne with sir Nicholas, receiued two shots in his corselet, and one of them drove two or three links of his chaine into his necke. Capteine Broughton had there fiftene of his armed men, & verie of them hauing their corselets perished through. The number of the Englishmen that were slaine, was reckoned to be five and twentie, and hurt eight and fiftie. Of Frenchmen there were slaine a great number, beside those that were hurt, and at length through shot, casting downe of stones and timber vpon their heads, scalding water and handblowes they were repelled, retiring out of the trenches shortlie after the breake of the daie, hauing continued the assault from midnight till that time, still renewing their forces, in hope to atchieue their wished preie: but being thus beaten off, they gathered together their dead men, and lading fiftene waggons with their carcasses, they returned backe, without making anie further attempt at that time.

And so by the high balliance of sir Nicholas Arnalt, and the other capteins that serued in that fort vnder him, and chieflie by the assistance of almightie God, the giuer of all victories, the enemies were repelled, to their great dishonour, and the peece referred to the immortall renoume of the defendants. Within a daie or two after, the generall of the Frenchmen sent to know of prisoners taken; but sir Nicholas Arnalt answered the messenger, that he knew of no warre: and therefore if anie had attempted to make a surpise of his peece by stealth, they were serued accordinglie to their malicious meanings. And indeed (said he) we haue taken none of your men, but we haue got some of your braue gillars, armour & weapons. Well (said the messenger) it is not the cowle that maketh the monk, and no more is it the braue armour or weapon that maketh the man of warre: but the fortune of warre is such, sometime to gaine, and sometime to lose. Sir Nicholas receiuing him into the fort, made him good chere, and gaue him fiftie crownes in reward, and so he departed.

But concerning the liberalitie of sir Nicholas, I might here speake further thereof, how bountifullie he

The number of pikes and bills broken vpon the Frenchmen.

Carter an hardie soldier and a good seruitor.

The Frenchmen repelled.

Fiftene waggons laden with French carcasses.

the Frenchmen

Carter an Englishman

the Frenchmen

the Frenchmen

the Frenchmen

Sir James Crofts gent

raill of Hedsington.

The lord Cobham with a new supplie of soldiers.

he rewarded the souldiers for their great manhood shewed at that time, in defending so sharpe an assault, to their great honour and no lesse confusion of the aduersaries. The daie after the said assault, there came to Bullognberg from Guines, a supplie of three or foure hundred men, vnder the leading of sir William Cobham, now lord Cobham and others. Within a while after, sir Nicholas Arnalt sent forth three hundred footmen, and five and twentie horsemen, conducted by the said sir William Cobham, capteine Hutton of the Old man, & capteine Hore of Bullognberg, with certeine cariages, to go by to a wood not farre off, called the North wood, to fetch sagots and hush, to repaire and mainteine the rampires.

These capteins with their bands being passed forward, about two miles in distance from the fort, met with certeine of their scouts that were sent forth that morning, who told them that they had discovered the tract of a great number of horsemen. Whereupon the Englishmen now being almost come to the wood side, retired with all speed: and here with the French horsemen brake out of the wood, and following them, fell in skirmish with them. The Englishmen casting themselves in a ring, kept them off with their pikes, wherewith they impaled themselves, and hauing their small troupe lined with shot, they also galled the Frenchmen right sore therewith, as they still approached them. Neuerthelesse, those horsemen gaue three maine onsets vpon the Englishmen, with the number of a thousand horse at two of the first onsets, and the third they gaue with all their whole power, being esteemed a sixtene hundred horsemen in all.

The great valiauntie of the Englishmen vnder the conduct of their noble capteins.

But such was the valiant prowesse of the English souldiers, encouraged with the comfortable presence of sir William Cobham, and other their capteins, that conducted them in such order as stood most for their safegard, exhorting them with such effectuall words as serued best to purpose, that the enimie to conclude was repelled with losse of senentie of their great horses that laie dead there in the field, within the space of halfe a mile. There were also foure thousand French footmen that came forward, but could not reach, and so marching about the fort, returned in vaine; after they once perceiued that the Englishmen were safely retired within their fort. The counsell thus perceiuing the French kings purpose, which he had conceiued to worke some notable damage to this realme, as well in support of his friends in Scotland, as in hope to recouer those peeces which the English held at Bullongne, and in those marches, doubted also of some inuasion meant by him to be attempted into this realme, because of such great preparation as he had made, for leuieng of his forces both by sea and land.

The preparation for warre as well in England as France.

The counsell therefore made likewise provision to be ready to resist all such attempts, as anie waie forth might be made, to the annoiunce of the realme. But as things fell out, the same stood in good stead, not against the forren enimie, but against a number of rebellious subiects at home, the which forgetting their dutie and allegiance, did as much as in them laie (what fouer their pretense was) to bring this noble realme and their naturall countrie into destruction. But first, for that it maie appeare, that the duke of Summerfet then protector, and other of the counsell, did not without good ground and cause mainteine the warres against the Scots, I haue thought good to set downe an epistle exhortatorie, as we finde the same in the great chronicle of Richard Grafton, sent from the said protector and counsell vnto the Scots, to moue them to haue consideration of themselves, and of the estate of their countrie, by

Rich. Grafton in fol. 1294.

joining in that friendlie bond and unitie with England, as had bene of the kings part and his fathers continuallie sought, for the benefit of both realmes, the copie of which exhortation here insueth.

Edward by the grace of God, duke of Summerfet, earle of Hertford, vicount Beauchampe, lord Scimer, vncle to the kings highnesse of England, gouernor of his most roiall person, and protector of all his realmes, dominions, & subiects, lieutenant generall of all his maiesties armies, both by land and sea, treasurer and earle marshall of England, gouernor of the Iles of Gerneseye and Ierseye, and knight of the most noble order of the garter, with others of the counsell of the said most high and noble prince Edward, by the grace of God of England, France, and Ireland king, defender of the faith, and in earth vnder Christ the supreme head of the churches of England and Ireland. To the nobilitie and counsellors, gentlemen and commons, and all other the inhabitants of the realme of Scotland, greeting and peace.



Considering with our selues the present state of things, and weighing more deepe-ly the maner and tearmes wherein you and we do stand, it maketh vs to marvel, what euill & fatall chance doth so disceur your hearts, and maketh them so blind and vnmindfull of your profit, and so still conciliate and heape to your selues most extreme mischiefs, the which we whome ye will needs haue your enimies, go about to take awaie from you, and perpetuallie to ease you thereof. And also by all reason & order of necessitie, it should be rather more conuenient for you to seke and require moderate agtments of vs, whome God hath hitherto according to our most iust, true, and godlie meanings and intents, prospered and set forward, with your affliction and miserie, than that we being superiours in the field, maisters of a great part of your realme, should seke vpon you. Yet to the intent that our charitable minds and brotherlie loue should not cease, by all meanes possible to prouoke and call you to your owne commoditie and profit, even as the father to the son, or the elder brother to the younger; and as the louing physician would do to the mistrustfull and ignorant patient: we are content to call and crie vpon you to looke on your estate, to auoid the great calamitie that your countrie is in, to haue vs rather brothers than enimies, and rather countremen than conquerors. And if your gouernors or capteins shall rekeine and keepe from you this our exhortation, as heretofore they haue done our prauat wealth & commoditie, not regarding though you be still in miserie, so they haue profit and gouernance ouer you, and shall still abuse you with feined and forged tales: yet this shall be a witness before God, and all christian people, betwene you and vs, that we professing the gospel of Iesus Christ, according to the doctrine thereof, do not cease to call and prouoke you from the effusion of your owne blood, from the destruction of the realme of Scotland, from perpetuall enimitie and hatred, from the snail destruction of your nation, and from seruitude to forren nations, to libertie, to amitie, to equalitie with vs, to that which your writers haue alwaies wished might once come to passe.

Who that hath read the stories in times past, and dooth marke & note the great battels past fought betwixt England & Scotland, the incursions, robes, & spoiles, which haue bene done on both parties: the realme of Scotland five times wonne by one king of England,

The lord Cobham with a new supplie of soldiers.

The epistle exhortatorie sent to the Scots.

Herewith appereth the lord protectors care for their good estate.

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good estate.

England, the Scottish kings some taken prisoners, some slain in battell, some for verie sorrow and discomfort upon losse, dieng and departing the world: and shall perceive againe, that all nations in the world, that nation onelie beside England, speaketh the same language: and as you and we be annured and joined in one Island, so no people are so like in maners, forme, language, and all conditions as we are: shall not he thinke it a thing verie unmet, unnatural, and unchristian, that there should be betwixt us so mortall war, who in respect of all other nations, be and should be like as two brethren of one Island of great Britaine: And though he were a stranger to both, what should he thinke more meet, than if it were possible one kingdome to be made in rule, which is one in language, and to be divided in rulers, which is all one in countrey?

And for so much as two successors cannot con-  
cur and fall into one, by no other manner of meanes  
than by marriage, whereby one blood, one lineage, one  
parentage is made of two, and an indefensible right  
given of both to one, without the destruction and abo-  
lishing of either. If God should grant that what so-  
ever you would wish, other than that which now not  
by fortune hath chanced, but by his infinite mercie  
and most inscrutable providence, as carefull for you  
he hath given unto you. The which thing that you  
should also thinke to come of his disposition, and not  
by blind fortune, how unlike hath it bene, and how  
suddenlie hath it turned, that the power of God  
might be shewed: your last king being a prince of  
much excellencie and young, whom you know after a  
promise broken contrarie to his honor, & misfortune  
by Gods iust iudgement following upon it, God ei-  
ther by sorrow or by some meanes otherwise at his  
inscrutable pleasure, did take awaye from you, had  
these children, did not almightie God (as it were) to  
show his will and pleasure to be, that the long conti-  
nued warre and enmities of both the nations should  
be taken awaye, and knit in perpetuall love and ami-  
tie, take the two men-children of those babes being  
distant the one from the other, and in diverse places,  
both as it were at one time, and within the space of  
four and twentieth houres, leaving but one maiden-  
child and prince.

When the most wise and victorious prince late  
our king and maister, king Henrie the eight, in o-  
ther of his marriages not most fortunate, had by his  
most lawfull and most vertuous wife, queene Jane,  
his other two wives before that marriage departed  
this world, and never surmise no question made of  
that marriage, since that time to this daie, nor so  
much as all his life time, name or motion to or of a-  
nie other wife, one prince of so high expectation, of  
so great gifts of God, the right and undoubted  
heire of the realme of England and his maiestie  
onlie of male issue left behind him to succeed the  
imperiall crowne. If nothing else had bene done,  
what can anie wife or anie christian man that  
thinketh the world to be governed by Gods provi-  
dence and not by fortune, thinke otherwise, but that  
it was Gods pleasure it should be so, that these two  
realmes should ioine in marriage, and by a goodlie sa-  
crament, make a goodlie perpetuall and most friend-  
lie unitie & concord, whereby such benefits as of uni-  
tie and concord commeth, may through his infinite  
grace come unto these realmes. And if anie man  
of you or of anie nation doubteth hereof, except you  
looked for miracles to be done herein, and yet if ye  
marke all the possibilities of the natures of the two  
princes, the children already had, the doubtfull  
chance, least each of them should have a sonne, or  
both daughters, or not of meet ages, with other cir-  
cumstances both of the parties of this realme of

England, and that of Scotland, which hath not chan-  
ged in eight hundred yeares, it must needs be rec-  
koned a great marvell and a miracle.

But let it be no miracle, seeing that God doth  
not now speake in oracles, as amongst the Jewes  
he did: and present propheties now abates be but ei-  
ther not certaine, or else not plaine: what more cer-  
teine can be had of Gods will in this case, than the  
before rehearsed doth bring: But if God himselfe  
should speake, what could he speake more, than he  
speaketh in these: Call you them providences or  
chances, if you be still afflicted and punished: And  
he not saie: I of mine infinite mercie and love to  
your nation, had provided a right heire and a prince  
to the one, and a right heire and prince to the o-  
ther, to be joined in my holie lawes, and by the  
lawe of nature and the world to have made an uni-  
tie, concord and peace, in the which I see of both the  
realmes you refused it: you loved better dissention  
than unitie, discord than agreement, warre than  
peace, hatred than love and charitie. If you do then  
therefore smart for it, whome can you blame but  
your owne election?

But because some of those, who make thereon  
to impediments, cannot but confesse, that there ap-  
peareth Gods providence herein, and oportunitie  
and occasion given to unitie of both the realmes,  
yet may hereafter say, and heretofore have said, that  
the fault herein is, that we seeke not equalitie, nor  
the marriage, but a conquest: we would not be  
friends but the lords. Although our proclamation  
at the last warres doth inough declare the contra-  
rie, yet here we protest and declare unto you and all  
christian people, to be the kings maiesties mind  
our maisters, by our advise and counsell not to con-  
quer, but to have in amitie; not to win by force,  
but to conciliate by love; not to spoile and kill, but to  
save and keepe; not to dissever and divide, but to  
ioine in marriage, from high to low both the realmes,  
to make of one Isle one realme, in love, amitie,  
concord, peace and charitie, which if you refuse, and  
determine to conquer, who is guiltie of the bloodshed?  
Who is the occasion of the warre? Who maketh  
the battels, the burning of houses, and the devastati-  
on which shall follow?

Can it be denied but that we have the great scale  
of Scotland granted by the parlement of Scotland,  
for the marriage which should be made, with assuran-  
ces and pledges, untill the performance? And thus  
in the time that the late king of most famous me-  
moirie our soueraigne lord king Henrie the eight  
did reigne, and in the time of the same your gover-  
nour, who now is the earle of Arrane, who then be-  
ing a chiefe dowry and laborer therein, for the high and  
inestimable benefit of that realme, so soon as he  
was by the late cardinall of saint Andrews and o-  
thers, with certaine vaine feares and hopes & gree-  
dinesse of dignitie perverted, revolted from his first  
agreement, and put all the realme to the losse of such  
holds and fortresses as are now taken from you,  
and to the losse of a foughten field, for the which we  
are loyie, if otherwise peace might have bin conclu-  
ded, for his owne privat lucre and retchlesnesse of  
that noble realme. And what end can you looke for  
of these manner of proceedings, but such successe as  
heretofore hath bene experimented & assayed: We  
offer love, we offer equalitie and amitie, we over-  
come in warre, and offer peace: we win holds, and  
offer no conquest: we get in your land, and offer  
England.

What can be more offered and more proffered,  
than intercourse of merchandizes, and interchange  
of marriages, the abolishing of all such our lawes,  
as prohibitteth the same, or might be impediment to the

The lord pzo-  
teatoyz still by-  
geth peace and  
amitie.

The Scots  
by the consent  
of a parlement  
granted their  
great scale for  
the confirma-  
tion of a mari-  
age to be had  
betweene Ma-  
rie the heire of  
Scotland, &  
prince Ed-  
ward heire of  
England.

what offers  
are made to  
the Scots.

Britaine was  
the first name  
of England  
and Scot-  
land.

the mutuall amitie. We haue offered not onlie to leaue the authoritie name, title, right or challenge of conquerour, but to receiue that which is the thame of men ouercommed, to leaue the name of the nation, and the glorie of anie victorie (if anie we haue had, or should haue of you) and to take the indifferent old name of Britains againe, because nothing should be left on our part to be offered, nothing on your part vnrefused, whereby ye might be inexcusable. And all the world might testifie all other meanes, not being able to do anie thing, after manie other waies and remedies attempted, battell of vs to be taken as an extream refuge, to attaine right and reason among christian men: if anie man may rightfullie make battell for his spouse and wife. The daughter of Scotland was by the great scale of Scotland promised to the sonne & heire of England.

If it be lawfull by Gods lawe to fight in a godd quarrell, and for to make peace, this is to make an end of all warres, and to conclude an eternall and perpetuall peace; which to confirme, we shall fight, and you to breake, is it not easie to discerne who hath the better part: God and the sword hath already, and shall hereafter (if there be no remedie) trie it. Who so willet the marriage to go forward; who so mindeth the peace and tranquillitie of both the realmes; who willet no conquest to be had, but a unitie and loue to go forward, we refuse no man: let him bring his name and his pledge of god seruice in this quarrell, he shall not onlie be receiued to the amitie, but shall haue sufficient defense against the aduersaries, and recompense of his living, if he susteine anie losse. We neither do nor intend to put anie man from his lands, taxes, or offices, vnlesse he will needs resist, and so compell vs thereinto.

It berie good,  
lawfull, and  
bountifull of-  
fer.

The case of  
the foresaid  
marriage still  
bygd.

What face hath this of conquest: We intend not to disherit your quene, but to make hir heires inheritors also to England. What greater honour can ye seeke vnto your quene, than the marriage offered: What more meeter marriage than this with the kings highnes of England: What more sure defense in the nonage of your quene for the realme of Scotland, than to haue England your patrone and garison: We seeke not to take from you your lawes nor customes; but we seeke to redresse your oppressions, which of diuerse ye do susteine. In the realme of England, diuerse lawes and customes be according to the ancient vsage thereof. And likewise, France, Normandie, and Gascoigne haue sundrie kind of orders. Haue all the realmes and dominions that the emperour now hath, one custome and one sort of lawes: These vaine feares and fantasies of expulsion of your nation, of changing the lawes, of making a conquest, be diuen into your heads, of those, who in deed had rather you were all conquered, spoiled, and slaine, than they would lose anie point of their will, of their desire of rule, of their estimation, which they know in quietnesse would be seene what it were, as it were in a caline water.

The lord pro-  
tector telleth  
the Scots  
who they be  
that put  
doubtes into  
their heads,  
&c.

How in this tumult of disorder, when the realme is tossed by and downe with waues and surges of battell, famine, and other mischieses which the warre bringeth, they thinke they cannot be espied; but loke on them you that haue wit and prudence, and consider the state of your quene and realme, you will not keepe hir sole and unmarried, the which were to you great dishonour. If you married hir within the realme, that cannot ertinguish the title which we haue to the crowne of Scotland. And what dissention, enuie, grudge, and malice that shall breed among you, is easie to perceiue. You will marrie hir out of the realme, our title remaineth, you be subjects to a foreign prince of another countrie, and of another language, and vs ye haue your enemies, euen at your

elbow, your succours farre off from you: and be we not in the bowels now of the realme: Haue we not a great part thereof, either in subiection or in amitie and loue: Who shall come into your realme, but he shall be met with, and fought with, if neede be, euen of your owne nation, who be faithfull and true to the realme of England in the waie of this most godlie union by mariage.

And if anie foreign power, prince, or potentate, or whosoener be your aider to nourish still discord, send you an armie also; how shall they oppresse you, fill your houses, waste your grounds, spend and consume your vittells, hold you in subiection, & regard you as slaves, which without them could not liue, & will take your quene to bestow as they lust, & speciallie if their ruler or king (as perchance he may be) in other warres be otherwise occupied, to be a prey to vs, & a true conquest, then it should be too late to saie: We will haue a marriage and no conquest. We will with peace & amitie, we are wearie of battell and miserie. The stubborne ouercommed must suffer the victors pleasure, and pertinacitie will make the victorie more insolent, whereof you your selfe haue giuen the cause, if they send monie and capteines, but no souldiers. First if they be capteines, who ruleth and whosoeth obeie: Who shall haue the honoy of the enterpryse, and if it be well atchined: But whether it be well atchined or no, which number is that which shall be slaine: Whose blood shall be shed: Their monie peradventure shall be consumed, & their commandements obeyed. But whose bodies shall smart for it: Whose lands shall be wasted: Whose houses burned: What realme made desolate: Remember what it is to haue a foreign power within you, a strong power of your enemies vpon you, you (as it were) the campe & plaine betwixt them to fight on, & to be troden vpon, both of the victor, and of the ouercommed. And imagine you be before your eyes your wiues & daughters in danger of wantonnesse & insolencie of the souldiers, the proud looks of the capteines & souldiers, whom you call to helpe you, the contempt you shall bring your nation in, then take heed least indeed that follow which you feare, that is, that you shall be by them conquered, that ye shall be by them put from your holds, lands, taxes & offices, that your laws by them shall be altered, that your nation shall be by them destroyed. Consider in this realme, did not the Britons call in the Saxons for helpe, & by them were put out: Where be the Brits, once a great nation betwixt you and vs: How did the nation of France put out the Galles out of all France: How got the Turk first all Grecia, & now of late all Hungarie, but being called in for to aid & helpe: And did not the Goths by like meanes get all Italie, and the Lombards one part thereof now called Lombardie: What loke you for more: See the souldiers, & haueing their weapons in their hands, and knowing that you cannot liue without them, what will not they command you to do: What will they not inuade vpon you: What will they not thinke they may do: And what will they thinke that you dare do: This foreign helpe is your confusion, that succour is your detriment, the victorie so had is your scrattube: What is then to be thought of losse taken with them: The strangers and foreign souldiers shall oppresse you with in, our power and strength without; and of your owne nation, so manie as loue quietnesse, godlines, and wealth of your realme, shall helpe also to scourge and afflict you. Is it not better to compose and acquite all this calamitie and trouble by marriage, to end all forrols and battells by such and so honorable a peace: Hath not the emperour Spaine & Burgundie by title of marriage: How holde the French king Britaine now latelie annexed to that crowne, but

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True saying.

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The use of  
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but by title of marriage? How haue all the great  
princes of the world happie and with quiet made  
of two kingdoms one, of diuerse lordships one, of  
nations alwaies at warre with themselves, or else  
in doubtfull peace, one well governed kingdom,  
rule, and dominion, but by that gospell, most quiet,  
and most amiable composition of marriage? Two  
meanes there be of making one rule, wherto title is  
pretended, and perfect agreement betwixt two na-  
tions, either by force or superiortie, which is conquest;  
or by equalitie and loue, which is by parentage & ma-  
riage: you hate the one, that is, conquest; and by re-  
fusing the other, you enforce vpon you hatred & malice.

You will not haue peace, you will not haue ali-  
ance, you will not haue concord; and conquest com-  
meth vpon you whether you will or no. And yet if all  
things were considered, we feare it will appere that  
it were better for you to be conquered of vs, than  
succoured of strangers, lesse losse to your goods, lesse  
hurt to your lands, lesse dishonour to your realme;  
this nation which is one in tongue, one in countrie and  
birth, hauing so little diuersitie to occupie the whole,  
than other powers come in to you, neither like in  
language, nor yet like in behauior, who should rule  
ouer you, and take you to be but their slaues. But  
we eldons and finally declare and protest vnto you,

that although for the better furtherance of this god-  
lie purpose of uniting the realmes, and for the sure  
defense of them which fauour the marriage, we are  
compelled for the time to keepe holds, and to make  
fortifications in your realme: yet the kings maie-  
sties mind and determinat pleasure is, with our ad-  
uise and counsell to be as before is declared, that  
where fauour may be shewed, not to be rigor, if  
by conditions you will receiue this amitie offered,  
not to follow conquest: for we desire loue, unitie,  
concord, peace and equalitie. Let neither your gou-  
ernors nor your hirkemen, nor those, who so often  
haue falsified their faith and promise, and by treache-  
rie and falshood be accustomed to prozege the time,

sed you forth with faire words, and bring you into  
the snare from whence they cannot deliuer you. They  
will peraduenture prouide for themselves with pen-  
sions in some other realme, and set soldiors stran-  
gers in your holds to keepe you in subiection, vnder  
the pretense to defend them against vs. But who  
promiseth pensions for you? How are you defended  
when they are fled away? Who conquereth you when  
the strange captiues haue your holds, when your  
land is wasted, and the realme destroyed, and the more  
part kept from you? Who will let by the marriage of  
the queene to bue a title with the war of England; to  
marrie the name, an other mightie king holding the  
land? If we two being made one by amitie, be most  
able to defend vs against all nations, and hauing the  
sea for wall, the mutuell loue for garrison, & God for  
defense, should make so noble and well agreeing mo-  
narchie, that neither in peace we may be ashamed,

nor in war afraid of anie worldlie or foiren power:  
why should not you be as desirous of the same, and  
haue as much cause to reioisse at it as we? If this ho-  
nor of so noble a monarchie do not moue you to take  
and accept amitie, let the griefe and the danger of the  
aforenamed losses feare you to attempt that thing  
which shall displease God, increase warre, danger  
your realme, destroy your land, vndo your children,  
wast your grounds, desolate your countreies, and  
bring all Scotland either to famine & miserie, or to  
subiection and seruitude of an other nation. We re-  
quire but your promised queene, your offered agree-  
ment of unitie, the iointing of both the nations, which  
God of his infinite clemencie and tender loue that he  
hath declared to beare to both the nations, hath offer-  
red vnto vs both, and in manner called vs both vnto

it, whose calling and prouocation we haue, and will  
follow to the best of our powers, and in his name, and  
with his aid, admonition, exhortation, requests, and  
ambassages, not being able to do it, and to find sta-  
bilitie in promises, we shall not willing, but con-  
strained pursue the battell, chastise the wicked & ma-  
licious by the angrie angels of God, fire and sword.

Wherefore we require and exhort you all, who  
haue loue to the countrie, pittie of that realme, a true  
hart to your queene and miserie, regard of your  
honors and promises made by the great scale of  
Scotland, and who fauour the peace, loue, unitie,  
and concord, and that most profitable marriage to en-  
ter and come to vs, and declaring your true and god-  
lie harts therunto, to aid vs in this most godlie pur-  
pose and enterprisse. To be witness of our doings  
we refuse no man, temporall nor spirituall, lord ne  
lady, gentleman nor other, who will aid this our pur-  
pose, and minish the occasion of slaughter and de-  
struction, to whom we shall keepe the promises here-  
tofore declared, and further for reward and recom-  
pense made according to the desert.

And for a more sure proue and plainer token of  
the good mind and will which we beare vnto you, that  
which neuer yet was granted to Scotland in anie  
league, truce, or peace betwixt England and Scot-  
land, because ye shall haue proue of the beginning of  
loue and amitie of both the realmes: the kings  
highnes considering the multitude of them which are  
come to his maiesties deuotion, and of them that be  
well-willers and aiders of this godlie enterprisse,  
hath by our aduise and counsell granted, and by these  
presents doth grant, that from henceforth all manner  
of merchants and other Scottishmen, who will enter  
their names with one of the wardens of the mar-  
ches, there prouesse to take part with vs in this be-  
fore named godly purpose, to his owne commoditie,  
& to serue all such as be of the same agreement, may  
lawfullie and without anie trouble and vexation en-  
ter into anie port, crake, or haven of England, and  
there vse their traffike of merchandize, bule and sell,

bring in the commodities of Scotland, and take and  
carrie forth the commodities of England, as libe-  
rallie and as frelie, and with the same and none o-  
ther custome or payments therefore, than English-  
men and the kings subiects do at this present: min-  
ding further vpon the successe hereof to gratifie so  
the furtherers of this most godlie enterprisse and vni-  
on, that all the world may be witness of the great  
zeale and loue which his highnes doth beare toward  
you and your nation. And all this the kings high-  
nesse, by our aduise and counsell, hath willed to be  
declared vnto you; and giuen in commandement  
vnto vs, and all his lieutenants, wardens, rulers,  
and other head officers, ministers, and subiects, to  
see executed and done, according to the true purport,  
effect, and meaning thereof. Fare you well.

Although this admonition and wholesome exhor-  
tation might haue moued the Scots to haue regar-  
ded their owne state, yet it little auailed, as by the se-  
quel it appeared. For hauing both great promises  
made by the French, and now considering therewith  
the hurle barlies and tumults that sprong vp in  
England, they continued in their obstinat purposes,  
not to yeeld vnto such reasonable motions as had  
bene offered, if they would haue shewed themselves  
conformable thereto, and not haue so stubborne de-  
nied to submit themselves to that which of right they  
were bound vnto. So that herein they shewed them-  
selves verie peruerse and willfull, reiecting not one-  
lie the god aduise that the duke gaue them, but also  
not so much as once thinking what might insue to  
their great mischance vpon their refusal, and what be-  
nefit

Fire & sword  
Gods angrie  
angels.

An argument  
of bright mes-  
sing that res-  
fuseth no wra-  
nest.

The kings  
grant as a  
proue of the  
beginning of  
loue betwixt  
England and  
Scotland.

The Scots  
reiekt the be-  
nefit of this  
exhortation.

ness rebound to them by admitting the offer: naie, they were of opinion and beleefe, that if so haue a battie might befall England, it would be an occasion of great ruth and wretchednesse to Scotland: as one of late hath affirmed in his poetickall supposal:

*—shae praeda Britannia  
Cederet, omnia misera Scotia miserabile regnum,  
Genti infelici nihil est nisi flere reliquum.*

But now to let the Scots alone for a time, we will returne to the rebellion which followed in this yeare, to the whole disappointing of the plot laid by the councell, for the present subduing of the Scots, as it was verie like that it should haue so come to passe, if none other let had come. So it was, that the kings maiestie, by the aduise of his uncle the lord protector, and other of the councell, thought good to let forth a proclamation against inclosures, and taking in of fields and commons that were accustomed to lie open, for the behoofe of the inhabitants dwelling nere to the same, who had greivously complained of gentlemen and others for taking from them the vse of those fields and commons, and had inclosed them into parks and severall pastures for their priuat commodities and pleasures, to the great hinderance and vndoing of manie a poore man.

The meaning of the forecited proclamation.

This proclamation tending to the benefit and reliefe of the poore, appointed that such as had inclosed those commons, should upon a paine by a date assigned late them open againe. But how well souer the letters forth of this proclamation meant, thinking thereby peradventure to appease the grudge of the people that found themselves greiued with such inclosures; yet verelie it turned not to the wished effect, but rather ministered occasion of a foule and dangerous disorder. For whereas there were few that obeyed the commandement, the vnruly people presuming vpon their proclamation, thinking they should be borne out by them that had set it forth rashly without order, toke vpon them to redresse the matter: and assembling themselves in vnlawfull wise, chose to them capitaine and leaders, brake open the inclosures, cast downe ditches, killed by the deare which they found in parkes, spoiled and made hauocke, after the manner of an open rebellion. First they began to plaie these parts in Summersetshire, Buckinghamshire, Northamptonshire, Kent, Essex, and Lincolnshire.

Commotions in Summersetshire, and other places.

Rebellion in Devonshire. John Fox in Acts & Monuments.

The names of the capitaine of the rebels.

In Summersetshire they brake by certeine parks of sir William Herbert, and the lord Starcon: but sir William Herbert assembling a power together by the kings commission, due and executed manie of those rebellious people. In other places also, by the good diligence and policie vied by the councell, the rebels were appeased and quieted. But shortly after, the commons of Devonshire and Cornwall rose by waie of rebellion, demanding not onelie to haue inclosures laied open, and parkes disparted: but also thorough the instigation and pricking forward of certeine poppish priests, ceased not by all sinister and subtil meanes, first vnder Gods name & the kings, and vnder the colour of religion, to perswade the people to assemble in routs, to chose capitaine to guide them, and finally to burst out into open rebellion. Their chiefe capitaine were these, Humfrie Arundell esquier, gouernour of the Mount, James Kologan, John Kologan, John Paine, Thomas Underhill, John Soleman, and William Segar. Moreouer, of priests which were principall stirrers, and some of them chiefe gouernors of the camps, and after executed, there were to the number of eight, whose names we find to be as follow: Robert Bocham, John Thompson, Roger Barret, John Wolcocke, William Alfa, James Bourton, John Barrow, Richard Benet, besides a multitude of other priests

which joined with them.

The whole companies of these rebels amounted little lesse than to the number of ten thousand stout and ballant personages, able indeed (if their cause had bene good and favoured of the Lord and giuer of victories) to haue wrought great feats. But being as they were) ranke and malicious traitors, the almighty God confounded their deuises, and brought them to their deserued confusion. A strange case, that those mischacious and wicked traitors could not be warned by the evil successe of their blackly attempted outrage, in the yeare last past; at what time certeine leuitious persons in Cornwall fell vpon one of the kings commissioners named master Bobie, sent thither with others for the reformation of matters in religion, in like manner as other were sent at the same time into other shires of the realme, for the which murder a priest being apprehended, arraigned, and condemned, was by a one into Smithfield, and there hanged and quartered the seauenth daie of Iulie, in the said last yeare before mentioned, to wit, 1548. Other of his complices and associates were executed and put to death in diuerse other parts of the realme.

But now touching these other that rose in this present summer. At the first they were in great hope that the other disordered persons, which stirred in other parts of the realme, would haue joined with them, by force to haue disappointed and vndone that which the prince by law and act of parlement, in reformation of religion, had ordeined and established. But afterwards perceiuing how in most places such mischacious mutinies and diuelly attempts, as the commons had begun, partly by force and partly by policie were appeased, or that their cause being but onelie about plucking downe of inclosures, and enlarging of commons, was distained from theirs: so that either they would not, or could not ioin with them in aid of their religious quarrell: they began somewhat to doubt of their wicked begun enterprise. Notwithstanding now, sith they had gone so farre in the matter, they thought there was no thinking backe: and therefore determining to proceed, they fell to new deuises, as first before all things to bring into their hands all such places of force, wealth, and defense, as might in anie respect serue for their aid and furtherance. Here vpon the second of Iulie, they came before the citie of Exeter, incamping about the same in great numbers, and used all waies and meanes they could deuise how to win it by force, sometimes assaulting it right sharple, sometimes firing the gates, otherwhyles undermining the wals, and at other times (as occasions serued) procuring skirmishes.

Finally, nothing was left vndone which the enimie could imagine to serue his purpose for the winning of that citie. And albeit there wanted not lads stomachs among the citizens to withstand this outward force of the enimie: yet in procelle of time, such scarcitie of bread and vittels increased, that the people wared wearie & loth to abide such extreme of famine. Notobest the magistrats (though it greiued them to see the multitude of the citizens in such distress) yet hauing a speciall regard of their dutie toward the prince, and loue to the common wealth, left no waies vnbrought to quiet the people, & saie them in their dutifull obedience to resist the enimies: so that comforting the people with faire promises, and relieuing their necessities verie liberallie, so farre as their power might extend, did in such sort vse the matter, that euerie of them within resolved with one generall consent to abide the end, in hope of some speedie reliefe. And in the meane while, when their corne and meale was consumed, the gouernors

The hope of others joining them.

Exeter besieged.

The great loue of the citizens of Exeter.

of the citie caused brian and meale to be moulde by  
in cloth, for otherwise it would not sticke together.  
Also they caused some excursions to be made out  
of the citie, to take and fetch into the citie such cattell  
as were found pasturing abroad nere to the walls,  
which being brought in, were distributed among the  
poore. To conclude, into such extremitie were the mi-  
serable citizens brought, that albeit mans nature  
can scarcely abide to feed vpon anie vnaccustomed  
food; yet these filie men were glad to eat horse flesh,  
and to hold themselves well content therewith. Whi-  
lest the siege thus remained before Excester, the re-  
bels spoiled and robbed the countrie abroad, and lai-  
eng their traitorous heads together, they consulted  
vpon certein articles to be sent vp to the king. But  
herein such diuersitie of heads and wits was among  
them, that for euerie kind of bzaine there was one  
manner of article: so that neither appeared anie con-  
sent in their diuersitie, nor yet anie consfancie in  
their agreement. Some seemed more tollerable, o-  
thers altogether vnreasonable, some would haue no  
iustices, some no state of gentlemen. The priests  
ener harped vpon one string, to ring the bishop of  
Borne into England againe, and to hallo to home  
cardinall Pole their countirman. After much a do,  
at length a few articles were agreed vpon, to be di-  
rected vnto the king, with the names of certein of  
their heads set therevnto, the copie whereof here in-  
such.

The articles of the commons of De-  
uonshire and Cornewall, sent to the king,  
with answers afterward following  
vnto the same.

- I**st, forsomuch as man, except he be  
borne of water, and the holie-ghost, can  
not enter into the kingdome of God, and  
forsomuch as the gates of heauen be not  
open without this blessed sacrament of baptism;  
therefore we will that our curats shall minis-  
ter this sacrament at all times of need, as well on the weake  
daies, as on the holie daies.
- 2 Item, we will haue our children confirmed  
of the bishop, whensoever we shall within the diocesse  
resort vnto him.
- 3 Item, forsomuch as we constantlie beleue,  
that after the priest hath spoken the words of conse-  
cration being at masse, there celebrating and conse-  
crating the same, there is verie realitie the bodie and  
blond of our sauour Iesus Christ God and man, and  
that no substance of bread and wine remaineth after,  
but the verie selfe same bodie that was borne of the  
virgin Marie, and was giuen vpon the crosse for our  
redemption: therefore we will haue masse celebra-  
ted as it hath bene in times past, without anie man  
communicating with the priests, forsomuch as ma-  
nie rudelie presuming vnworthilie to receiue the  
same, put no difference betwene the Lords bodie &  
other kind of meat; some saing that it is bread be-  
fore and after, some saing that it is profitable to  
no man except he receiue it: with manie other abu-  
sed termes.
- 4 Item, we will haue in our churches reserua-  
tion.
- 5 Item, we will haue holie bread and holie wa-  
ter in the remembrance of Christs precious bodie and  
blond.
- 6 Item, we will that our priests shall sing or  
saie with an audible voice, Gods seruice in the quier  
of the parish churches, and not Gods seruice to be set  
forth like a Chistmasse plate.
- 7 Item, forsomuch as priests be men dedicated

to God for ministring and celebrating the blessed sa-  
craments, and preaching of Gods word, we will that  
they shall liue chaste without marriage, as saint  
Paule did, being the elect and chosen vessel of God,  
saing vnto all honest priests; Be you followers of  
me.

8 Item, we will that the six articles, which our so-  
ueraigne lord king Henrie the eight set forth in his  
latter daies, shall be vied and so taken as they were  
at that time.

9 Item, we praise God saue king Edward, for  
we be his both bodie and gods.

For the pacifying of these rebels, were appointed  
by the king and his counsell, sir John Russell knight  
lord priue seale, the lord Greie of Wilton, sir Wil-  
liam Herbert after earle of Penbrooke, sir John  
Paulet, sir Hugh Paulet, sir Thomas Speake, and  
others, with a conuenient power of men of warre  
both on horsebacke and foot. Amongst others, there  
were certein strangers that came with my lord  
Greie, as capteine Germane an Hennotwer, with  
a band of horsemen, most part Albanosies and Ita-  
lians. Also capteine Paule Baptiste Spinola an I-  
talian boine of a noble house in Genoa, with a band  
of Italian footmen. But now the lord priue seale  
that was ordeined by the king and his counsell, ge-  
nerall of that armie, vpon his first approaching to-  
wards them, sent vnto them the kings maiesties pro-  
clamation: the effect whereof was, that all such per-  
sons as were vnlawfullie assembled, and did not  
within thre daies next after the proclaiming thereof,  
yield and submit themselves to the lord priue seale  
(the kings lieutenant) they should from thenceforth  
be deemed, accepted, and taken for rebels against his  
roiall person, and his impertall crowne and dignitie.

And further, the kings maiestie, for a more ter-  
roure to the rebels, and the incouragement of such o-  
ther his louing subiects, as should helpe and aid to  
apprehend anie of the said rebels, he by his said pro-  
clamation granted and gaue all the offices, fees,  
goods and possessions, which the said rebels had at and  
before their apprehension. This proclamation not-  
withstanding, the rebels continued in their wicked  
deuises & traitorous purposes, hastening to the haz-  
ards of their owne deaths & bindings, as the poet  
saith of the foolish fish swimming to the hidden hook:  
*Occultum visus decurrere piscis ad hamum.*

Wherevpon yet once againe the kings maiestie,  
for the auoiding of the shedding of christian blood,  
sent vnto them a most gentle and louing message in  
writing, thereby to reduce them againe to their du-  
tiful obedience: but all would not serue nor auail  
to moue their obstinate minds to leaue off their de-  
sperate and diuelish enterpryse. The message was  
as followeth.

The kings message to the rebels of  
Cornewall and Deuonshire.

**A**lthough knowledge hath bene gi-  
uen to vs, and our dearest uncle the  
duke of Summerset gouernor of our  
person, and protector of all our realms,  
dominions, and subiects, and to the rest  
of our priue counsell, of diuerse assemblies made by  
you, which ought of dutie to be our louing subiects, a-  
gainst all order of law, and other wise than euer anie  
louing or kind subiects haue attempted against  
their naturall and liege soueraigne lord: yet we  
haue thought it meet, at this verie first time, not to  
condemne and reiect you, as we might iustlie do; but  
to vise you as our subiects, thinking that the diuell  
hath not that power in you, to make you of naturall  
obedi-  
ence.

of the citie caused brian and meale to be moulde by  
in cloth, for otherwise it would not sticke together.  
Also they caused some excursions to be made out  
of the citie, to take and fetch into the citie such cattell  
as were found pasturing abroad nere to the walls,  
which being brought in, were distributed among the  
poore. To conclude, into such extremitie were the mi-  
serable citizens brought, that albeit mans nature  
can scarcely abide to feed vpon anie vnaccustomed  
food; yet these filie men were glad to eat horse flesh,  
and to hold themselves well content therewith. Whi-  
lest the siege thus remained before Excester, the re-  
bels spoiled and robbed the countrie abroad, and lai-  
eng their traitorous heads together, they consulted  
vpon certein articles to be sent vp to the king. But  
herein such diuersitie of heads and wits was among  
them, that for euerie kind of bzaine there was one  
manner of article: so that neither appeared anie con-  
sent in their diuersitie, nor yet anie consfancie in  
their agreement. Some seemed more tollerable, o-  
thers altogether vnreasonable, some would haue no  
iustices, some no state of gentlemen. The priests  
ener harped vpon one string, to ring the bishop of  
Borne into England againe, and to hallo to home  
cardinall Pole their countirman. After much a do,  
at length a few articles were agreed vpon, to be di-  
rected vnto the king, with the names of certein of  
their heads set therevnto, the copie whereof here in-  
such.

The six arti-  
cles to be re-  
newed.

The captiues  
appointed to  
go against the  
Deuonshire  
rebels.

Strangers.

Ric. Grafton.

A proclama-  
tion.

Hor. epist. lib. 2.

borne Englishmen, so suddenlie to become enemies to your owne native countrie of our subjects, to make you traitors, or vnder pretense to relieue your selues, to destroie your selues, your wiues, children, lands, possessions, and all other commodities of this your life. This we saie, that we trust, that although ye be ignorantlie seduced, ye will not be vpon knowledge, obstinate.

And though some amongst you (as euer there is some cockle amongst good corne) forget God, neglect their prince, esteeme not the state of the realme, but as carelesse & desperat men delite in sedition, tumults & wars: yet neuerthelesse the greater part of you will heare the voice of vs your naturall prince, and will by wisdom and counsell be warned, and cease your evils in the beginning, whose ends will be euen by God almighties order your owne destruction. Wherefore as to you our subjects by ignorance seduced, we speake and be content to vse our princelie authoritie like a father to his children, to admonish you of your faults, not to punish them; to put you in remembrance of your duties, not to auenge your forgetfulness. First, your disorder to rise in multitudes, to assemble your selues against our other louing subjects, to arraie your selues to the war, who amongst you all can answer for the same to almighty God, charging you to obeie vs in all things? How can anie English god hart answer vs, our lawes, and the rest of our verie louing and faithfull subjects, who in deed by their obedience make our honour, estate, and degre?

Disorder in  
subjects.

Abusing of the  
kings name.

We vse our name in your writings, and abuse the same against our selfe. What iniurie herein do you vs, to call those which loue vs, to your euill purposes, by the authoritie of our name? God hath made vs your king by his ordinance and prouidence, by our blood and inheritance, by lawfull succession, and our coronation: but not to this end, as you vse our name. We are your most naturall soueraigne lord & king, Edward the first, to rule you, to preserve you, to saue you from all your outward enemies, to see our lawes well ministred, euerie man to haue his owne, to suppress disordered people, to correct traitors, theues, pirates, robbers, & such like, yea to keepe our realms from other princes, from the malice of the Scots, of Frenchmen, of the bishop of Rome. Thus god subjects, our name is written, thus it is honored and obeyed, this maiestie it hath by Gods ordinance, not by mans. So that of this your offense we cannot write to much. And yet doubt not but this is enough from a prince to all reasonable people, from a roiall king to all kindhearted & louing subjects, fro the puissant k. of England, to euerie naturall Englishman.

False causes.

Your pretense, which you saie, moueth you to do thus, and wherewith you seeke to excuse this disorder, we assure you is either false, or so vaine, that we doubt not, that after that ye shall hereby vnderstand the truth thereof, ye will all with one voice acknowledge your selues ignorantlie led, and by error seduced. And if there be anie one that will not, then assure you the same be ranke traitors, enemies of our crowne, seditious people, heretikes, papists, or such as care not what cause they haue to prouoke an insurrection, so they may do it, nor in deed can war so rich with their owne labors & with peace, as they can do with spoiles, with wars, with robberies and such like, yea with the spoile of your owne gods, with the lining of your labors, the sweat of your bodies, the food of your owne households, wiues and children: such they be, as for a time vse pleasant persuasions to you, and in the end will cut your throates for your owne gods.

Baptisme.

You be borne in hand, that your children, though necessitie chance, shall not be christened but vpon the

holie daies: how false this is, learne you of vs. Our booke which we haue set forth by free consent of our whole parlement in the English tongue teacheth you the contrarie, euen in the first lease, yea the first side of the first lease of that part which intreateth of baptism. Good subjects (for to other we speake not) looke & be not deceived. They which haue put this false opinion into your eares, they meane not the christening of children, but the destruction of you our christened subjects. Be this knowne vnto you, that our honor is so much, that we may not be found faultie of one tote or two: yea, if by our lawes you may not christen your children when ye be disposed vpon necessitie, euerie daie or houre in the weeke, then might you be offended: but seeing you may do it, how can you beleue them that teach you the contrarie? What thinke you they meane in the rest, which moue you to breake your obedience against vs, your king & soueraigne, vpon these so false tales & persuasions in so euident a matter? Wherefore all you which will acknowledge vs your soueraigne lord, and which will heare the voice of vs your king, may easilie perceiue how you be deceived, and how subtilie traitors and papists, with their falsehood seeke to atchieue and bring their purpose to passe with your helpe. Euerie traitor will be glad to dissemble his treason, and seeke it secretly: euerie papist his poperie, and nourish it inwardlie; and in the end make you our subjects partakers of treason and poperie, which in the beginning was pretended to be a commonweale and holiness.

And how are you seduced by them, which put in your heads the blessed sacrament of Christs bodie, should not differ from other common bread? If our lawes, proclamations, and statutes be all to the contrarie, whie shall anie priuat man persuade you against them? We do our selfe in our owne hart, our counsell in all their profession, our lawes and statutes in all purposes, our god subjects in all our doings most highlie esteeme that sacrament, and be the communion thereof to our most comfort. We make so much difference thereof from other common bread, that we thinke no profit of other bread, but to mainteine our bodies: but this blessed bread we take to be the verie food of our soules to euermoring life. How thinke you, god subjects, shall not we being your prince, your lord, your king by Gods appointment, with truth more preuaile, than certeine euill persons with open falsehood? Shall anie seditious person persuade you that the sacrament is despised, which is by our lawes, by our selfe, by our counsell, and by all our god subjects esteemed, used, participated, and daily receiued? If euer ye were seduced, if euer deceived, if euer traitors were beleued, if euer papists poisoned god subjects, it is now. It is not the christening of children, nor the reuerence of the sacrament, nor the health of your soules that they shot at, god subjects: it is sedition, it is high treason, it is your destruction they seeke. How craftie, how pitiouslie, how cunninglie so euer they do it, with one rule iudge ye the end, which of force must come of your purposes.

Almighty God forbiddeth vpon paine of euermoring damnation, disobedience to vs your king, and in his place we rule in earth. If we should be slow, would God erre? If your offense be towards God, thinke you it is pardoned without repentance? Is Gods iudgement mutable? Your paine is damnation, your iudge is incorruptible, your fault is most euident. Likewise are ye euill informed in diuerse other articles, as for confirmation of your children, for the masse, for the maner of your service of mattins and euen song. Whatsoeuer is therein ordered, hath bene long debated, and consulted by manie learned bishops, doctors, and other men of great learning

Shewer in  
the English  
tongue.

Knowledge is  
better than  
ignorance.

Sacrament  
of the bodie,  
&c.

The masse.

Confirmation  
of children.

Disobedience  
to a king is  
disobedience  
to almighty  
God.

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Sacrament  
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learning in this realme concluded, in nothing so much labour and time spent of late time, nothing so faulie ended. As for service in the English tongue hath manifested reasons for it, and yet perchance seemeth to you a new service, and yet in deed is none other but the old. The selfe same words in English which were in Latin, saving a few things taken out, so fond that it had bene a shame to have heard them in English, as all they can iudge which list to report the truth.

The difference is, that we ment godlie, that you our subiects should understand in English, being our naturall countrie tongue, that which was heretofore spoken in Latine, then serving onelie them which understand Latine, & now for all you that be borne English. How can this with reason offend anie reasonable man, that he should understand that anie other faith, and so to consent with the speaker? If the service in the church were good in Latine, it remaineth good in English: for nothing is altered, but to speake with knowledge, that before was spoken with ignorance: and to let you understand what is said for you, to the intent you maie further it with your owne devotion, an alteration to the better, except knowledge be worse than ignorance. So that whosoever hath moued you to mislike this order, can giue you no reason, nor answer yours, if ye understand it.

Therefore you our subiects, remember we speake to you, being ordeined your prince and king by almighty God, if anie wise we could aduance Gods honour more than we do, we would do it, and see that ye become subiects to Gods ordinance. Obieie vs your prince, and learne of them which haue authoritie to teach you, which haue power to rule you, and will execute our iustice, if we be prouoked. Learne not of them whose fruits be nothing but wilfulnesse, disobedience, obstinacie, & destruction of the realme. For the masse, we assure you, no small studie & travail hath bene spent by all the learned clergie therein, and to auoid all contention thereof, it is brought euen to the verie use as Christ left it, as the apostles used it, as holie fathers deliuered it: indeed somewhat altered from that which the popes of Rome for their lucre brought to it. And although you maie heare the contrarie of some popish and euil men, yet our maiestie, which for our honoz maie not be blemished nor stained, assureth you, that they deceiue you, abuse you, and blow these opinions into your heads for to furnish their owne purposes.

And so likewise iudge you of confirmation of children, and let them answer you this one question. Thinke they that a child christened is damned, because he dieth before bishopping? Sparke good subiects, what inconuenience hereof commeth. Our doctrine therefore is founded vpon true learning, and theirs vpon shamelesse errors. To conclude, beside our gentle manner of information to you, whatsoever is contained in our booke, either for baptism, sacrament, masse, confirmation and service in the church, is by parlement established, by the whole clergie agreed, yea by the bishops of the realme deuised, & further by Gods word confirmed. And how dare you trust, yea how dare you giue eare without trembling, to anie singular person to disallow a parlement; a subiect to perswade against our maiestie, or anie man of his single arrogancie against the determination of the bishops, and all the clergie, anie intended argument against the word of God?

But now yea our subiects, we resort to a greater matter of your unkindnesse, a great vnnaturalnesse, and such an euill, that if we thought it had not bene begun of ignorance, and continued by perswasion of certeine traitors amongst you, which we thinke few in number, but in their doings busie, we could not

be perswaded but to ble our sword and do iustice: and as we be ordeined of God for to redresse your errors by auengement. But loue and zeale yet our cometh our iust anger, but how long that will be, God knoweth, in whose hand our heart is; and rather for your owne causes, being our christened subiects, we would ye were perswaded than vanquished, taught than ouerthrowne, quietlie pacified than rigorously persecuted. We require to haue the statute of six articles reuined. And know you what ye require? We know ye what ease ye haue with the losse of them: They were lawes made, but quicklie repented; to bloudie they were to be borne of our people, yet at the first in deed made of some necessitie. Wh subiects how are ye trapped by euil persons? We of pitie, because they were bloudie, toke them awaie, and you now of ignorance will aske them againe. You know full well that they helped vs to extend right, and gaue vs cause to draw our sword verte often.

And since our mercie moued vs to write our lawes with milke and equitie, how are ye blinded to aske them in bloud? But leauing this manner of reasoning, and resorting to the truth of our authoritie, we let you wit, the same hath bene aduulled by parlement with great reioice of our subiects, and not now to be called in question. And dareth anie of you with the name of a subiect, stand against an act of parlement, a law of the realme? What is our power if lawes should be thus neglected? What is your suertie if lawes be not kept? Assure you most suertie, that we of no earthly thing vnder the heauen make such reputation as we do of this one, to haue our lawes obied, & this cause of God to be throughlie mainteined, from the which we will neuer remoue a heares brydth, nor giue place to anie creature liuing; but therein will spend our whole roiall person, our crowne, treasure, realme, and all our state, whereof we assure you of our high honoz. For herein resteth our honoz, herein do all kings knowledge vs a king. And shall anie one of you dare breathe or thinke against our kingdome and crowne?

In the end of this your request (as we be giuen to understand) ye would haue them stand in force till our full age. To this we thinke, that if ye knew what ye spake, ye would not haue vttered the motion, nor neuer giuen breath to such a thought. For that thinke you of our kingdome? We we of lesse authoritie for our age? We we not your king now as we shall be? Shall ye be subiects hereafter, and now are ye not? Haue we not the right we shall haue? If ye would suspend and hang our doings in doubt vntill our full age, ye must first know, as a king we haue no difference of yeares, but as a naturall man and creature of God we haue youth, and by his suffrance shall haue age. We are your rightfull king, your liege lord, the soueraine prince of England, not by our age, but by Gods ordinance; not onelie when we shall be one and twentie yeares of age, but when we were of ten yeers. We possesse our crowne not by yeares, but by the blood and descent from our father king Henrie the eight. If it be considered, they which moue this matter, if they durst vtter themselves, would denie our kingdome.

But our good subiects know their prince, and will increase, not diminish his honoz, enlarge his power, not abate it, knowledg his kingdome, not deferre it to certeine yeares. All is one, to speake against our crowne, and to denie our kingdome, as to require that our lawes maie be broken vnto one and twentie yeares. We we not your crowned, anointed, and established king? Wherein be we of lesse maiestie, of lesse authoritie, or lesse state, than our progenitors kings of this realme, except your unkindnesse, your vnnaturalnesse will diminish our estimation?

¶ See e. lii.

Six articles.

The authoritie of a parlement.



We haue hitherto since the death of our father, by the good aduise and counsell of our deare and intire, lie beloued uncle the duke of Summerſet, and gouernor and protector, kept our eſtate, maintained our realme, preſerued our honour, defended our people from all enimies. We haue hitherto bene feared and dread of our enimies, yea of princes, kings, and nations. Yea herein we be nothing inferiour to anie our progenitors, which grace we acknowledge to be giuen vs from God, and how else, but by good obedience, good counsell of our magiſtrates, and by the authoritie of our kingdome?

England hitherto hath gained honour during our  
reigne: it hath twine of the enimie, and not loſt. It  
hath bene marvelled that ſue of ſo yong yeares  
haue reigned ſo noble, ſo roſallie, ſo quiettic. And  
how chanceth that you our louing ſubiects of that  
our countie of Cornewall and Deuonſhire, will  
giue occaſion to ſlander this our realme of England,  
to giue courage to the enimie, to note our realme of  
the cuill of rebellion, to make it a preſte to our old en-  
mies, to diminiſh our honour which God hath giuen,  
our father left, our good uncle and counsell preferred  
vnto vs: What greater euill could ye commit, than  
euen now that our foreyn enimie in Scotland, and  
vpon the ſea ſecketh to inuade vs, to do our realme  
diſhonour, than to ariſe in this maner againſt our  
law, to prouoke our wrath, to aſke our vengeance,  
and to giue vs an occaſion to ſpend that force t<sup>o</sup>on  
you, which we meant to beſtow vpon our enimies, to  
begin to ſlaie you with that ſword that we deſp<sup>re</sup> forſh  
againſt Scots, and other enimies, to make a con-  
queſt of our owne people, which otherwiſe ſhould  
haue bene of the whole realme of Scotland:

Thus farre we haue descended from our high ma-  
iestie, for loue to consider you in your simple igno-  
rance, and haue bene content to send you an instruc-  
tion like a father, who of iustice might haue sent you  
your directions like a king to rebels. And now we  
let you know, that as you see our mercie abundan-  
tie, so if ye prouoke vs further, we sweare to you by  
the liuing God, ye shall feele the power of the same.  
God in our sword, which how mightie it is, no subiect  
knoweth; how puissant it is, no priuat man can  
indge; how mortal, no Englishman dare thinke.  
But swerlie, sterlie, as your lord and prince, your on-  
lie king and maiesty, we saie to you, repent your  
felices, and take our mercie without delaie: o; else  
we will forthwith extend our princelie power, and  
execute our sharpe sword against you, as against in-  
fiels and Turkes, and rather aduenture our obse-  
routall person, state, and power, than the same should  
not be executed.

And if you will proue the example of our mercie, learne of certeine which lattie did arise, as they perceiving pretended some griefes, and yet acknowledging their offenses, haue not onelie most humble their pardon: but feele also by our order, to whome onelie all publike order aperteyneth, present rebelle of their griefes. In the end, we admonish you of your duties to God, whome ye shall answer in the daie of the Lord, & of your duties toward vs, whom ye shall answer by our order, and take our mercie whilst God to inclineth vs, least when ye shall be constrained to aske, we shall be too much hardened in heart to grant it you. And where ye shall heare name of mercie, mercie, and life; ye shall then heare of iustice, iniustice, and death. Written the eight of Julie, in the third yeare of our reigne.

Although the rebels received this princelie message, & wholesome admonition from the kings maiestie, yet would they not refozrne themselves, as dutifull subjects ought to haue done, but stood still in

their twicked begun rebellion, offering to trie it at the weapons point. There wanted not priests and other busie bodies among them, such as by all waies and meanes possible sought to kindle the coles of malice and hatred betwixt the king and his subjects; which as the manner is among all the like twicked disposed people, continued to raise and strewe abroad false forged tales, and feined rumors, giuing it out, that the people should be constrained to paie a rateable taxke for their sheepe and cattell, and an excise for euerie thing that they should eate or drinke. These and such other slanderous bzutes were spread abroad by those children of Beliall, whereby the cankered minds of the rebels might the more be hardened and made stiffe from plieing vnto anie reasonable persuasion, that might be made to moue them to returne vnto their dutifull obedience, as by the lawes both of God and man they were bounden; and so it came to passe, for the rebellious rout were growne to an obstinacie, seeming so far from admitting persuasions to submision, that they became resolute in their pestilent actions; willfullie following the worst, which they knew full well would redound to their detriment; and auoiding the best, which they doubted not might turne to their advantage, agreeable in sense and meaning vnto that of the poet:

*Qua nocere sequar, fugiam qua profore credam.*

Hereupon when no hope was left to procure them  
 by any quiet meanes to laide downe armes, the lord  
 prinie scale, and the lord Greie, with their forces,  
 although not comparable with the rebels in num-  
 ber, about the latter end of Iulie set vpon them, and  
 by great manhood put them from their ground, not-  
 withstanding they fought verie stoutlie, & gaue it not  
 ouer for a litle: and although they were thus diuenc-  
 to giue place at this first onfet, yet they got toge-  
 ther againe, and aboad a new charge, defending  
 their ground, & doing what they could to beat backe  
 and repell those that came to aduaile them. But ne-  
 uertheless though the power of the almightie God  
 fauouring the rightfull cause, the rebels were discom-  
 fed, and followed in chase with great slaughter for  
 the space of two miles. This was about the begin-  
 ning of August.

Their chief captaynes, to wit, Humfrey Arundell, Whindland, Holmes, and Burie, were taken and brought by to London. There were taken also others of their captaynes, as Thomas Underhill, John Solesman, William Segar, Templon, and Barret, which two last were priests; also Boier and Henrie Lee, two maiors, all the which were executed in one place or other, as they had well deserved. The said Boier being maior of Bodmin in Coznelwall, (as Grafon reports) had bene a bulke fellow among the rebels, to set them forward in mischief; howbeit some that loved him sought to excuse him, as if he had bene forced hereto against his will by the rebels, who would haue killed him, and burnt his house, if he had not consented to them. But howeuer it was, sir Anthonie Kingston that was pryncesse marshall in the kings armie vnder the lord pryncesse scale, wroote his letter vnto the said maior, signifying to him, that he and other with him would come and dine with him such a date. The maior seeming to be glad thereof, made the best purueuance he could to receiue them, and at the time appointed, sir Anthonie Kingston came with his companie, and were right hartilie welcomed of the maior. The maior rose they sat downe to dinner, calling the maior aside, he told him that there must be execution done in that towne, and therefore willed him that a paire of gallows might be framed and set by with speed, so that they might be ready by that time that they should make an end of dinner.

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Hor. in Epist.  
Lib. I.

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Sir John  
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Hor. in Epi.  
lib. 1.

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Sir Antho-  
Kingston pro-  
uolt marshall.

The maior with all diligence caused the same to be done: so that when dinner was ended, sir Antho-  
nie calling the maior to him, and asking whether the  
gallies were set up accordinglie as he had willed,  
the maior answered that they were readie. Where-  
with sir Anthonie taking the maior by the hand, de-  
sired him to bring him to the place where they stood,  
and comming thither and beholding them, he said to  
the maior: Thinke you maister maior that they be  
strong enough? Hea sir, quoth he, that they are. Well  
then said sir Anthonie, get you euen by vnto them,  
for they are provided for you. The maior greatlie as-  
bashed herewith, said: I trust you meane no such  
thing to me. Sir said he, there is no remedie, ye  
haue bene a busse rebell, and therefore this is appoin-  
ted for your reward: and so without respect of state,  
there was the maior hanged.

The maior of  
Kington hanged

At the same time, & neere the same place dwelled a  
miller that had bene a great doer in that rebellion,  
for whom also sir Anthonie Kingston sought: but the  
miller being thereof warned, called a good tall fel-  
low that he had to his seruant, and said vnto him: I  
haue businesse to go from home, if anie therefore  
come to aske for me, saie thou art the owner of the  
mill and the man for whom they shall so aske, and  
that thou hast kept this mill for the space of three  
yeares, but in no wise name me. The seruant pro-  
mised his maister so to do. And shortly after came  
sir Anthonie Kingston to the millers house, and  
calling for the miller, the seruant came forth,  
and answered that he was the miller. How long,  
quoth sir Anthonie, hast thou kept this mill? He an-  
swered three yeares. Well then said he, come on,  
thou must go with me, and caused his men to late  
hands on him, and to bring him to the next tree,  
saing to him: Thou hast bene a busse knaue, and  
therefore here shalt thou hang. Then cried the fel-  
low out, and said that he was not the miller, but the  
millers man. Well then, said sir Anthonie, thou  
art a false knave to be in two tales, therefore said  
he, hang him by: and so incontinentlie hanged he  
was in deed. After he was dead, one that was pre-  
sent, told sir Anthonie; Surelie sir this was but the  
millers man. What then said he, could he euer haue  
done his maister better service than to hang for  
him?

A miller  
hanged  
by the mai-  
nor.This was a  
bad proce-  
ding, though  
the punie had  
bene-  
fited.An. H. intro-  
duction into  
the next nar-  
ration being a  
true addition,  
touching this  
rebellion.An. H. intro-  
duction into  
the next nar-  
ration being a  
true addition,  
touching this  
rebellion.The addition  
following be-  
ing large but

Many other were executed by order of the mar-  
shall law, & a great part of the countie abandoned  
to the spoile of the souldiers, who were not shouthfull  
to gleane what they could find for the time their li-  
bertie lasted. Thus far the report of this rebellious  
boile, whereupon it first kindled, by what meanes  
the same sparkled and became a flame, and what de-  
uises were used to extinguish & quench it. Where-  
in we see how prone the people are to rise by routs  
upon occasions of discontentments; how hastie and  
bradie to undertake dangerous enterprises, how  
willfull and obstinate to persist in their pernicious  
proceedings, how cold-hearted and hopelesse when  
they see the course of their plots of perilous policie  
either interrupted, undermined, or ouerthrowne; and  
finallie, what a reprochfull reward redoundeth both  
to the ringleaders in rebellions, as also what falleth  
to the shares of all such as shake hands and become  
confederats to the furthering and strengthening of  
riots, mutinies, insurrections, commotions, and  
hurleburles. Whereby the state is disquieted, (that  
more is) the prince drawne into a conceipt of sus-  
pecting his subjects loialties; besides a twicked pre-  
sident to posterities, without feare of shame, remorse  
of conscience, regard to allegiance, or foresight of  
afterclaps, to attempt the like. Now it resteth, that  
for the further truth and knowledge hereof, we adde  
a new report (new I meane, in respect of the pub-

lication, having not heretofore bene printed) though  
old enough, and sufficientlie warranted by the re-  
porter, who upon his owne notice hath deliuered no  
lesse in writing, than himselfe upon verie good and  
infallible grounds obserued, and hath left testified in  
the discourse following; wherein there is not one  
word either added, or inuerted: but all things (from  
point to point) agreeable to the written copie.

course, was  
neuer hereto-  
fore published.

The description of the citie of Exces-  
ter, and of the sundrie assaults giuen to the  
same: collected and gathered by Iohn  
Howell (alias Hooker) gentleman  
and chamberleine of  
the same.



Excester or Excester is a famous and  
an ancient citie, being the metropole  
and Emporium of the west parts of  
England, situated and lieng in the pro-  
uince sometime called *Dumnonia*, that  
is to saie, the countie of *Dallies*: for whereas are  
manie hilles (as that countie is full of hilles and  
mounteins) there are manie *Dallies*. But ne-  
ruptlie it is named *Deuonia*, or *Deuonshire*, and not  
*Daneshire* of the *Danes*, as some would haue it.  
Of the first foundation thereof, by reason of the sun-  
drie inuasions of foren nations, who with their hosti-  
lities and cruell warres did burne and destroye the  
same, there remaineth no certeine memorie, nei-  
ther among the records of the said citie, ne yet in a-  
nie one other writer.

*Dumnonia*, the  
countie of  
*Dallies*.*Deuonia*,  
*Deuonshire*.

But most certeine it is, that it was first builded  
and founded by the *Britons* or *Butes*. For the  
names which they gaue and used, are yet at this pre-  
sent had in remembrance, as well among the chro-  
nographers of this land, as also among the *Comish*  
people, who were sometimes one with this prouince;  
but now in a countie of themselves, and next border-  
ing to this, and in the same diocesse. And they are  
the remanent of the blood of *Brutus*. For when *Cae-*  
*wallader* king of this land, by reason of a great fa-  
mine and pestilence was driven to forsake the same,  
& to flie into little *Britaine* named *Armorica*, which  
is now vnder the dition of the French king: diuers  
& the most part of his people fled, some into *Wales*,  
and some into *Comtwall*, where euer since they and  
after them their posteritie haue remained and conti-  
nued.

*Corinia*,  
*Baleus* lib. 1.  
Centuriarum.  
Lelandus in  
Genealogia.

The old chonographers, searchers, and writers  
of antiquities doe find, that this citie was called *Co-*  
*rinia*, and thereof the cathedrall church of the same  
was (as Bale saith) named *Ecclesia Corinensis*: which  
name, if it were first giuen by *Corinus* (as *Leland*  
writeth) who after the arriual of *Brutus* into this  
land, was made the first duke of this whole west  
countie of *Deuon* and *Comtwall*, which were both  
comprised vnder the name of *Corinia*, and whereof this  
citie euer hath bene and is the metropole, and al-  
waies parcell sometime of the kingdom, then of the  
duchie, and after of the earledome, and now againe  
of the duchie of *Comtwall*: then out of doubt this  
citie is of no lesse antiquitie than the said names do  
import. It was also called *Augusta*. Of this name  
there were diuerse cities, so named by the *Romans*;  
but this onelie was named *Augusta Britannorum*, and  
so called (as some thinke) by the *Romans* at the con-  
clusion of the peace made at the siege of this citie be-  
twene king *Arutragus* and *Tespasian* coronell of  
the *Romane* armie vnder *Claudius Augustus*. The  
*Britons* in their tong or language doe call this citie  
by sundrie names: the first and eldest in remem-  
brance is call *Denhulgoile*, that is to saie, the pro-  
perous

*Denhulgoile*.

Pennehalte  
caire.

Pen necaire  
the chafe ci-  
tie, Caire ruth  
the red citie,  
Caireiske the  
citie of Exe.

Houeden.

Ptolomeus in  
tabulis.

Baleus centur,  
lib.

New lordes  
new names.

Sponketon.

Ex viciis libris.

Polydorus his-  
lib. 5. Exeter.

perons chie fe towne in the wood, as doth appere by  
Geffreie of Monmouth, and Ponticus Viruonius. It  
was also called Pennehaltecaire, that is, the chiefe  
citie or towne upon the hill; as doth appere in a tra-  
uerse betwene the bishop, deane, and chapiter of this  
citie of the one partie; and the maior, bailiffe, and  
communalte of the other partie, concerning their  
liberties. But the names which the Cornish people  
do at these presents remember & retein, are special-  
lie thre, Pennecaire, Caire ruth, Caireiske. Penne-  
caire signifieth, and is to saie, the chafe citie. Caire-  
ruth signifieth the red or reddish citie, so called and  
taking the name of the ground and soile whereupon  
it is situated, which is a red earth. Caireiske is the  
citie of Iske, being so called of the riuer, which the  
Britons name Iske, and doth fast by the same. And  
of this name Houeden in his chronicle maketh men-  
tion, saing thus: *Anno Domini 877 exercitus Dana-  
rum ab Wareham nocte quadam, sedere disrupto, ad Exan-  
cestre diuerterunt, quod Britannie dicitur Caireiske.*

Ptolomeus the famous astronomer, who was a-  
bout the yere of our Lord 162, doth being king of  
this land, nameth this citie Isca; and the riuer Isca-  
ca. And Bale the searcher of antiquities following  
the same opinion, doth also name the citie Isca, and  
the inhabitants therein Iskans. But under corre-  
ction be it spoken, a man maie well thinke that  
Ptolomeus being in Alexandria, and so farre distant  
from this land, was misinformed, or the print mis-  
taken. For it is most likelie that the riuer should be  
named Isca according to the British speech, wherein  
it was called Isca; and which name by transposing  
of the two middle letters, doth at this present re-  
maine being now named Isca or Exa. But what-  
soeuer the censures and opinions of Ptolomeus and  
of Bale, who wrote onelie upon report, be herein, it  
is certeine, that the names which the Brites or Bri-  
tons gaue, were of longest continuance. And this  
citie was called by their denominations, by the  
space of fiftene hundred yeres, untill the coming  
of the Saxons, the Dics, and the Scots into this  
realme, which was about the yere of our Lord foure  
hundred and fiftie. For they, where, and whensoever  
they preuailed in any place, did for the most part al-  
ter and change the names of all places & townes, ac-  
counting it a great renoume, as also a perpetuall  
memoiall of their chivalrie, to giue new names, ei-  
ther of their owne deuises, or of their owne native  
countries; for so is it written of them: *Picti, Scoti, An-  
gli, Dani, & Normanni in hac insula rerum potuit, cuncta im-  
mutarunt, pro trophæis habentes, loca à se deuictis noua impone-  
re nomina.* The Saxons therefore as of all other cities  
& townes (few excepted) so of this also they changed  
and altered the old names and called it Sponketon;  
and by which name it was so called by the space of  
thre hundred and od yeres, and untill the time of  
king Athelstane: for he about the yere of our Lord  
nine hundred thirtie and two, being much grieved  
and vniquieted with the rebellion of the Cornish peo-  
ple, because they refused and denied to acknowledge  
him for their lawfull king, did bend his force, & con-  
duct his armie against them. And hauing subdued  
and preuailed ouer them, he returned to this citie:  
and while he rested here, he repaired the same; and  
the walles which before were but mightie ditches of  
earth, and the banks set with great poles of timber  
now destroyed, he builded all of square stone, as it  
is recorded: *Hanc urbem primis Athelstanus in potesta-  
tem Anglorum fugatis Britonibus reduclam, turribus muni-  
uit, & muræ quadratis lapidibus tandem ciuit. &* And  
then he altered and changed the former names, and  
called it after the name of the riuer *Esseterra* or *Exe-  
terra*, that is to saie, Exeter. For so is it written,

*Est Exonia uetus Deuonie comitatibus, sedo præcelsa ad acciden-*

*tem versus posita: abluuntur flumine Exi, à quo nomen habet.*

Others name it of the riuer siting by it, which they  
saie is named *Excestria*, & thus they write: *Clarissima  
urbium est Excestria, quæ ab anni Excestro qui eandem præ-  
terfuit est sic nuncupata.* I find it also written in an old  
chronicle, that it is named *Exancestria* or *Exancestrie*:  
which shuld seme to be so called by the Saxons. For  
the most part of the cities, townes, & forts, which they  
builded or reedified, did end in cestre; as *Clocestre*,  
10 *Lecestre*, *Pancestres*, *Winchestre*, *Dicestre*, *Wol-  
cestre*, *Colcestre*, *Cicestre*, *Ilecestre*, *Wicestre*, & this  
citie of *Excestre* with others. For Caire in British  
& Cestre in Saronish are one thing, & do signifie in  
English a fort, towre, or castell. This citie (as is be-  
fore said) being walled about with stone by king A-  
thelstane is not altogether foure square, but decli-  
neth somewhat toward a roundelle, and contin-  
eth in circuit or compasse sixtenc hundred whole pa-  
ses, after siue foot to a pace; which accounting after  
the Italian maner one thousand pases to a mile, it is  
a mile and halfe about, & somewhat more. The situa-  
tion of this citie is verie pleasant and delicate, be-  
ing set vpon a little hill among manie hilles. For  
the whole countrie round about is mounteinous and  
full of hilles. It is pendent towards the south and  
west parts, after and in such sort, that be the streets  
neuer so foule or filthie, yet with a shoure of raine  
they are cleansed and made sweet. And albeit hilles  
are commonlie drie, yet nature is so beneficiall to  
this litle hill, that it is in euerie quarter full of water  
springs: & by that meanes the whole citie is throughe-  
lie furnished with welles and stirps; the great god  
benefit and commoditie whereof hath well appeared  
in sundrie times of necessitie, and especiallie in the  
time of the late commotion, which was in the yere  
of our Lord 1549. For albeit the enimie, by breaking  
and spoiling of the pipes or canales, whereby water  
was conueied to the founteins of the citie, from cer-  
teine springs distant not a mile from the same, did  
abridge them of that water: yet most comfortablelie  
they did inioy without impeachment the welles and  
stirps within the walles, which abundantlie flowed  
with waters to the satisficing of all people therein.

There are also within this citie certeine foun-  
teins or conduits, whereunto, throughe certeine ca-  
nales or pipes of lead, the waters from certeine  
springs, rising in the fields not far from the citie, are  
brought and conueied. And these waters are of most  
prize, because by the carriage thereof they are puri-  
fied, and made lighter than are the other waters  
springing within the citie: and by that means more  
meet for dressing of meats. Of these conduits two  
are speciall, the one of them standeth and is within  
the cemiterie or churchyard of the cathedrall church  
of the said citie, and is called saint Peters conduit:  
the other being of great antiquitie standeth in the  
middle of the citie, at the meeting of foure principall  
streets of the same, and thereof somtimes it toke  
his name, being called the conduit at Quatrefois  
or Carfor; but now the great conduit.

At the higher end of this citie is a berie old and  
ancient castell, named Rugemont, that is to saie  
the red hill, taking that name of the red soile or earth  
whereupon it is situated. The site or situation of it  
is eminent and aboue both the citie and countrie ad-  
ioining: for they do all lie as it were vnder the lee  
thereof. It hath a goodlie and pleasant prospect to-  
wards the seas: for betwene that and it is no hill  
at all. It is stronglie ditched round about, and was  
first builded (as some thinke) by Iulius Cesar: but  
rather and in truth by the Romans after him when  
they had their recourse to it for their defense, refuge,  
and abode, manie yeares. The same was somtimes  
the palace of such kings, as vnto whome the kinge

The site of  
Excestre and  
circuit.

The citie is  
full of water  
springs.

The rebells  
broke and  
spoile the  
pipes of lead  
for waters.

The conduits  
for water.

Saint Peters  
conduit.

The great  
conduit.

Castell Ridge  
mont.

The site of  
the castell.

The castell  
built by the  
Romans.

Edward  
the sixth.

The river of  
Exe.

Excestre in  
Emoys.

The haven  
Excestre.

The decore  
the haven of  
Excestre.  
High Court  
the first  
belltower of ci-  
tyzen.

2.1549.

An. Reg. 3.

Calusemure,  
ib. in Britannie  
descriptions.  
Exceller.  
Exceller.

Entre, { a fort  
Entre, {

The site of  
Exceller and  
arcuit.

The citie is  
full of water  
springs.

The rebels  
peake and  
poule the  
pipes of lead  
of waters.

The continis  
of water.

Saint the  
corp conduit.

The great  
conduit.

Castell Enger-  
mont.

The site of  
the castell.

The castell  
builded by the  
Romans.

At the lower end and part of this citie, without the walls, floweth a goodlie and a pleasant river, which the Britons called *Itk*; Ptolomens by misinformacion named it *Isaca*: but the other old writers named it *Esse*, *Exe*, *Exa*, or *Excessum*: and these names be retained at these presents. It hath his head or spring in a certeine moze or desert distant from the citie nere about foure and twentie miles, called *Ermoze*. It floweth into the maine seas about eight miles from the citie, at a place named *Ermoze*, and by the waie it is increased with sundrie rivers, brooks & lakes, the chiefe of which are *Crædie* and *Collome*. It is well stored and is plentifull of samon, trout, peale, dace, pike, and other like freshwater fishes: which albeit they be verie good and delicate, and especially the samon and pike: yet they are the lesse esteemed, because the seas being so nere do furnish the citie & countrie verie abundantlie with sundrie kinds of sea fishes most delicate.

The maine seas are not distant from the citie above eight miles, out of which cometh an arme serving for the port of the same: which (as doth appeare by certeine old and ancient records) did sometimes flow up to the verie walls of the citie, where boats and vessels were wont to be laden and unladen of all kind of wares and merchandizes, at a proper place appointed for the same: which at these presents keepeth his old and ancient name, and is called the *watergate*. The decaye thereof hapned about the reare of our Lord 1312, by one *Hugh Courtneie* the third of that name, and earle of *Deuon*: who being offended and incensed against this citie, his wrathfull humor could not be satisfied, untill by some means he did impair and annoie the state of the commonwealth of the same. And seeing that among other commodities, the use of the haven and watercourse to the citie to be one of the chiefest, he was never quiet untill he had destroyed the same: wherefore minding to performe what he had conceived, he did in the yeare of our Lord 1313, the fifth yeare of king *Edward the second*, enterpryse & begin his pretended deuile and mischief.

And first whereas the lady *Isabella de Fortibus*, countesse of *Armerle* and of *Deuon*, his ancestrie had builded certeine works upon the river of *Exe* (the proprietie and seignorie whereof did appertene to the citie) the one of the west side of the river of *Exe* in *Erminster* parish, and the other of the east side of the same river in the parish of *Topesham*; leaving betwene the said two works a certeine aperture or open space of thirtie foot, thorough which all boats and vessels without let or hinderance might haue and had their vsuall passage and repassage, to and from the citie unto the seas: the said earle to abridge and destroye this great benefit and commoditie, did leaue and build a newe waere in the said aperture or open come, stopping, filling, and quiering the same, with great trees, timber, and stones, in such sort, that no vessel nor vessels could passe or repasse.

After him *Edward Courtneie* earle of *Deuon*, and nephew to the said *Hugh*, did not onelie maintain and continue the doings of his ancestre, by his daileie reparing and defending the same: but also to worke an utter destruction for ever, of anie passage or repassage to be had thenceforth to and from the said citie; under pretence to build and make certeine

mills, did erect two other waeres, the one at *saint James* ouerthwart the whole river, and the other at *Lampresford*: by means whereof not onelie the citie did susteine the whole losse of the haven, but the whole countrie also was surrounded about it, and in process of time altogether, and as it is at these presents covered with salt waters. For which grieues and injuries upon complaints made thereof, diuerse sundrie writs and commissions of inquirie were awarded and granted by the king; and the said earles by sundrie inquisitions and verdicts found gilty. And yet notwithstanding, such was their power and authority, and such was the iniquitie of those daies, as no iustice could take place, nor law haue his due course against them.

Furthermoze also the foresaid *Hugh*, to increoch the gaine and commoditie of the lading & unloading of merchandizes within the port & river to himselfe, did build a keie and a crane in the river at his towne of *Topesham*, distant from the citie about thre miles; and by power did enforce and compell all manner of merchants arriving within that port to unlade & lade all their wares and merchandizes brought within that port (to be laden and unladen) there onelie. And from thence, euer since, all wares and merchandizes haue bene caried and recaried to and from the citie by horse, cart, and waie, though to the gaine of the earle and his tenants, yet to the great trouble and hinderance of the citie and merchants of the same. Neuertheless, the port hath euer moze and yet doth keepe his old and ancient name, being called the port of the citie of *Exceller*: and alwaies hath bene and presentlie is paid a tribute unto the citie, by the name of the towne custome, for all kind of wares and merchandizes, discharged within that port or river, or the members thereof.

And although the watercourse thus being destroyed can hardly be restored to his old piffinate and naturall estate; for that thorough long continuance the old course can not be discerned: yet notwithstanding after manie attempts and with great expences, a watercourse and passage begun in the yeare 1564, is recovered, and by certeine laces, boats, and vessels of fiftene or sixtene tons are conueied and brought up to the citie, and there discharged at the old and ancient place, called the *watergate*: & where is builded a verie faire large keie or wharfe, as also an engine called a crane fit for the purpose. Within the citie were somtimes but few parish churches, untill the time of *Innocentius* the third: who when in the yeare 1198 he had established the doctrine of transubstantiation, and had made it an article of the symbole, as appeareth in the decretals, *Titulo de summa trinitate, canone Firmiter*: then his next successor *Honorius* the third, in the yeare 1218 did not onelie confirme the same, but also by decree did establish reseruacion, candlelight, and praier for the dead, as doth appeare, *Decret. tit. de celebratione missarum, canone Sane cum*, & *Sane cum creatura*: by which meanes the number of sacrificing & massing priests did not onelie increase, but churches also and chapels began in all places and euerie where to be builded and erected.

And among others in this citie in the yeare 1222 and the first yeare of king *Henrie* the third, the parish churches were limited, and increased to the number of nineteene churches within the citie and suburbs, and were called by the name of the christianitie euen to this daie. Euerie of which in times past was a sufficient and competent living to mainteine a massing sacrificer; for such and so great was the blind deuotion of the people then in that Romish religion: but the same now being abolished, and the gospel preached, the livelihoods are so small, as not sufficient for

Sundrie in-  
quisitions and  
iuries taken  
against  
the earles of  
Deuon for  
destroying of  
the haven.

These first  
builded at  
Topesham.  
The mer-  
chants com-  
pelled to lade  
and unlade  
at Topesham  
keie.

The haven is  
recovered and  
renewed a-  
gain.

These and a  
crane builded  
at Exceller.

The parish  
churches first  
limited in Ex-  
celler.

A monasterie  
of saint Be-  
nets order  
builded in  
Excester.

King Ethel-  
dred the first  
founder of the  
monasterie.  
King Edgar  
founder of a  
religious  
house in Ex-  
cester.  
The cathed-  
rall church  
was first a  
monasterie  
and founded  
by king Al-  
thelstane.  
*Chronica ecclesie.*

King Canu-  
tus confir-  
meth the pri-  
uileges of the  
monasteries.

K. Edward  
the confessor  
remoued the  
monks into  
Westminster,  
and made  
this a cathed-  
rall church.  
Leofricus the  
first bishop of  
Excester.

Polyd. hist. li. 19  
*Chronica chro-  
nicorum, lib. 7.*

The charter  
of the church.

the most part to mainteine a pore clerke or scholar, & by reason thereof, the most part of them do lie void and vacant, without incumbent.

Besides these partly churches, there was also a monasterie, sometimes of monks of saint Benets order, but since a cathedrall church, being of a verie faire and sumptuous building of freestone and with beautifull pillars of grate marble. It standeth and is situated in the east part of the citie; and (as some re- port) was first founded and built by king Ethel- dred, the third sonne to king Ethelwolphus. Some thinke that king Edgar did it. True it is that euerie of them builded a house for religious persons within this citie, of which the one was spoiled and burned by the Danes, and the other in procelle of time was vnted to the monasterie, which is now the cathedrall church. But the cathedrall church it selfe was founded & builded by king Athelstane, the sonne to king Edward the elder: for so is it recozded in the historie of the same church, the words whereof are these: *Athel- stannus subingatus Cornugualensibus, reuersus est ad ciuitatem, qua antiquitus Monkton vocabatur, nunc autem Exeter: ac ibi sedens, anno Dom. 932, non tam lacerata eiusdem ciuitatis moenia reparabat, quin & mansum quoddam dedit ad fundandum monasterium pro monachis, Deo & sancto Petro famulantibus.*

This king besides his great charges and expenses in building of this church, which at the first was but small, and that part which is now called the Ladie chapell, he placed therein monkes of S. Benets order, prouided liuelihoods for them, and appointed a ruler or gouernour ouer them, and who was called by the name of an abbat, towards whose diet and liuelihood he gaue spozkeshull and Tresuroz beere: and which at these presents do remaine to the said church and are annexed to the dignitie of the treasurer-shipp of the same. The church being thus begun, kings, princes, & noble men were from time to time gladlie and willinglie verie liberall contributoz to the abolishing and finishing of the same. For about foure score years after king Athelstane, king Kanoght who was also named Canutus or Canutus, at the earnest sute of one of his dukes named Athelred, did confirme and grant to Athelwood then abbat of the said church, and to his successors manie and sundrie priuileges and liberties, vnder his letters patents, dated the second yeare of his reigne, Anno Domini, 1019.

After him about thirtie yeares, king Edward the confessor remoued the monkes into Westminster, and made this church a cathedrall church, and remoued the bishops see which was then at Crediton into this citie, making Leofricus bishop thereof, and whom he and his wife quene Edith did put in possession of the same, as appeareth by his letters patents dated the eight yeare of his reigne, Anno Dom. 1050, whobett the monke of Wurie, Polydorus, and others do affirme and write, that this should be done about the twelue yeare of William the conqueror, for thus they do write: *Habitum est Londini sub Lanfranco, antistitum & sacerdotum comitum, in quo decretum est, quod aliquot sedes episcopales, que in oppidulis & pagis antea fuerant, in urbibus & locis celeberrimis collocarentur, unde factum est ut Bathonia, Lincolnia, Sarisburia, Exonia, Cestrina, & Cicestra urbes, huiusmodi nouis episcoporum domicilijs sunt nobilitate.*

But the reuerence of these writers referred, this cannot be true concerning this church, because the words of the charter thereof do witnesse the contrarie, and declare expresselie, how that king Edward and quene Edith his wife did put Leofricus the first bishop in possession, the one by the one hand and the other by the other hand, leading him betwene them vp to the high altar, and there put his hands vpon the

same: And yet it may be true, that at the foresaid councell, this remouing and placing of this bishop might be ratified and confirmed. Likewise William the conqueror, in the third yeare of his reigne 1069, did not onelie confirme the former charter, but also at the instance and request of William Warewest, then his chapleine, but afterwards bishop of the same see, did giue vnto it the seigniories of Plimpton, Hampton, and S. Stephens in Excester, which the said William Warewest being afterwards bishop did distribute, giuing Plimpton to the religious canons, whome he placed there: Hampton was annexed to the deanerie, but S. Stephens was reserved alwaies to the bishop, and to his successors, whereby they are barons, and so lords in the parliament house.

It was also enlarged from time to time with great possessions, reuenues, buildings, riches, priuileges, and sundrie other commodities, by kings, princes, prelates, bishops, and sundrie others. And this one thing is to be noted, that albeit there were about foure hundred yeares distant from the first foundation and building thereof, vnto the ending and finishing of the same; yet it is so vniuerselie and decentlie compact and builded in one mould, as though it had bene done at one instant. The bishop is distinct from the chanons both in house and reuenue: his liuelihoods being no part nor parcell of that which apperteineth to the deane and chapter. It was sometimes of great reuenues and large possessions, but the more part thereof hath bene consumed and exhausted by a wastfull bishop. The bishop and chanons haue verie faire houses, which are situated about the church & cimiterie, and are inclosed euerie night by shutting fast of certeine gates, by which occasion it is called a close, *A claudendo*: and which gates are to be shut euerie night (except at certeine times) and to be opened euerie morning at certeine hours appointed, as it appeareth by a composition made for the same betwene the communalitie of Excester, and the bishop and deane of the same. In the middle of the cimiterie or churchyard is a verie faire fontaine or conduit of water conueyed by certeine pipes of lead from out of the same fields, as is the cities conduit. And albeit the springs of both waters are in the same field, and not farre distant: yet this doth excell the other. Out of this well or fontaine waters are conueyed to sundrie of the chanons houses, as also of late vnto the bishops house, and yet it serueth besides the whole close and citie. The citie it selfe is verie populous, and in some times cheslie inhabited with clothiers & clothworkers of broad clothes, seruing much for the Spaniards and south countries; and which in those daies were of such goodnesse & substance, that the names of them do remaine in those countries: but now it is cheslie inhabited with merchants, herie-clothiers, and all sorts of artificers, among whom the merchants are the chiefe & welthiest.

The gouernement of this citie was sometimes by foure bailiffes, which before the conquest were called portgreues, that is, the chiefe lords or rulers of the towne: for porta is taken for a towne, and greue in Saronie is *Dominus* or maior: but after the conquest they were after the French tongue named *Præfules*, that is to saie *Præfetti* or rulers, and now shewards. Not long after the conquest there was ordered and constituted a senate of six and thirtie persons, but of later yeares by king Henrie the seventh of foure & twentieth persons, out of which number yearelie there was and is chosen one to be the chiefe gouernour for the yeare following; and is called by the name of a maior, whome the barons called *Speregreue*, that is, *Mayor dominus*, or the chiefe ruler. This maior associated with the foure prouosts

The commo-  
nes contained  
the charters  
of the church,  
and enlarged  
the possessions  
of it.

The maior  
court.

The prouost  
court.

The cathed-  
rall church  
was foure  
hundred yeares  
in building.

The god-  
dication:  
omitte the  
cityer

S. Peters  
conduit.

The inhabi-  
tants of this  
citie.

Claudia,  
Deoro the  
peroy Sen  
Wespaite  
to 2672

Wespaite  
lambeth:  
Correbo  
and lamer  
lage to 1  
cite.

The gouern-  
ment of this  
citie.

King Bi-  
gus refe-  
mas citie  
recounts  
the entm

Portgreues,  
p. condm.

Arche-  
bishops.

Arche-  
bishops.



The conser-  
uoz conserueth  
the charters  
of the church,  
and intergeth  
the possessions  
of it.

Exemplis  
caus.

Exemplis  
caus.

The catho-  
dral church  
was four  
hundred peres  
in building.

The godlie  
reuerence and  
reuerence of  
the people.

St Peters  
conduit.

The inhabi-  
tents of this  
cittie.

The govern-  
ment of this  
cittie.

St Peters  
conduit.

St Peters  
conduit.

St Peters  
conduit.

St Peters  
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St Peters  
conduit.

St Peters  
conduit.

bailliffes, hath the hearing, decerning, and deter-  
mining in all ciuill causes betwene partie and par-  
tie, and for which they keepe wachelle upon euerie  
mondaye a court in the Guildhall of the said citie:  
but the bailliffes retaining their old and ancient cu-  
stome, do keepe the like courts, and in the like causes  
distincall from the mayo: by themselves, at all time  
and times (the mondayes and festiuall daies excepted)  
as it shall please them to assigne, and with their  
court is called by the name of the priuost court.

Thus the mayo: and bailliffes both iudicall and se-  
nerall haue iurisdiction to decerne and determine  
in ciuill matters. But if the matters do touch and  
concerne the prince, the crowne, the common peace,  
and criminall matters, or the publike state of the ci-  
tie and common-wealth of the same, then the same  
are decided by the iudges and iudices, or by the mayo:  
and common counsell, or by the mayo: himselfe, or by  
some other officer or officers, according to the nature  
and qualite of the cause and offense. But because it  
requireth a large and speciall course, to describe the  
gouernment of this citie and common-wealth of  
the same, the charge of euery officer, the diuision of  
officers, their severall iurisdiccions, and a number of  
other things incident vnto their charges: there  
is a particular booke imprinted, and at large the  
same is set out, in such order as is requisite, and  
appertaining to the gouernment: whereby euery  
man may know his office and charge, and what to  
him doth appertene. And let it suffice, that partie  
through good gouernement, and partie of a good in-  
clination, the people of this citie haue bene alwaies  
dutifull and obedient to the king and the lawes: and  
haue in great awe and reuerence their gouernours  
and magistrats for the time being. And this one  
thing is not so strange as worthy to be noted, that  
euen from the beginning, from time to time they  
haue bene carefull for their common-wealth, and  
diligent for the preservation of the same. And as in  
times of peace and quietnesse the same hath bene  
well governed: so in times troublesome and un-  
quiet, it hath bene most valiantlie defended against  
the inuasions and assaults of the enemies, as by sun-  
drye histories it may appeare: whereof for example  
these few may serue.

First Aruragus king of this land, then named  
Britaine, minding to staie the land in his ancient es-  
tate, freedom and libertie, did withold and denie  
to paie vnto the Romans the tribute which they did  
requeire and demand: wherefore Claudius the empe-  
rour sent Vespasian then duke of the Roman armie,  
into this realme with a great host, either to recouer  
the tribute, or to subdue the land. This Vespasian is  
he, who in the foure and twentieth yeare after this his  
iourneie, did destroye Jerusalem. Wherefore this duke  
landing in Dorsetshire, then named Totonesum litum,  
came to this citie, laid siege vnto it, and gaue conti-  
nuall assaults therevnto, for eight daies continuallie  
together. Aruragus the king, being then in the east  
parts of the land, and hearing of this, with a great  
armie and powere marcheth towards this citie to re-  
moue the siege, and incounters with the enimie.  
The Romanes after long fight, and not able to pre-  
uaile, is contented to come to parle, and in the end a  
composition was concluded, as if doth appeare, and  
is set downe and written by sundrie historiogra-  
phers. The rhymic of the cathedrall church of the  
said citie hath these words: Anno Domini 49, Vespasi-  
anus cum Romano exercitu ciuitatem hanc vocatam Exeter,  
octo diebus obsedit, sed minime preualuit, Arurago rege ci-  
uibus auxilium prestante.

Geffreie of Monmouth hath these words: Vespasi-  
anus a Claudio missus est, vt Aruragum vel pacificaret,  
vel romane subiectioni restitueret. Cum igitur in portu in

Rutapi applicare voluisset Vespasianus, obuiauit ei Aruragus,  
atque prohibuit ne portum ingrederetur. Retraxit itaque se  
Vespasianus a portu illo, retortisque velis in litore Totoneso  
applicauit. Nactus deinde tellurem Caier Penbuloite, que  
nunc Exonia vocatur obseditur; eandem adiuit, cumque octo  
diebus eandem obsideret, superuenit Aruragus cum exercitu  
suo, praeliumque commisit: die illa, valde laceratus fuit vtro-  
rumque exercitus, sed neuter est victoria potitus, nunc autem  
facto, mediante Genissa regina, concordie effecti sunt. Ma-  
thieu of Westminster writeth: Aruragus Britannorum  
rex in tantam prolapsum est superbia, quod Romana potestate  
voluit diutius subiectionem parere. Vespasianus igitur a Clau-  
dio missus cum in Rutapi portu applicare incepisset, Arura-  
gus illi obuia prohibuit ne ingrederetur. At Vespasianus re-  
toris velis in Totoneso litore applicauit, et ciuitatem qua  
Britannice Caier Penbuloite, nunc autem Exonia appella-  
tur obsedit: elapsis inde septem diebus Aruragus super-  
uenit, praeliumque commisit, et vtriusque exercitus valde  
lacerato, mediante Genissa Claudij filia, duces amici  
facti sunt.

Flores histo-  
riarum.

In the historie intituled, Noua historia de gestis  
Anglorum a Britonibus vsque ad Henricum sextum,  
is written the like in effect: Vespasianus a Claudio missus  
est vt Aruragum pacificaret, vel Romana ditioni restitueret,  
cui obuians Aruragus, prohibuit ne terram suam ingrederetur,  
timens Vespasianus armorum cohortem, retraxit sese,  
retortisque velis in Totoneso litore est applicatus, atque urbem  
Exonia obsedit, post septem dies superuenit Aruragus, pre-  
lium committitur, laceratiorque vtriusque exercitus, sed  
neuter potitur victoria, demum mediante Genissa regina,  
reconciliati sunt. It was also in manie troubles and  
great perplexities, in the vncertaine and trouble-  
some states of this realme, when sometimes the Ro-  
mans, sometimes the Picts, sometimes the Scots,  
sometimes the Saxons, and sometimes the Danes  
made their incursions and warres within this land,  
by reason whereof the records and memorials in  
those daies for the most part were lost and confu-  
med.

Nova historia.

And yet Matthew of Westminster writeth that it  
was besieged by Penda king of Mercia, in the yeare  
of our Lord 632, in the time of Cadwallin one of  
the last kings of the Britons. The historie is this,  
Edwin the Saxon king of the Northumbers, be-  
ing wars against Cadwallin: Cadwallin, did in  
prouaile and had such conquests ouer him, that Cad-  
wallo was driven to forsake his realme of Wales,  
and to flee into Ireland, where he being, was bene  
carefull and pensifull how to recouer his countrie  
againe. Wherefore he repareth his armie and gather-  
eth a new force, and gaue sundrie attempts to at-  
chue to his purpose: but all was in vaine, for he  
could neuer set foot on land in his countrie.  
Edwin was alwaies at hand and in a readinesse to uop  
and resist the same, for this Edwin had about him in  
his seruice a man named Pellitus, who was a ma-  
gician and verie skilfull in necromancie, and who by  
his art and science did foreteth and declare vnto  
Edwin what things were a doing and attempted  
against him.

Flores historia-  
rum.

Penda king  
of Mercia.  
Edwin king  
of Northum-  
berland.  
King Cad-  
wallo is dri-  
uen to flee into  
Ireland.

Cadwallin hauing continuallie euill successe, was  
in utter despaire and distrust to prouaile against  
Edwin, and therefore as one giuing ouer all, saileth  
ouer the seas into Armorica now called little Brit-  
taine, vnto Salomon the king thereof, and vnto him  
doth disclose his miserable estate and fortune, as also  
greatlie complaineth of Pellitus and of his forces.  
When these two kings had thoroughlie consulted  
and debated the matter, it was at length concluded  
and thought best, that some one man being bold and  
swift should be sent ouer to the court of king Ed-  
win, to giue the aduenture to kill Pellitus. Where-  
upon the matter being discovered to Salomon ne-  
phew to king Cadwallo, he taketh vpon him to en-  
terpise

Pellitus a  
witch doth  
foretell to  
king Edwin  
of things to  
come.

King Cad-  
wallo saileth  
into Armo-  
rica.

Salomon the  
kings nephew  
is sent to kill  
Pellitus.

terpise the matter, and to coner himselfe from all suspicion, apparelleth himselfe in a poze beggers weed, and so sailleth ouer into England, and traueleth forthwith towards king Edwins court, who then laie at Poike, and there iouneth and accompanieth himselfe among the poze people, whose custome and maner was, to lie about the kings gates at dinner and supper times, waiting for the almesse usuallie giuen and wont to be distributed amongst the poze.

Wilenus killed  
Pollitus.

Pollitus being the kings almoner, and hauing the charge to distribute the said almesse, commeth forth and setteth the poze folke in order. Wilenus being there and amongst them, watcheth his time to worke his purpose, and thrusting himselfe in the middle of the presse of the people, suddenly with his pointado or weapon which for the purpose he had prepared, thrusteth Pollitus into the bodie, & gaue him a deadly wound whereof he died, and forthwith (the thing in such a thrust not perceived) thrusteth himselfe awaie privatlie, and through woods, hills, thickets, and dales out of the common waie, commeth to this citie of Excester, & declareth vnto the citizens (who were then Wiltens) what he had done: whereof they were verie glad and iollull, and in good hope that their king Cadwalllo should yet againe returne; and therefore vpon good aduise doo prepare and make ready both themselves and the citie, as well for the resisting of the enimie, as for the receiuing, succouring and aiding of their king.

King Wenda  
besiegeth Excester.

King Wenda aduertised of this murder, and vnderstanding the whole course of the matter and practice, taketh in grieffe the iniurie thus done to his neighbor, and countriman king Edwin. And therefore to reuenge the same mustreth his subjects and gathereth a great armie; and vnderstanding that Wilenus was come to this citie marcheth towards the same, and in the end laieth his siege round about it, minding the bitter subuersion thereof. But the citizens manfullie withstanding his force, did defend and keepe both themselves and their citie, untill that king Cadwalllo, who before was aduertised both of the fact of Wilenus and of this preparation of Wenda, did with his force and armie come to the citie, who did not onelie rescue the same; but also toining the battell with his enimie gaue him the ouerthrow, and so deliuered his countrie, and recouered himselfe and his kingdom.

3  
Polyd. lib. 5

It was also in greater troubles in the time of king Alured or Alfred the fourth sonne to king Ethelwulfus. For Polydorus and others do write, that in the fift yeare of the said kings reigne, the Danes concluded a peace with the said king, and gaue hostages for the true keeping thereof. And yet notwithstanding most perfidiously and falselie contrarie to the same, they assembled themselves, and vpon a sudden marched to this citie, and perforce entered and toke the same: *Daci etenim qui religionem & fidem pro suo commodo postponendam ducunt, Londino se mouent, & maximis itineribus Exoniam proficiscuntur, urbem per vim capiunt.* But long they intoid not the same, for after that winter passed, the king to be reuenged marcheth with a great power to this citie, which the Danes vnderstanding and thinking themselves too weake to withstand the k. as also bitterlie distrusting the citizens, thrust themselves awaie, of which some fled vnto Dartmouth and there toke shipping, and who for the most part were drowned in a tempest at the seas. Some fled to Chipenham or (as some saie) to Bistol, but the king followed and pursued these so sharplie, that he neuer left nor gaue ouer, untill he had overcome and slaine the captains Hubbert and Hungar.

The Danes  
are ouer-  
throwne and  
their captiues  
are slaine.

4

likewise in the nineteenth yeare of the reigne of

the said king, the Danes contrarie to their faith, pledges, and promises, did againe come to this citie, and laie siege to the same: *Danorum exercitus anno 877. ab Wicheam nocte quadam seelere disrupto, ad Exoniam, quod Britannie dicitur. Caeterisq. diuertunt, at audito regis aduentu ad puppes fugerunt, in mari praedantes manebant.*

It was also besieged by the said Danes in the nineteenth yeare of king Egbert, in the yeare of our Lord 1001. For the Danes, which were in Normandie, being aduertised of the good lucke, successe, and great spoiles which their companions and countrymen in England had, and their feith set on edge therewith, suddenly prepared shipping, and came ouer the coasts and landed in Deuon, and forthwith marched and toke their course towards the citie of Excester, thinking to haue found the citizens sleeping & so haue taken them suddenly and vnawares; *sed ciuitas inuiciter resistens eos reseruit.* The people & commons of Deuon, Cornwall, Summerfet & Dorset, aduertised hereof, assembled themselves, minding to rescue the citie, as also to encounter & aduerture the field with the Danes, met with them at a place nere the citie called Pinncho, and toined battell with them, betwene whome the fight was cruel and the slaughter great. And thus doth Houeden testifie, whose words be these: *Memoratus paganorum exercitus de Normannia in Angliam reuersus, ostium fluminis Exe ingreditur, & mox ad extinguendam urbem Exoniam stre egreditur, sed dum murum illum destruere moliretur, ac ciuitas urbem viriliter defendentibus repellitur, unde nimis exasperatus more solito villas succendendo, agros depopulando, hominesque cadendo per Domnoniam vagatur, quare Domnonienses in unum congregati, in loco qui dicitur Pincho certamen cum eis inueniunt.*

King Sweno being in Denmarke, and aduertised hereof, as also giuen to vnderstand how king Egbert alias Ethelred or Egbert had caused all the Danes in the realme to be suddenly slaine in one night, being much grieued therewith, did prepare and provide a great armie for the reuenge thereof. And in the yeare of our Lord 1002, he landed in sundrie and diuerse parts of this realme, vsing great hostilitie, and making great spoiles, and brought the whole land to an vnspokeable miserie and distresse; but at length, receiuing a tribute for a peace, he returned home into his owne countrie. Howbeit the citizens of Excester hearing of this crueltie vsed in the east parts, made themselves strong: and doubting of so mightie an enimie, did make themselves readie, and prepared the citie to withstand him, if he should haue attempted anie force or hostilitie against them.

But the Dane being gone and returned home, and knowing nothing of this preparation, one Hugh then earle of Deuon (as princes lacke no fauours) sent his letters into Denmarke to king Sweno, certifieng him both of the state and wealth of this citie, as also of the great preparation which had bene made to withstand him, persuading him not to suffer such an iniurie. And as coles will be some kindled: euen so the Dane vpon this aduertisement was in a great heat, and forthwith arreareth his armie, and repareth all things in readinesse to crosse the seas aneto to worke his will against this citie. And accordingly then time serued, in the yeare following, being the yeare of our Lord 1003, he toke the seas and landed vpon the coasts of Deuon and Cornwall, and marched forthwith to this citie, and laie his siege against the same in the beginning of the moneth of August, and continued the same untill the halends of September: during which time were sundrie sharpe, fierce, and cruell assaults giuen by the Dane, and as valiantlie resisted by the citizens. But in continuance of time, when they saw them- selves

6

Therecor  
the citie.

King Sweno  
by the treach-  
erie of the  
citizens  
surrendereth  
the citie.

King Sweno  
immediately  
spoilth the  
land.

7  
William el  
Conquero  
besiegeth  
the citie.

A league  
twene the  
guineer  
the citie  
reith the  
conqueror.

King Sweno  
besiegeth  
the citie.

King Sweno  
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King Sweno  
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King Sweno  
besiegeth  
the citie.

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Polychron. li. 7

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selues battie more and more to be weakened, bittels to falle, the fire round about them, their walles beaten downe, themselves slaughtered and murdered, and the enimie to increafe and be strong, and in all these distresses, their king Edward being fled into Normandie, to haue no care of them, na to prepare anye rescue, aid, or helpe for them: it was not to be marvelled, if in so heauie a distress they were amazed and astonished. And yet considering with themselves that Sweno was a Dane, a cruell enemie, a bloudie murderer, an vsurping tyrant, hauing no other title to the crowne of England, but the sword, did with one consent agree and conclude, neuer to yeld nor giue ouer whilist anye were left liuing able to withstand the same, wishing rather to die manfully for their common wealth, than to liue in reproch and infamie; and by death to reape an immortal fame, than by life to become ignominious & infamous, and in the end also to be the miserable slaues of a cruell and vsurping tyrant.

When therefore after manie assaults, all of the most part of the ablest men were spent and consumed, and none or few left alieue to withstand so mightie and so manie enimies: the Dane on the seuen and twentieth daie of August, with force entered the citie, And after that he had serued and satisfied his bloudie appetits, in defolowing the women, murdering the children, and making haucke of all the people, he spoiled the citie, burned the houses, rased the walles, bet downe the temples, and left nothing to be done which might by fire, sword, and spoiles be consumed: and this is so witnessed by sundrie writers, Reinolph of Chelster writeth thus: *Daci cum suo rege Sweno Excestriam venerunt, & urbem funditus destruxerunt, nullare in columi relicta, que aut ferro aut igni vastari poterat: & omnia spolia cineribus tantum relictis secum deportauerunt.* Huntington hath these words: *Daci in ea exarserunt sicut ignis quem velis aliquis sanguine extinguere: aduolantes igitur quasi multitudo locustarum, quidam Excestriam venerunt, & urbem funditus destruxerunt: & omnia spolia cineribus tantum relictis secum deportauerunt.*

Houeden thus saith: *Rex Danorum Sweni peritium & prodicionem Normannici comitis, quem Emma Domina prefecerat, ciuitatem Exon infregit, spoliavit, & murum ab orientali usq; ad occidentalem portum destruxit, & cum ingenti preda naues repetijt.* It was also besieged by William the Conquerour in the first yeare of his reigne Anno 1068, for when he first entered this land, and by dint of sword sought the conquest thereof; the citizens of this citie, and the noble and gentlemen of all the countrie about, entered into one common league, conclusion and promise, to ioine together and to withstand the enimie to the uttermost. And this confederacie being confirmed by a publike oth, preparation on all parts was made accordinglie, for the accomplishing of the same. But the conquerour hauing preuailed, and subdued in a manner the whole land, was aduertised that this citie stood vpon their gard, and would not yeld nor submit themselves vnto him. Whereupon he sent his armie from London and besieged the same: and perceiving the siege to continue, marched and came himselfe vnto the same, but rather came no further than Salisbury. In the meane time the citizens were aduertised how the whole realme had yelded, and seeing also how their confederats did battie shrinke awaie from them, and by that meanes they to grow weaker & weaker, and therefore the lesse able to withstand so great a force, and to keepe out so puissant an armie as was round about them; and considering also, that small mercie or fauor should they find if the citie by force were taken; did by way of intreatie offer submission, and desire peace, which in the end they obtained: and so passing a grieuous sike, they and the citie were restored.

But yet in token of his conquest, the king altered and changed the gates of the castell, and took an oth of all the citizens to be his liege and true subiects.

Houeden in his historie maketh mention, that Githa king Harolds mother should be within this citie, during the time that this siege and assault lasted: and perceiving the bent of the people to submit and yeld themselves, secretlie conuied herself awaie. For these be his words: *Hyeme minuent, & rex Wilhelmus de Normannia in Angliam redijt, & Anglis importabile tributum imposuit: deinde in Dunmoniam hostiliter profectus est ad ciuitatem Excestriam, quam ciues & nonnulli Anglici ministri contra illum retinebant: & obsedit, & infregit. Githa vero comitissa, mater scilicet Haroldi regis Anglorum, & soror Swani regis Danorum, cum multis de ciuitate fugiens, euasit & Flandriam petijt, ciues autem dextris acceptis regi se dederunt.* Also in the second yeare of king Stephan Anno 1137, the lords and peeres of the realme, remembering the oth which they had before made to king Henrie the first, to whom they swore to be true to Spawd the kings onelie daughter and heire, and to his heires, and yet contrarie to the same had sworn themselves to king Stephan, began to repent themselves, & consulted how to restore Spawd the emperesse, and to expell Stephan. Wherefore they assembled themselves in armie, & diuided themselves into sundrie cities, towne and castles.

Among whom one Balotwin Ribeuers then erle of Denon, with force entered and took this citie. But the king so Harpelle followed and pursued him, that he drave him from hence into the Ile of Wight, which was then his lordship. But the king when he had receiued the citie into his faith, marched with his armie to the said Ile, & took the same, as also the earle himselfe, whom he sought to tharlished. But Spawd the emperesse afterwards remembering this citie for such their seruice as the well liked, did enlarge the liberties of this citie, for whom peacelie euer after was an anniuersarie kept at the charges of the citie.

It was also in great troubles in the eleuenth pere of king Richard the second, Anno 1387. For a controuersie being fallen betwene the king & his two vnckles, the dukes of Yorke & Gloucester, none were then so highlie in the kings fauour, as were Robert Here marques of Dublin, and Michael de la Pole earle of Suffolke, & others of their faction. So these the king gaue in commandement, to collect and muster an armie, as it were for his defense, against his said vnckles: which when they had partlie done, whether it were because they mistrusted their owne parts, or whether they doubted of the sequelle of their doings, they left their iourneie towards London, as it was first appointed, and came towards this citie. The two dukes who stood vpon their owne gard and defense, hauing aduertisement hereof, followed and persuaded them with all haste and speed: and hauing ouertaken them at this citie, they ioined the fight with the marques and the earle. But they trusting more to their feet than to their hands, secretlie gaue the slip and fled awaie, making no staie before they came to Scotland; and from thence into Flanders, where they died.

It was moreover in troubles in the tenth pere of king Edward the fourth Anno 1469, when the states of this king, and of king Henrie the first were doubtfull, and the whole realme diuided: some following king Henrie, and some king Edward. In time of which troubles the duchesse of Clarence, the lord Dineham, the lord Fitzwaren, and the baron of Carew, who followed and took part with king Henrie, came to this citie, being accompanied and supplied with a thousand fightingmen. The duchesse was great with child, and lodged in the bishops palace, but

Houeden.  
Polychron. li. 7

Githa king  
Harolds mo-  
ther late in the  
citie during  
the siege, and  
secretlie fleth  
awaie into  
Flanders.  
8

Balotwin Ri-  
beuers earle of  
Denon entred  
into this citie,  
and resisteth  
against king  
Stephan.  
Balotwin the  
earle is taken  
and banished.

Spawd the  
emperesse  
remembered  
the citie.

Polydor. li. 20.  
9

The marques  
of Dublin, and  
the earle of  
Suffolke,  
came to Exon  
and are pur-  
sued by the  
dukes of Yorke  
and Gloucester.

The duchesse  
of Clarence with  
others com-  
meth to Exon  
being great  
with child & la-  
beth in the bi-  
shops palace.

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Sir Hugh Courtneie taketh siege to the citie.

The maior is required to deliver the keies of the citie, and refuseth so to do.

The maior and citizens do forsake the citie.

The siege raised, and the citie delivered.

The duke of Clarence and the Earle of Warwicke come from Edgecourt field to this citie, and from hence to Dartmouth.

the lords were in other houses within the close among the chanons, and here staid themselves. But sir Hugh Courtneie knight, who then favoured and was on the part of king Edward, hearing of this assemble, raiseth an armie of his friends and allies, approacheth therewith unto this citie, besiegeth it, breaketh the bridges, and stoppeth all the waies leading to the same, and by which means no vittels could be brought to the markets: and being thus incamped about this citie, sendeth to the maior, requiring him either to open the gates and to give him entrie, or to deliver unto him the gentlemen that were therein. On the other side, the gentlemen which were within, they either mistrusting the maior and citizens, or not willing to stand to his courtserie, and be under his gouernement, required the keies of the citie gates to be delivered unto their custodie, and that all things to be done by their order and appointment.

In these doubts and perplexities consulting what were best to be done, they did at length resolve & conclude neither to yeld to the requests of them who were without, nor yet to satisfie the demands of them which were within the citie: but pacifieng both parties with such good words, and in such good order as they might, did reserve to themselves the keeping and safe custodie of the citie, being the chamber of the king, & parcell of the revenues of the crowne, to the onlie use of the king and crowne, as to them in dutie and allegiance did appertene. And therefore forthwith they rampired by the citie gates, fortified the walles, appointed souldiers, and did set all things in such good order as in that case was requisite; leauing nothing vndone which might be for the preservation of the state & commonwealth of the citie.

But yet for want of forescaffing, in procelle of time the provision within the citie waied short, and vittels to be scant; whereof it was doubted there would insue some famine, which the common people neither could nor would indure, if some remedie were not in due time had and provided. The magistrats did their best indeuor euerie waie, as well by diligence in following, as by counselling, in perswading euerie man to continue firme and true to the publike state, and their owne private commonweale. And albeit the common people were impatient to abide troubles, and loth to indure the present state of want and famine; yet they had that respect to their owne trust, faith, and safetie, as euerie man yelded himselfe contented to abide and indure the time of their deliuerance: and by the good will of God it followed, and the same took god effect.

For about twelue daies after this sturre begun, by waie of intreatie and mediation of certaine chanons of the cathedrall church of this citie, the siege was remoued and raised; whereupon verie shortly after did insue the field of Edgecourt, where the duke of Clarence and the earle of Warwicke being put to the worst, did flee vnto this citie, and made their entrie into the same the third daie of Aprill, 1470, and laie in the bishops palace for a few daies, vntill they had caused to be provided ships at Dartmouth for their passage over into Calis.

The king being aduertised which waie his enemies were gone, followed and pursued them with an armie of fortie thousand men, and came to this citie the fourteenth of Aprill 1470, hauing with him in his companie sundrie & diuerse great lords and estates, as namelie the bishop of Ely lord tresoror of England, the duke of Norfolk earle marshall of England, the duke of Suffolke, the earle of Arundell, the earle of Wiltshire son to the duke of Buckingham, the earle of Shrewsburie, the earle Rivers, the lord Hastings, the lord Greie of Codner, the lord Audleigh, the lord Saie, the lord

Sturton, the lord Dacres, the lord Spountoie, the lord Stanleie, the lord Ferris, & the baron of Dudley, with a number of knights and gentlemen. But they all came too late; for the duke and the earle were both departed and gon to the seas before their comming.

Wherefore the king, after that he had rested and reposed himselfe here three daies, he departed and returned to London. It was also in great troubles, being besieged in the twelue yeare of king Henrie the seventh: by one Berkin Warbecke, 1470, who in the beginning of the moneth of September came to this citie, and incamped about it with his whole armie with ordinance battered the walls, fired the gates, undermined it, and with mightie ladders scaled them, and left nothing vndone which might be to compasse their attempt: thinking and supposing that small would be the resistance against them. But such was the noble courage and valiant stomach of the citizens, that they manfully resisted and defended those forces, and indured the same to the uttermost, vntill that the king being aduertised thereof, did send the lord Edward Courtneie, earle of Denon, and the lord William his sonne, with sundrie others well appointed, who came and rescued the citie: but in certeine conflicts the said earle and others were hurt; notwithstanding the enimie had the repulse, and was dynen to raise his campe and to depart.

Finallie & last of all, it was besieged in the third yeare of king Edward the sixt, 1549, by the commons of Deuon and Cornewall: the historie whereof, for so much as hitherto it hath not bene fullie and at large set forth by anie man, & wher at I John Hooker the writer herof was present, and *testis oculatus* of things then done, I will somewhat at large discourse & set downe the whole course & maner of the same. It is apparant and most certeine, that this rebellion first was raised at a place in Deuon named Sampford Courtneie, which lieth westwards from the citie about sixtene miles; vpon mondaie in the Whitson wake being the tenth daie of June 1549. The cause thereof (as by the sequelle it did appeare) was onelie concerning religion; which then by act of parliament was reformed, and to be put in execution on Whitsondaie the ninth of June. The which daie being now come, and the statute made for the same to be put in execution throughout the whole realme: it was accordinglie with all obedience receiued in euerie place, and the common people well inough contented therewith euerie where; sauing in this west countrie, and especiallie at the said Sampford Courtneie.

For albeit at the daie appointed by statute, they had heard and were present at the diuine seruice said, and had according to the new reformed order, and could not in anie respect, find fault, or faultlie reprehend the same: yet (as old bottels which would not receiue new wine) would rather wallow in the old dreggs and puddels of old superstition, than to be fed and refreshed with the wholesome and heauenlie manna. Wherefore they confederated themselves, bitterlie to renounce, reiect, and cast off the same, not onelie to the great offense of God, whome they ought in all truth and veritie to reuerence and honor; and to the great displeasure of the king, whome in all dutifullnesse they ought to haue obeyed: but also to the raising of open rebellion, the cause of the spoile of the whole countrie, and the vndowing of themselves, their wiues, and children; as in sequelle and in the end it fell out and came to passe.

And here dooth appeare what great detriments did come and insue to the church of God, and what great troubles

The want of preaching was the cause of the rebellion.

Underhill and Segre the first captiues of the rebellion.

The earle of Denon sent to rescue the citie and was hurt.

The rebellion first began at Sampford Courtneie.

The cause of this rebellion was for religion.

The priest was compelled, because he should be compelled to save walle.

The justice refer to Sampford and do no good.

These gentlemen were a kind of the same as the justices.

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trouble to the publike and commonweale: when as learned preachers do want to teach and instruct the people; and well persuaded magistrats to gouerne the common state. For these people lacking the one, & not stored with the other, were left to themselves, and to their owne dispositions: and thereby partlie of ignorance, but moze of a froward and a rebellious disposition, they do now bitterlie condemne to accept, and do openlie resist to receiue the reformed religion, now put, and to be put in by and execution. For upon the said mondaie, the priest being come to the parish church of Sampford, & preparing himselfe to saie the service according to the booke & reformed order set forth, & as he had done the daie before: some of the parishioners, namerlie one William Corderhill a tailor, and one Segar a laborer, and others who had consulted and determined before of the matter, went to the priest, and demanded what he ment to do, and what service he would saie: Who answered that according to the lawes set forth, he would saie the same service as he had done the daie before. Then they said, that he should not so do, saing further, that they would keepe the old and ancient religion, as their forefathers before them had done; and as king Henric the eight by his last will and testament had taken order, that no alteration of religion should be made, vntill king Edward his sonne were come vnto his full age. And therefore, for so much as he was now but a child, and could do nothing, they also would not haue any change.

In the end, all the parishioners joining and taking parts together, were all of the same mind, willing and charging the priest that he should vse and saie the like service as in times past he was wont to do: who in the end, whether it were with his will, or against his will, he relied to their minds, and yielded to their wills: and forthwith rauisheth himselfe in his old popish attire, and faith masse, and all such seruices as in times past accustomed. These newes, as a cloud caried with a violent wind, and as a thunder clap sounding at one instant through the whole countrie, are caried and noised euen in a moment through out the whole countrie: and the common people so well allowed and liked thereof, that they clapped their hands for ioie, and agreed in one mind, to haue the same in euerie of their seuerall parishes.

The iustices of peace dwelling not far from Sampford, being aduertised how disorderlie, & contrary to the lawes, things had bene done in the church of Sampford; and how that the common people were clustered and assembled together, to continue and to mainteine their lewd & disordered behaviour: such of them, namerlie, sir Iugh Wolard knight, Anthonic Barue, Alexander Wood, and Martie Slader esquiers came & met at Sampford, minding to haue had conference with the chiefe plaiers in this enterlude, as well for the redresse of the disorder already committed, as also to persuaue and pacifie the rest of the people. But they partlie vnderstanding before hand of the iustices coming, were so addicted and wholly bent to their follies, that they fullie resolved themselves, willfullie to mainteine what naughtilie they had begun. And therefore, when the iustices were come to the place, and requested to talke with them, they refused it; vntill the said gentlemen would leaue all their men behind, and go with them into a certeine fewell close not far off; and so they would be contented to conferre with them.

The gentlemen, albeit they and their men were the greater number, and sufficient to haue repressed the small companie of the commoners then & there

assembled: yet whether it were because they thought in such a case to vse all the best & quietest waie for the pacifying of them; or whether some of them being like affected as they were, did not like the alteration, as it was greatlie suspected: they yielded, and according to the motion made, they left their men in the towne, & went into the foresaid close, & there hauing had conference a pretty while together, did in the end depart without anie thing done at all. Whereof as there appeared some weakenesse in the said iustices which were so wholy liured, as they would not, or durst not to represse the rages of the people (which they might haue done) so therof also ensued such a scab as passed their cure, and such a fire as they were not able to quench. For the commons hauing now their willes, were set vpon a pin, that the game was theirs, and that they had wone the garland before they had runne the race; nothing forsaiking what might ensue, nor yet accounting what folke it is to triumph before the victorie. Wherefore they assemble & confederat themselves throughout the whole shire in great troops and companies, and do associat and flocke vnto them the Cornish people, minding to ioine together, and foolishlie to mainteine what rashlie they had begun.

The king and counsell then occupied in the weightie causes concerning the state of Scotland, being aduertised of this towards rebellion, & respecting the speedie redresse thereof, sent forthwith for sir Peter Carew knight, who then was in Lincolnshire, and for sir Calwen Carew, who was then attendant at the court: and to them commandement was giuen, that forthwith, and with all speed they should hasten and depart into Deuon, and there to vse, by the aduise of the iustices, all the best meanes and waies that they might for the appeasing of this rebellion, quieting of the people, and pacifying of the countrie; and to cause euerie man quietlie to returne to his home, and to refer the causes of their griefs and complaints (if they had anie) vnto the king and counsell: and if they then refused so to do, they to vse such other good meanes and waies as might be for the suppressing of them. And the counsell being daillie moze and moze aduertised, that these begun rebellions did moze and moze increase; and doubting of the sequels thereof, by reason that in other places of the realme the like tumults were begun, though not for the like causes; do direct and giue an order to the lord Russell, then lord priuie seale, and after earle of Bedford, that he also should follow and dispatch himselfe into Deuon; and he had a commission to deale in such order as he might best do for the pacifying of the said tumults and byzozes.

The foresaid two knights, hauing receiued their commission vnder the kings hand, came in post into the countrie, and making their repaire to this citie, do forthwith send for sir Peters Courtneie then shiriffe and the iustices of the peace of the countrie; and vnderstanding, that a great companie of the commons were assembled at Crediton, which is a towne distant about seauen miles from Excester, and that among them were the Sampford men: & who were the chiefe of them toke counsell & aduise what was best to be done, and what waie meetest to be taken. In the end it was concluded, that the said sir Peter and sir Calwen with others should ride to Crediton, & there to haue conference and speeches with the said commons, and to vse all the good waies and meanes they might to pacifie & appeale them, they then supposing, and being persuaued, that by good speeches and gentie conferences they should haue bene able to haue compassed and persuaued the said commons. But the people being by some secret intelligence aduertised of the coming of the gentlemen towards

Sir Peter  
Carew and  
sir Calwen  
Carew sent  
into Deuon,

The iustices  
ries do assen-  
ble all at Ex-  
cester.

Sir Peter  
Carew by the  
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iustices rideth  
to Crediton.



The people at  
Kirkton do  
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them, and they fullie resolved not to yeld one iote from their determinations, but to mainteine their cause taken in hand, do arme and make themselves strong, with such armors and furnitures as they had; they intrench the high waies, and make a mightie rampire at the towne end, and fortifie the same, as also the barns next adjoining to the said rampires with men and munition, hauing peried the wallies of the barns with lopes and holes for their shot.

The foresaid gentlemen knowing nothing hereof, rode on their iourneie, and being come almost to the towne, they were aduertised how the waies were stopped and rampired, and that they could not ride into the towne. Whereupon they alighted from their horses, and after a little conference had, they agreed to go into the towne on foot, nothing thinking lesse that they should be stopped or denied to go in on foot. But when they came to the rampires they found the contrarie: for they not onelie were denied to come nere the rampire, but vtterlie were refused to be talked withall: no offers of persuasions nor motions of conference at all could be allowed. For the sun being in cancer, & the midsummer mone at full, their minds were imbued in such follies, and their heads caried with such vanities, that as the man of Athens they would heare no man speake but themselves, and thought nothing well said but what came out of their owne mouths.

The gentlemen upon such checks, taking the matter in euill part, to be so irreuerentlie and discourteoullie intreated, with one consent do agree to make waie ouer the rampire. But in the aduenture thereof they were so galled both by them which kept the rampires, and speciallie by such as were within the barnes, that they were faine to retire and giue place, with the losse of some, and the hurt of manie. In which distresse, a certeine seruiceman named For, and reteining to sir Hugh Pollard, suddenly set one of the barnes on fire: whereupon not onelie such as were therein, but all they also which were in the rampires fled and ran awaie. And then the gentlemen hauing recouered the rampire went into the towne; but there they found none except a few pore and old people, the residue trusting better to their heeles than to their armes were fled to a further place: and then they returned againe to Excester without anie thing done.

The noise of this fire and burning was in post hast, and as it were in a moment carried and blazed abroad throughout the whole countrie; and the common people upon false reports, and of a gnat making an elephant, noised and spread it abroad, that the gentlemen were altogether bent to ouer-run, spoile, and destroy them. And in this rage, as it were a swarme of wasps they cluster themselves in great troops and multitudes, some in one place, and some in an other, fortifying and intrenching themselves as though the enimie were readie to invade and assaile them. And among other places one was at a village belonging to the lord Russell named St. Marie Clift distant from Excester about two miles, where the commons of the countrie thereabout had begun to fortifie the towne for their defense & safetie.

The cause and pretense of their doings herein, was not onelie the burning of the barnes at Crediton aforesaid, which all the commons generallie did vse for a cloke of this their rising and rebellion: but this one thing also increased their disposition. It happened that a certeine gentleman named Walter Raleigh dwelling not far from thence, as he was upon a hie holie daie riding from his house to Excester, overtooke an old woman going to the parish church of saint Marie Clift, who had a paire of beads in hir hands, and asked hir what she did with those

beads? And entring into further speeches with hir concerning religion, which was reformed, & as then by order of law to be put in execution, he did persuade with hir that she should as a good christian woman and an obedient subject yeld the rebnto; saying further, that there was a punishment by law appointed against hir, and all such as would not obte and follo the same, and which would be put in execution upon them.

This woman nothing liking, nor well digesting this matter, went forth to the parish church, where all the parishioners were then at the seruice: and being impatient, and in an agonie with the speeches before passed betwene hir and the gentleman, beginning to vphraid in the open church verie hard and vnseemlie speeches concerning religion, saying that she was threatened by the gentleman, that except she would leaue hir beads, and giue ouer holie bread and holie water, the gentlemen would burne them out of their houses and spoile them, with manie other speeches verie false and untrue, and whereof no talke at all had passed betwene the gentleman and hir. Notwithstanding she had not so soon spoken, but that she was beleued: and in all hast like a fox of wasps they sling out of the church, and get them to the towne which is not far from thence, and there began to intrench and fortifie the towne, sending abroad into the countrie round about, the news aforesaid, and of their doings in hand, flocking, and procuring as manie as they could to come and to ioine with them.

And they fearing or mistrusting, least the gentlemen which were then at Excester, would come upon them, they first fortified the bidge, which lieth at the end of the towne towards the citie, and laid great trees ouerthwart the same, as also planted certeine peeces of ordnance upon the same, which they had procured and fetched from Topham a towne not far from thence. But before they came into the towne, they overtooke the gentleman maister Raleigh aforesaid, and were in such a choler, and so fell in ragies with him, that if he had not stifed himselfe into the chappell there, and had bene rescued by certeine mariners of Emouth which came with him, he had bene in great danger of his life, and like to haue bene murdered. And albeit he escaped for this time, yet it was not long before he fell into their hands, and by them imprisoned and kept in prison in the towne and church of saint Sidwelles, without the east gate of the citie of Excester, during the whole time of the commotion, being manie times threatened to be executed to death. But to the matter.

These the doings of the commons being aduertised to sir Peter Carew, who then was in Excester, assembly all the iustices & the gentlemen, & confereth with them what were best to be done; and in the end, concluded & agreed that he, sir Saluen Carew, sir Thomas Denis, sir Hugh Pollard, and sundrie others should ride to Clift, and there to vse all the best meanes they might, for the pacifying and quieting of them. And accordingly in the next morning being sundaie they all rode thither: and being come almost to the bidge, they perceived the same to be rampired, & no waie to be open for them to passe into the towne. Whereupon sir Peter Carew alighted from his horse, and mistrusting nothing, was going on foot toward the bidge. But such was the ranco and malice conceived against him, partlie for religion, and partlie for the burning of the barns at Crediton, which was laid altogether to his fault, that the gunner whose name was John Hamon an alien and a smith, and dwelling then at Woodburie, not far from Clift, by the procurement and abetting of

The barns  
at the townes  
end at Kirkton  
are set on fire.

An assemble  
of the people  
at Clift Ma-  
rie or bishops  
Clift.

A cause whie  
they rose at  
bishops Clift.

The towne  
Clift is im-  
pried, and the  
bidge ram-  
pured.

Walter Ra-  
leigh elques  
in danger of  
the rebellies.

Sir Peter  
Carew and  
others ride to  
Clift.

Sir Peter  
Carew was  
be daunt.

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The agree-  
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The agree-  
ment offered  
by the commo-  
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*fn. Reg. 3.*

lings in so weightie a cause : wherein they all ought rather to haue vsed all meanes to haue suppressed their outrages , than to haue mainteined their follicies : and therefore as there was a blame in them, so was there a plaine rebellion in the other.

But though the two knights would haue excu-  
sed the matter, and haue purged their sinceritie here-  
in; yet on eche side words were so multiplied, that  
they bake asunder without anie further dealings,  
and euerie man shifted for himselfe, some one waie  
some an other waie. The commons vnderstanding  
hereof stop all the high waies, casting great tren-  
ches, and laiens great trees ouerthwart the same,  
and doe watch & ward the same: and by that meanes  
sunbyle gentlemen suspecting no such matter, and  
making waie to their appointed places, were intrap-  
ped, taken, and put in prison; and manie of them  
kept in durance, during the whole time of the com-  
motion, & abode great hardnesse, and were in perill  
of life and limme: manie were taken because they  
would be taken, & found fauour; & manie forsaking  
their houses and home, were diuised to sequester and  
hide themselves in woods & secret places. In the ci-  
tie none oz bertie few remained oz tarted, fauing fift  
oz seuen persons then knowne of: for by conference  
had before wth the maior, it was knowne that their  
cittie was vnprouided of sufficient bittels, meet for  
such a companie as the foresaid gentlemen were.

The gentle-  
men depart  
asunder and  
euerie man  
sifteth for  
himselfe.

The high  
waters are  
stopped and  
intrenched.

Sundie gen-  
 tlemen taken  
 and impri-  
 soned.

A few gentlemen tarried in the city.

Sir Peter  
 Carew rideth  
 to the lord  
 Russell being  
 at George  
 Henton.

Sir Peter  
Carew rideth  
to the court &  
advertised the  
king & coun-  
cell.  
The king  
grieved to  
heare of the  
commotion. The determi-  
ned conquest  
of Scotland  
was hindered  
by the rebel-  
lion.

The king be-  
leth all gentle  
persuasions to  
reduce the  
commoners  
to conformi-  
tie.

The first and  
chiefest cap-  
teins of the  
rebellion.

The gentlemen perceiuing they could not passe into the towne, doe send in a messenger vnto the towne, aduertising them that they were come to talke friendlie with them, as also to satisfie them if they had anie cause of grieffe, or were by anie bodie misused. They at this message and motion staggered a while and cast manie doubts : but in the end they sent word that they were contented, that if sir Thomas Dennis, sir Hugh Bolland, and Thomas Pard esquier, would come into the towne to them and leaue their men behind them, as also would take order, and giue their safs and promise that no hurt should be done or offered to be done vnto them, whyles they were thus in conference together : that then vpon these conditions they would be contented to talke with them. Vpon which promise made and assured vnto them, the foresaid these gentlemen went into the towne about ten of the clocke in the forenoone, and there taried and spent the most part of the daie in much talke and to no purpose : as in the end it fell out.

The other knights and gentlemen, which in the meane while tarried without, and waited a long time even untill the date did draw toward night, began to mislike of the matter, some speaking one thing and some an other: yea and some of them in plaine speeches said they would ride ouer the water and issue into the towne. But the friends and seruingmen of the two knights, respecting the promise made before their entrie into the towne, but especially their masters safetie, which by breach of promise might be put in perill, did bitterlie mislike and were grieved with those speeches, and therefore began a litle quarrelling among themselves, but forthwith pacified and quieted. And yet some one or two of the companie rode to the waters side, & with their haues searched the depth thereof: for at that bygde the water at enerie tide (for by reason that the seas are so neare) swelleth by and reboundeth. Which thing when they in the towne did see, forthwith cried out alarm, and made much ado; and some of them began and grew into such rages, that the gentlemen within the towne began to distrust their safetie.

peretained to the conference and talke heretofore  
ended, and they came aboate; who as soon as they  
were come to sir Peter Carew, they were deman-  
ded what they had done, and how they had sped: who  
answered; Well enough: & giuing no other answer  
they rode all together to Excester, deferring the dis-  
cussorie of their doings untill their coming thither.  
The same night they supped all together, & after sup-  
per ended, and all the serving men aduised out of  
that roome, sir Peter Carew demanded of them what  
they had done, and what agreement they had made:  
who answered that the commons had promised, and  
were contented to keepe themselves in god & quiet  
order, and to proceed no farther in their attempts:  
so that the king and the counsell would not alter the  
religion, but suffer it to remaine and stae in the  
same state as king Henrie the eight left it: & untill  
the king himselfe came to his full age. Sir Peter  
Carew and all the residue nothing liking this an-  
swer, being farre from their expectation, were for the  
time in a great dumpe or studie; but in the end misde-  
eds and discomendments both the matter and the man-  
ner of their dealings: insomuch that sir Peter Ca-  
rew, and sir Perce Courtmeine, then Shiriffe of De-  
uon, openly, tharpetie, and in plaine termes inueiled  
against them for their Member, or rather sinister dea-

The gentlemen which tarried and remained in the  
citie; & namelie, sir Roger Bletwet knight, John  
Beauchampe, Bartholomew Forseten, John  
Courtneie, & John Peter customer, esquires, and o-  
thers, did berie god service as well in their persons,  
as in their good advices and counsels, faining such  
secretlie kept themselves close in certaine houses  
then unknowne. Sir Peter Carew berie earlie  
in the next morning toke his horse, and the high  
waies being then not stopped he escaped and rode on  
to George Henton, a place of sir Hugh Paulets in  
Somersetshire: where was the lord Russell, being  
then newlie come from London, and unto him he  
gave to understand, how all things had passed: the  
swiftly dispatched and sent him awaie to the king  
and counsell to advertise them of the same. The  
king at the first hearing of the matter, was verie  
much grieved, & in great perplexitie in two respects  
the one because at this instant the like tumult  
and rebellions (though for an other cause) were  
now raised and begun in other places; the other was  
because he was forced to leave and give over the  
appointed attempt for the conquest of Scotland, and  
to imploy now those soldiers and strangers, whom  
he had reserved for that service, for the quenching of  
this fire kindled at home.

pennerthele minding to followe the first, and to appeale the last, he sent berie courteous letters, gratioꝝ proclamations, and manie mercifull offers vnto all the commons of these parties, to haue pacified and satisfiſſed them, if they had had so much grace so to haue accepted it. The commons being now entered in their follies, and hauing diuſen the gentlemen to the sight, do openlie shew themselves traitors & rebels: and therefore assembling themselves do appoint out capitaine to direct & order both themselves, and all their proceedings; and as the common piouer be is, like lips like lettuce, as is their cause, so are the rulers; the one being not so bold and euill, as they wicked or twice. The capitaine then are these: Underhill a tailor, Gaunther a thomabater, Seagor a labourer, and Ashcredge a fishpiuer, with sundrie other such like, the twost men and the refuse of all others, thought most meet in this seruice. Vobwe it was not long before, that certaine gentlemen and peo men of godd countenance and credit both in the

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The towne  
Cleft is fortified,  
and the  
bridge ramp-  
ired,

Walter Raleigh  
esquier  
in danger of  
the rebels.

Str Peter  
Carew and  
others ride to  
Christ,

Sir Peter  
Carew like to  
be done.

non and Cornwell were contented, not onely to be associats of this rebellion: but also to carrie the crosse before this procession, and to be captains and guiders of this wicked enterpryse, as namelie in Devon Sir Thomas Pomeroie knight, John Burle and one Coffin gentlemen: & in Cornwell Humfrie Arundell and Mirneclade esquiers, & Holmes a peoman, with sundrie others, who for the most part were in the end executed and put to death: and their facts to the immortall of their perpetuall infamie recorded in chronicles.

The principall & chiefe captains in Devon being fullie resolved by their owne power and authoritie to mainteine & continue the religion, according to the Romish church, & utterlie to impugn the reformation therof, established by act of parlement: & to support the authoritie of the idoll of Rome (whome they neuer saw) in contempt of their true and lawfull king, whome they knew and ought to obeie: these I safe sent their messengers unto the maior of this cite, whose name was John Blackaller, to moue and pte him to ioine with them, they thinking that they hauing by these meanes the libertie to haue free accesse to and from the cite, and the helpe of the citizens, should not want monie or armoz, or any thing else to serue their turne: the maior forthwith aduertised unto his brethren this motion. And albeit some and the chiefe of them did like & were well affected to the Romish religion: yet respecting their dutie to God, their obedience to the king, their fidelitie to their countrie, and safetie of themselves, gaue their full resolute and direct answer, that they would not ioine nor deale with them at all.

This answer was nothing liked, and therefore sent they their second messenger, requiring and commanding them to mainteine the old catholike religion with them, and to do as they did, or else they would besiege them, and perforce compell them therunto. The maior and his brethren returned their former answer, adding moreover that they in their domings were twicked & bad men; & they did & would repute them for enemies and rebels against God, their king, and countrie: and so renounced them. The one side therefore as they prepare to besiege the cite, and to worke all the extremities they can, by force to take that which by words they can not obtaine: so on the other side the maior and his brethren upon good aduise, garded and watched the cite with sufficient men, armed both by day and by night. The rebels (according to their determination) releng themselves upon a vaine hope, thinking that notwithstanding the answer before made: yet because the most part of the citizens were of their opinions, and of the like affections in religion, would not resist them: as also that they had many friends within the cite, more ready to ioine with them, than to follow the maior, if they might haue the choise what to do: they came being in number about two thousand persons, to the cite, upon the second of Iulie 1549, first making proclamation that if the cite would not yield, and ioine with them, they would enter with force and take the spoile of it, & so then they upon the deniall compassed the same round about, and gained unto them at the first all the suburbs.

And hereof they conceived such a vaine hope to haue their full desire upon the cite, that notonely the number in hope did dailye more & more increase, but also manye of them brought their iuines, horses, and paniers; perswading themselves, and promising them, by such a date and upon such a date to enter into the cite, and then to measure beluets and silks by the bow, and to lade their horses home with plate, monie, and other great riches. The maior and his brethren forecasting the perils which might in such

a case issue, do provide all things necessarie and meet therewith to defend themselves, and to annoie the enimie. The cite therefore is bewed for armoz, men are mustered, soldiers are retained, captains in euerie ward appointed, warders for the daie and watchmen for the night assigned, great peces of ordnance laid in euerie gate, and placed in all convenient places of the wals; mounts in sundrie places erected, as well for lateng of ordnance, as for saving of the soldiers & watchmen from the enimies shot: and nothing was left undone, which in any respect that present state and necessitie required.

The rebels likewise intrench the high wales, plash downe trees, breake downe bydges, haue watches and wards in euerie place: so that no man could passe to or from the cite without their sufferance. The markets are stopped, vittells are kept from it, and all dealings and intercourses shut and cut off: and hauing (as they bygged) penned and shut up the towncsmen in a cope or mew, they plant their ordnance against euerie gate, and in all other such places as best to serue their turne, and to hurt them within: they burnt the gates, they brake up the pipes and conduits, aswell for the taking awaie of the water comming to the cite, as also to haue the led to serue for their shot and pellets. But for the burning of the gates, there followed rather a benefit than a hurt therof: for forthwith there were made certaine rampiers within the gate, which were farre stronger and of more defense than the gates, as also there were fiers continually kept euerie night betwene the rampiers and the gates: and as for water, the cite so standeth upon a little hill, that it is full of springes in euerie quarter within the same, and by that means full and plentifull of euerie good and sweet waters. Also they in sundrie places did undermine the wals, minding thereby with gunpowder and with other matters fit for her to haue blowne up the wals, and so to haue entered in that waie: but herein they were also prevented by this means and in this manner.

The cite it selfe (as is before said) is set upon a little hill, and lieth verie sleeping towards two of the gates. And at one of these named the west gate, the said rebels had undermined on the one side, and filled the place with certaine barrels of powder, pitch, and other stufte, meet and apt to receiue fier, and had appointed the night when the same should be set on fier, and so to haue blowne the wals up. At the same time there was a certaine tinner in the cite, whose dwelling was at Weingemonth, named John Belcombe, who depended much upon the goodwill and friendship of master William Hurk one of the aldermen of the cite, and he understanding of such an undermining to be in working, aduertised the same to master Hurk, and maketh him priuie how he would prevent the same, which was done in this manner. For whereas he by a noise under the ground did suspect the undermining to be in working, he took a pan of water, & did put the same on the ground, & by shaking of the water in the pan, he by removing the pan from place to place, came at length to the verie place, whereas the miners were working, and forthwith he countermined against the same, and brought so nere unto it, untill that he might and did see & looke into it. That done, he caused all the wals and turrets in the cite towards euerie street, having a fall that waie to be drawne at one time, and euerie man to fill therewith a great tub of water. At his foredoze, which being done, he caused them all at one instant to be cast out and emptied, which water running in great abundance towards the said west gate, was conuerted into the place countermined, & so entered and drowned the place, which before was mined:

The rebels send to the maior of the cite to ioine with them.

The maior & citizens refuse to ioine or to deale with the rebels.

Preparation is made on both sides to fight and the one the other.

The cite of Exon besieged.

The vaine persuasions of the rebels so haue the spoile of the cite.

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The suburbs burned and the houses beaten downe

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mined: at which time also by the goodnesse of God, there fell a great shewe, as the like for the time had not bene seen manie years before, and which at that instant greatly serued this turne.

The rebels perceiuing themselves disappointed of their purpose, gaue over to deale any further in those attempts: howbeit otherwise they left nothing undone which might be to annoie the citizens. For sometimes they made alarms, as though they with all might and maine would haue giuen the scale: and indeed they had prouided ladders for the same purpose. Sometimes they by policies would make to come to the gates to burne them, and herein they used this stratagem. They prouided carts laden with old haie, & vntying the wheles before them would come to the gate without danger, and so set fier in the gate. But notwithstanding they escaped not scotfree, for both at the west gate and at the south gate, their commings being perceived, the great port peeces were charged with great bags of stint, stones and halleshot: and as they were approaching vnto the gates, the gates were secretly opened, and the said port peeces discharged, and so they were spoiled diuerse of them, & by that means they had small pleasure to follow those deuises: as also the citizens to prevent the same, did from thensforth keepe the gates open. Likewise they would keepe themselves close in sundrie houses, in the suburbs nere the wals, and would so watch the garrets, that if anye within the citie would looke out at the garrets, was in the danger of their shot, and some thereby were killed, and manie hurt. Upon which occasion the citizens set some part of the suburbs on fier, and some part which was next to the wals they beat and brake downe, and so drane the rebels out of those holes. Besides this, they had in sundrie places their great ordinance, so set and placed, that in certeine streets and places none could go but in perill and danger of their shot, which their deuises were checked, by making of certeine mounts to shadowe the streets from the same. Diuerse other deuises they practised to the continuall annoiance of the citie, which though they were greuous and dangerous, yet not to be compared vnto the perils which were within the walles among themselves, and whereof had insured the confusion of the whole citie, had not the Lord God of his goodnesse kept and preferred the same. For the serpent of diuision, and the fier of malice, was entered into the citie, manie being inuentioned with the one, but more scandalized with the other.

In the citie there were two sorts of people, the one and the greater number were of the old stamp, and of the Romish religion. The other being of the lesser number were of a contrarie mind and disposition, for they wholie relied themselves to the reformed religion, and to the kings proceedings, and inuentioned themselves to obey and follow the same. The first were so addicted to their owne fantasies, and their bottels were so farre seasoned with the old wines, that they cannot abide to heare of anye other religion, than as they were first nuyed in. Wherefore to keepe and obserue that, was their onlie enduor, and in respect whereof they regarded not king nor Rellar, passed not for him nor friendship, regarded not countrie nor commonwealth, but were wholie of the opinion of the rebels, and would haue no reformation in religion, and how so euer all other things sared, that must needs remaine as in times past had bene used.

The magistrates and chiefe men of the citie, albeit they were not as yet fullie resolved and satisfied in religion, yet they not respected that, but cheselie their dutifullnes to the king and commonwealth, nothing like the rebellion, nor beate with the same,

but they do all things to defend the citie and themselves against their rebellious attempts, and likewise do their best indouour to keepe their owne citizens in peace and quietnesse. Whereupon the fauourers of the old Romish religion, being inwardlie greeued, that they could not haue their will, nor obteine to haue the gates to be opened, that those god and religious men (as they termed them) might come in, they used priuat conferences with them, sometimes by secret conferences ouer the wals, sometimes by priuat letters priuillie conueied to and fro, by messengers lurking and attending for the same, sometimes by open speeches in times of truce, and manie times by bills and letters bound fast about armoies, and so shot to and fro: and by these and other such like means they discovered ech one to the other their purposes and wicked deuises and practises: all which tended to this effect, to betraie the citie, and to set by the religion.

Howbeit, these things were not so secretlie done, but the same were knowne, & manifest arguments and proofes thereof did appeare. And among sundrie some one of them being one of god credit and countenance, and of the number of the common council, whose name was John Wolcot a merchant, was so farre enchanted herein, that vpon a certeine daie he being (as his course came about) a capteine for the daie, and to ward one of the gates: that daie, presuming that partlie by reason of his charge

that daie, and partlie for that he was one of the common council, he might do moze than in deed disappointed to him, he vpon his first comming to the west gate in the morning met with certeine of his confederats, and after conference had with them, went suddenlie out at the wicket of the gate (which gate as then was not rampired) and carrying the keyes with him, went vnto the rebels, and had a long conference with them. But it took small effect, for he promised (as it after appeared) moze than he could performe, which turned to his great discredit: both for that he himselfe verie hardlie escaped their hands who were bent to haue kept and reteined him, as they did the two others, who went out with him: as also when he came in, was both checked and blamed for his doings.

At an other time the maior vpon an occasion assembled all the commoners vnto the Guildhall, & merie man being in his armor, and the papists being then the greater number, some one of them named

Richard Tailor a clothier, thinking by making of a tumult as an vproze they should be too hard for the others, and so attaine to their purposes, hauing his bowe bent, did uscke his arrow, minding to haue striken the man to whom he leuelled the shot: but gaing his hand, and misting his marke, he stroke his owne and best friend John Peter the kings costumer, a gentleman of god countenance and credit, who had died thereof, had not the arrow lighted vpon one of his ribs bones: a great murthering was like to haue ben a tumult, but the matter knowne it was appeased. Also at an other time there was a practise made with the souldiers, who had the charge and custody of the castell, that they should receiue in at the posterne of the said castell, a certeine number of the rebels; whereto the said souldiers through corrupcion had giuen their consent. The daie and time were appointed for the same: but whether the same by secret aduertisement were discovered, or whether the matter were mistrusted, or whether it pleased God to moue the hearts of certeine men to take the view of the castell, & of the maner of the souldiers wages there: it is most certeine that by the repaire & refoit of certeine men, vnder the colour to walke and see the trecherie, it was espied, and the practises discouered,

The secret  
conferences  
of the papists.

A fond enter-  
prise of an ex-  
pert citizen.

This Tailor  
died after his  
vproze for his

what man  
purposeth  
God dispoeth

A wicked  
practise to re-  
crimine the re-  
bels into the  
castell.

red, and their whole deuises preuented. Like wise manie staires, and often there were traces made, and sundrie parles and conferences had with the rebels, which were procured to the onlie end that they might compass their deuises. And this was a common practise with them, that when soeuer the parles was appointed, there should be hostages or pledges put in on both parties: and they as men upon whom the greatest twight of the matter did depend, would require to haue the best and most chosen citizens, to be hostages with them, in stead and for the safetie of those which they would send to the parles for them, who for the most part were the refuse, the scumme, and the rascals of the whole countrie, and yet such they were in this case, as who ruled the roose and bore the whole or chiefest stouate; and the worse the man, the greater his authoritie among them, which was good enough for so wicked a matter taken in hand, according as the common adage is: *Dignum patella operculum*, like lips like lettice.

The chiefest rulers & captains among the commons were the worst men.

Great practise bled to procure the citizens to ioint with the rebels.

The faithfull and flat determination of the citizens to refuse the co-termining with the rebels.

The last and perilous practise of the rebels.

A pestilent practise.

But during the time of these truces and parles, there being then a time and scope of libertie to talke and conferre with them euerie man at his pleasure, there wanted no deuises under colour of frendlie conferences, to deuise how to compass their intents: holobett it pleased the eternall God, so to carrie and rule the hearts of the magistrats, that albeit being wyled in the Romish religion they were affected therewith, yet they so much respected their dutie to their prince, and the safetie to their commonwealth, that they openly professed they would neuer yield the citie so long as they liued, and were able to keepe and defend the same.

For the maior himselfe maister William Hurst, maister John Buller, maister John Wiltall, maister William Bertram, & others of the ancientest of the citie, were by sundrie means, waies, deuises, and reasons, perswaded to conioine themselves in this rebellion with the commons. They all with one mind and one voice gaue a flat answer that in the citie they had bene brought up, there they had gotten their liuings, there they had sworne their fidelitie and allegiance to their king and prince, there they had faithfully hitherto serued him, and there would be continue so long as they could to the uttermost of their powers; all which their promises & anowyses (the Lord be praised) they performed.

But to the matter, sundrie other trecheries & deuises were practised, which particularlie to recte were verie tedious & to no purpose. The last but the most perilous practise was this. When these malecontents saw themselves to be preuented in all their deuises, which before they had but secretlie and private practised, then they conioining themselves together, did openly shew and declare the misdoings, being perswaded that because they were the greater number, and that also the most part of the poore people were wearie, and for want of hitteles would not indure to be pinned in any longer, that therefore manie would ioint against a few, and that the game would go on their side.

And so on a sundrie being but two daies before the deliuerie of the citie, about eight of the clocke in the forenoon, a compaign of them in euerie quarter of the citie, hauing their consorts in a readines to followe & serue with them (if need so required) got into the streets, walking with their weapons about their girdles, as to fight with their enemies, and cry out, "Come out those heretikes and trespasse bohemans, where be they? By Gods wrongs a bloud we will not be pinned in to serue their turne. We will go out and haue in our neighbors, they be honest, good, and goodlie men. Their pretense and meaning being then, that if any of the contrarie side had come out, they

would haue quarrelled with them, and haue taken occasion to set upon him and to raise a new tumult.

But by the providence and goodnesse of God it so fell out, that some being in their houses, and some at their parish churches, the maior and magistrats were first aduertised herof, before the others heard any thing of the matter: and they according to their wisdoms pacified the matter, and sent John Vincent, John Sharke, and others, the bretherdenns of this clocke vnto their houses. The other in the south gate street and at the south gate, there was a little stir, which being soon stopped, there ensued no hurt therof, other than a broken pate or two: for as it fell out, the wardens of that gate at that time were against them and of the greater compaign. These and manie other like practises were daily and continually vnto the one side, which in the end came to no effect, because the Lord kept the citie.

The others on the other side being also together bent to honor God, obeye the king, and to serue in their commonwealth, were fullie resolu'd to keepe and defend the citie, whose cause being iust and good, was sufficient of it selfe to keepe them in that mind: and yet their courage was the more, for that they saw the god bent of the maior and magistrats; who, holobett they were affected otherwise in religion, yet they were wholly bent and determined to keepe and defend the citie: and therefore they seeing the industrie, carefulnesse, seruice and painefullnesse, of these men, did favour, encourage, and countenance them, and to saie the truth by the industrie and god seruice of them, the citie was cheefly kept and preserved.

For there was no seruice to be done without, nor exploit to be aduentured without upon the enimie (as manie times there were sallies given) but these were the chiefest and commonlie the onelie doers: for which cause the contrarie side marvelously malign'd at them, and sought by all means how to impeach and indanger them. Which thing being daily perceived more and more by sundrie arguments, and as wise men seeking how to prevent the same, did manie and sundrie times confer among themselves herein, and in the end made a covenant and a faithfull promise among themselves (being then about the number of one hundred persons) that they would stand firmelie and faithfullie to the defense and keeping of the citie to their uttermost powers.

And if it so fell out, that the rebel and enimie should haue access and entrie into the citie, that then they should all meet at the lord Rasseles (now the earle of Bedfordes) house, and there to issue out at the po-sterne of the garden, and to giue the aduenture to passe and to escape a waie, as also if they were besieged that then they should stand together to their defense: And for this purpose they had then named some one man to be their capitaine for this enterprise. And in the meane time, to do all things extraordinary for the preservation of the citie, & by a particular covenant among themselves, did take order, that during the whole besieging of the citie and their aboad therein, a certaine number by course and besides the ordinarie set watch, should watch, stand, and walke about continually both by daie and night, by which means no sleight nor treacherie could be practised, but that they should haue an inkeling and vnderstanding thereof, and which indeed stood and came to such effect that it was the chiefest (if not the onelie) cause of the preservation of the citie for that time: for there was no seruice, no diligence, no care, nor any thing wanting or left vnborne, which by these men was not done.

Holobett the which, the author of all division and strife, who cannot abide any unitie, concord and agreement in god causes, did here also hurle in a boie among

A variance between John Courtenay & Edmund Duffield.

The popish were discomfited of their purposes.

The determination of the honest & good citizens.

A sally made upon the rebels.

The best citizens confederated.

The carefulnesse of the good citizens.

3 boies towards.



John. 1549.

An. Reg. 3.

among these men, whereof had ensued a great detriment to the common state, and an overthrow to themselves, had it not in due time bene presented. There were two gentlemen within this citie, and both of this companie, the one was borne of a honorable house and parentage, named John Courtneie a younger sonne to sir William Courtneie of Dorchester knight, and a man of verie good knowledge and experience in service. The other also was a man of verie good service, practise, and experience, his name was Barnard Duffeld, & servant to the lord Russell, and keeper of his house in Excester. Both of these were verie forward and carefull in this present service against the rebels. But there fell an emulation betwaine them, which albeit it be verie commendable in good things, & he passeth withie who can best excell therein: yet when the same shall tend to a division of a publike state, the dissolution of a commonwealth, the breach of common societie, or the maintenance of any euill, it is bitterlie to be shunned and lamented.

It happened upon an occasion offered, that certeine of this companie upon a time issued out at the foresaid posterne and made a sallie upon the enimies, and had such good successe, that some of them they slew, some they tooke prisoners, as also spoiled them of their goods, and brought a waie with them some of their ordnance, namely basses and slings: holobett they all escaped not scottfree, for some of them were taken, some also were hurt, as namely John Drake, who the yeare before was the receiver of the citie was shot through the cheeke with an arrowe, which he brought into the citie with him, and one John Simons a coke was so hurt that he died thereof.

But among them all one John Goldsmith being of that companie and servant to Richard Helierd of the same goldsmith, and a Fleming borne, had the best successe: for in the same skirmish he was taken prisoner by one of the rebels, who offered in taking of him with his bill to haue slaine him. With that this John Goldsmith fell downe & yielded himselfe, hauing then in his hand his peece or handgun charged, & suddenlie the other not mistrusting no; marking the same, he discharged into his verie bellie and so slew him, toke the spoile of him, and brought the same into the citie with him.

This skirmish though it were not clere gaines to this companie, yet it so encouraged them, that from time to time they consulted, and in the end determined to make a fresh sallie and to giue a new aduantage: whereupon there fell and grew a disagreement betwaine the two foresaid John Courtneie & Barnard Duffeld, the one affirming that the same was not to be permitted in anye sort or citie, which stood upon defense or garr, without a verie speciall order of the generall or chiefe capitaine, or some urgent necessitie, especiallie in that present distresse and extremitie, wherein the citie as then did stand. But Barnard Duffeld being verie loth to lose anye part of his credit, or to desist from that he with others had determined, could by no meanes be persuaded to the contrarie, but plainelie affirmeth that what he had determined should be performed.

Whereupon the foresaid John Courtneie resorteth to the maiors, aduertiseth vnto him the matter, & dealeth so fullie and with such persuasions with him, that the maiors assemble his brether, and sendeth for the foresaid Duffeld: who being come, the matter was at full debated and discoursed, and in the end concluded that it was verie hurtfull and dangerous to that present state, that anye such issuing out should be granted or permitted: and therefore prayed the said Duffeld to staie his determination, and to be contented. But he being impatient, & thinking

his credit to be stained, if he should be debarred or denied to do that which he had faithfullie promised, did bitterlie refuse to yield to this the maiors request, as also by continuing of talkes, fell out in foule and disorderd speeches. Whereupon to auoid a further inconvenience, he was commanded to ward. The daughter of this Duffeld, whose name was Francis, hearing that hir father was in ward, and taking in greafe that so great an iniurie (as she termed it) should be done to hir father, came more hastily than aduisedlie vnto the maiors, somewhat late in the evening, & required to haue hir father out of the ward. Which thing being denied vnto hir, shee waied so warme, that not onelie she vsed verie vnseemelie tearmes and speeches vnto the maiors, but also contrarye to the modestie and shamefastnes required in a woman, speciallie yong and unmarried, ran most violentlie vpon him, and strake him in the face. This was taken in so euill a part, and fearing that it had bene a set match of some further inconveniences, the common bell was forthwith rung out: and also a rumour spread that the maiors was beaten, or killed.

The whole commons immediatlie in great troops, & the most part in armoz, ran to the Guildhall, where the maiors was, who though he was safe, yet were they so greued with this iniurie, that they would in all hast haue run to the lord Russells house, where he was then gone, and haue fetched hir out: but the maiors forercalling what inconveniences might insue, and respecting the necessitie of the present state, was not onlie contented patientlie to wape by these iniuries, but also earnestlie requested the commoners to do the like: who being so pacified, he went home, and they conducted him into his owne doores. The chorons of the cathedrall church which at that time were resident in their houses within the close there, namely archdeacon Dollard, treasurer Southyon, chancellor Luson, and master Holwell, with others of the said church, who ioined with the maiors and citizens in this service for the safeguard of the citie, and did keepe both watches and wards, and their men readie at all times to serue in euerie alarm and skirmish: they at the hearing of this disorderd part were verie much greued therewith, and they likewise forthwith assembled all their men, and being well armed and appointed, they went to the maiors, who was then gone home to his house, and then and there verie friendlye did comfort him, and offered to stand by him and to assist him in all the best service they were able to do for his defense, and safetie of the citie.

The said archdeacon offered, that in proper person he would herein stand in his behalfe against all persons whatsoeuer, that would attempt or offer to do him anye wrong. And in the end, after sundrie friendlye and good speeches, they departed to their homes. And the said archdeacon, euerie daie after, would either come or send to the maiors. This maiors, being a merchant, and onelie exercised in that trade, had small reach in matters of policie or marshall affaires: he was maiors of the citie thre times, and in euerie yeare there grew some troubles in the citie, but he had such a speciall care & regard to his charge and government, that he would neuer attempt nor do anye thing therein, but by the aduise and counsell of wise, graue, and expert men: and God so blessed him that he prospered and had good successe in all his doings.

Besides these and sundrie other former perils, the which the citie manie and oftentimes stood in, and by the goodnes and prouidence of God still ouercome, there befell and happened a third one, which exceeded all the rest, and whereof the greatest danger and perill was feared: and this was famine, or penurie, which

Francis the daughter of Barnard Duffeld strake the maiors in the face.

Distance between John Courtneie & Barnard Duffeld.

Little made mention of his.

The people were disappointed of their purposes.

The determination of the honest & good citizens.

The best citizens were considered.

The carefullnesse of the good citizens.

A little more.

*Bittels was  
sent within  
the citie.*

*Food made  
of bean and  
of pusses.*

*The godlie  
and politike  
dealings of the  
magistrates  
with the poze.  
The poze are  
swickelie libe-  
raltie released.  
All bittels  
fetched into  
the citie were  
distributed as  
mong the poze.*

*The prisoners  
in the gaole  
did and were  
driven to cate  
housles.  
The gentle  
intreating of  
the poze lost.*

*The lord  
Russell after  
that the citie  
had bene be-  
sieged was*

which of all other turmoils and perils is most dangerous, & no other plague to be compared to it. For no force is feared, no lawes observed, no magistrate obeyed, nor common societie esteemed, where famine ruleth. For as the poet saith: *Nescit plebs ieiunia timere*. The store of bittels within the citie, for want of provision in due time, and by reason of the restraint of the markets, upon a sudden was verie slender and small, and the same in verie short time spent and consumed. And albeit there were good store of drie fish, rise, pynes, rafins, and wine, at verie reasonable prices, yet bread which as the prophet saith, *Confirmat cor hominis*, Strengtheneth mans hart, that wanted: neither was anie to be had. And in this extremitie the bakers and householders were driven to seeke by their old store of pusses and bean, wherewith they in times past were wont to make houselbread, and to feed their swine and poultrie, and this they moulded by in clothes, for otherwise it would not hold together, and so did bake it by, and the people well contented therewith. For (as Plutarch writeth) *Fames reddit omnia dulcia, nihilq; contemnit esuriens*: Hunger maketh all things sweet, and the hungrie belliceth shunneth nothing.

But when this also was spent, and nothing now left, and the common people being not acquainted with so hard a diet as famine prescribeth, were verie impatient to endure the continuall barking of their hungrie bellies, and therefore they were verie faine & asie to be persuaded, or rather of themselves contented to yield unto the ennemie, to be fed for a time with the stolen fat of his flesh pot, than to abide for a short time a little penurie in hope of a delivrie, and then to be filled with saturitie and plentie. But the magistrats and graue senators, who in all other causes had shewed themselves wise, careful and discreet; and who having received sundrie injuries, did yet without rigour, revenge or malice, wasp the same by, respecting rather the common state than their owne privat cause; so in this matter also being of a great importance do verie wiselie & politikelie deale with the said people: who the poorer they were, the better they were considered, and the more carefultie provided for. First, there was a generall collection set and rated throughout the whole citie for their reliefe, and thereby they were liberaltie euerie weeke considered: which thing being some increase to their stocke and store, was the better to their content. When all such bittels as were to be had within the citie, they either had it free, or for a verie small price.

Besides this, manie times when anie cattell came nere unto the walles of the citie, some shift was made to haue them, or by skirmiting & issuing out for them, or by some other means. And this also what so euer it was, was altogether divided among them. And as for the prisoners fast fettered in the gaols, they had also their portions, as farre as it would stretch: notwithstanding in the end, for want they were fed with houselclee, which they liked and were well contented withall. For as the proverbe is, *Hunger findeth no faults but all things are sweet*. Besides, if anie wrong were offered or iniurie done to anie of them, it was forthwith upon complaint redressed: but if anie of them did disorder themselves, it was borne withall, and they in all gentle and courteous meanes intreated: as also from time to time persuaded with good words patientlie to abide and be contented: not mistrusting but that God shortly would send a delivrance.

And thus, and by these means, in hope almost against hope, they continued dutifull and obedient, from the second daie of Iulie 1549, untill the first daie of August then following, the same being five whole weekes, upon which daie they were deliv-

red by the coming and entrie into the citie of the lord Russell: and which daie in memorie for euer to endure is kept for a high and holie feast amongst the citizens yearelie upon the first daie of August. Immediatlie upon which delivrance of the citie, the first care that euerie man had, was to thift and to make provision for bittels, wherof some hungrie bellies were so greedie, that overcharging their empty stomachs to hastilie, they died therewith.

Thus having declared something of the state of the citie, and of the doings therein during the time of this rebellion, though much more might be therein said, let us now returne to the lord priuie scale, who after the departure of sir Peter Carew to the court, removed from George Henneron, and came to Honiton, minding from thence to haue passed into Excester, if waie had bene open. But being advertised that the citie was besieged, and that all the waies leading thitherwards were stopped, he remained still in Honiton. Sir Peter Carew in the meane time, according to the former order betwene them taken, was ridden to London, and being before the king, declared the whole matter at large. Whiche the king, not liking the dissolutie of his people, promised to seeke a speedie remedie: and so commanded him to the counsell for the same: and being before them, and having at full discoursed the state of the matter, the duke of Summerset being much grieved with the matter, would haue rejected the whole on sir Peter, charging him that by reason he had caused the houses to be burned at Crediton, it was the onelie cause of the commotion. But thereunto he answered the necessity of that service, as also declared that he had done nothing but by a good warrant, and therewith shewed forth the kings letters under his hand and priuie signet.

The lord Rich then lord chancelor replied and said, that the kings letters were no sufficient warrant, unless he had his commission under the hode seale; and therefore if he had right, he should by the lawes be hanged for his doings. But to this sir Peter answered so stoutlie, and charged the duke so depelle, that in the end he was willed to returne into the countrie, being promised that sufficient helpe both of men & monie should be with speed sent downe into the countrie. And to this effect he had both the kings and the counsels letters unto the lord priuie scale, and so toke his iourne backe againe into the countrie, and deliuered his letters to the said lord Russell, who in hope of the supplie promised, staied and remained sometimes at Wobonesotre, but most commonlie at Honiton, still looking for that supplie and furniture that was promised. But having long looked for the same in vaine, he was daillie more and more forsaken of such of the common people, as who at the first serued and offered their service unto him. And having but a verie small gard about him, he lived in more feare than he was feared: for the rebels daillie increased, and his companie decreased and shrank awaie, and he not altogether assured of them which remained.

Wherefore distrusting himselfe, & by a false rumor being advertised that the citie was taken, & in the possession of the rebels; as also how that there was a new stirre or rebellion begun about Sarisburie; he toke aduise and counsell of the gentlemen and such as were with him what were best to be done. The gentlemen of Dorsetshire were of the mind, and gaue him aduise, that it were best for him to returne into Dorsetshire, and there to remaine for a time; because it was a place of a more safetie, untill such time as he were better provided. And accordingly the next daie following he toke his iourne, & rode backe againe with the said Dorsetshire gentlemen.

*the lord Russell  
was not to be  
cure by the  
first of August  
and delivrance  
the same.*

*Sir Peter  
Carew ad-  
vertised the  
king & com-  
mand of the  
rebell.*

*The duke of  
Summerset  
charged sir  
Peter Carew  
of the rebellion.*

*The kings  
letters under  
his priuie  
seal counten-  
be no sufficient  
warrant.*

*The count  
swore of sir  
Peter Carew  
being promised  
of helpe returne  
with him.*

*The lord  
Russell is  
almost left  
forlorn.*

*The lord  
Russell distrust-  
ing himselfe,  
upon his  
capture  
from out of  
prison; but  
sir Peter  
Carew is re-  
turned backe  
againe.*

*The more  
dangers of  
prison procure  
no hap-  
pines to helpe  
the lord Rus-  
sell.*

*The lord  
Russell mar-  
ried towards  
Exnington  
bridge.*

*Sir Peter  
Carew is  
short at Ex-  
nington  
bridge.*

*The rebels  
are over-  
thrown at  
Exnington.*

1459.

has tur-  
h to his  
e upon the  
of August  
deliberately  
same.

An. Reg. 3.

The lord  
Russell desired  
that his  
company  
should be  
allowed to  
be out of  
the country  
but the  
king would  
not permit  
it.

the Duke of  
sumerset  
advised  
the king  
the rebels.

the Duke of  
sumerset  
advised  
the king  
the rebels.

the king his  
renewed  
counters  
no sufficient  
arrant.  
the Duke of  
sumerset  
advised  
the king  
the rebels.

the lord  
Russell is  
most left  
satisfied.

The lord  
Russell  
desired  
that his  
company  
should be  
allowed to  
be out of  
the country  
but the  
king would  
not permit  
it.

The lord  
Russell  
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not permit  
it.

Sir Peter Carew then being at Hoozofoton, and advertised hereof, took his horse and came against the said lord Russell, & met him upon Blacke doone, where was a long conference betwene them both: and in the end he so persuaded the lord, and with such pitiful reasons he carried him, that leaving his former determination, he dooly returne againe into Honiton; & there he continued thenceforth, saving one night spent at Oterie saint Marie, where as it fell out he was in more feare than perill. At his being in Honiton, and dailie waiting and looking for the promised helpe and supplie which came not; he was in an agonie, & of a heauie chere: not onelie for the want of the men & monie which he had long in vaine looked for, but also because he had spent all that he had brought with him, and could not tell how otherwise to helpe and provide to supplie his present need: but as it fell out all happened for the best.

For it chanced that there were then three merchants of the citie, following and attending upon him; Thomas Westwood not long before maior of the citie, John Bodlie, and John Periam, men of great wealth. These men vnderstanding of the heauinesse and grieve of his lordship, make their resort vnto him, and promise to helpe and relieue his agonie and want: and forthwith did procure vpon their credit from the merchants of Wiltshir, Linne, Abington, and elsewhere, such a masse of monie, as which when he had receiued, his grieve was eased. For forthwith he so provided and furnished himselfe with such necessities, and with a greater number of men; that he was now in the better safetie, as also the better able to incounter with the enimie: and it was not long after, but that he had a further supplie from the king, euen to his content. And being now somewhat reassured, newes was brought vnto him, that the rebels vnderstanding of his distressed state, were comming, and marching toward Honiton to assaile him; and were come as far as Fenington bridge, which is about three miles. Whereupon, he took aduise with sir Peter Carew, sir Galwen Carew & others what were best to be done. And in the end, after manie speeches, it was concluded that they should march towards them, and giue the onset vpon them, & accordingly, without further delaies or much talke, it was done out of hand. For vpon the next morning being a holie daie, they set forth, and came to the bridge aforesaid, where the rebels were indeed: some at the bridge, but the greatest company in a medow beneath the bridge: who, as soon as they perceived the lord Russell and the gentlemen with all their troope to be come, they make themselves readie to the fight. But the river & the bridge being betwene them, the lord Russell beth all the policies that he can, how to reconer the bridge; which by bold aduenturing he did in the end: but with the hurt of sundrie of his companie, amongst whome sir Galwen Carew was one, being hurt with an arrow in the arme.

And hauing recovered the bridge, and the river, all the rebels (such as were escaped) were gathered together in a medow nere adjoining in the lower side of the bridge, vpon whome they so fiercely followed, and gaue the onset; that though not without good loss of blowes and bloodshed, they in the end gaue the enimie the ouerthrow, and had the upper hand. And thinking that the victorie was cleare with them, and that the enimie was cleane gone, the soldiers and seruicemen gaue themselves all to the spoile; and being in the middle of their game, and they nothing thinking less than of any more enemies to be comming towards, euen suddenly march towards a newe crue of Cornishmen, to the number of two hundred, or two hundred and forty persons,

under the conduct of one Robert Smith of saint Germans in Cornewall gentleman; and who taking these spoilers napping, manie of them paid dearlie for their waies. The lord Russell forthwith setteth all his companie in god arate, as the others did the like, and gaue the onset vpon them: betwene whome the fight for the time was verie sharpe and cruell. For the Cornishmen were verie lustie and fresh, and fullie bent to fight out the matter: nevertheless in the end they were ouerthrowne, and their capteine, whose combe was cut, thelwith a faire paire of heeles and fled awoie. In these two fights, there were reported to be slaine about three hundred rebels, which were verie tall men, lustie, and of great courage; and who in a god cause might haue done better seruice.

The lord Russells companie followed the chase nere three miles, & he himselfe then throughlie minded and bent to haue passed through to the citie. But one Joll his sole, who was then in hast come from Honiton, and where he had heard, as also by the waie as he came did heare bells ringing in sundrie parish churches, and supposing the same to be alarum, came with a soule mouth to my lord, and cried that all the countrie behind him were vp, and comming vpon him. Which his report (considering the cruell fights past) was credited, and thought that a newe companie was in preparing to follow the former quarrels. Whereupon they all retired and returned againe to Honiton; and from thence his lordship sent his comfortable letters secretlie by a boy appointed and accustomed for the same, vnto the maior of his successe, as also aduertising him of his determination that he would be shortly with him for the deliuerance of the citie. Which letters (the citie being then but in a doubtfull and dismayed estate) came in verie good season; and yet in the end scarcelie credited by some men, because his comming was not so speedie as was looked for.

Within verie short time after this ouerthrowe was giuen, the lord Greie of Wiltshir with a crue of horsemen, and one Spinola an Italian with three hundred shot, came to my lord; who being aduertised of the ouerthrow of the enimie, and that there were slaine about three hundred persons of them, they were in a great chafe, and much bewailed their euill lucke, that they had not come sooner to haue bene partakers of that seruice. My lord being now of a verie good comfort & courage, aswell for the good successe which he had ouer the enimie, & that his long looked supplie was come, sendeth his other letters to the maior, comforting him, as also as before comming him to be with him verie shortly; willing him that he should now take but a little patience for a little time. And accordingly about six daies after, on saturday the third of August, in god order he set forth out of Honiton, and marched towards Excester, his companie being about a thousand of god fightingmen; and leauing the direct high waie, draweth ouer the downs towards Woodburie, and there lodged and pitched his campe that night, at a windmill appertaining to one Gregorie Cartie gentleman. Which when the rebels of saint Marie, which heard of, forthwith, with all their force and power came forth, and marched on wards, untill they came to the foresaid mill where they offer the fight: and notwithstanding they were of verie stout matches, & also verie ballantlie did stand to their heels, yet in the end they were ouerthrowne, and the most part of them slaine.

Where after the victorie thus gotten, the lord Russell then the preacher, and attending vpon my lord in this iourne made a sermon, and caused a generall thanksgiving to be made vnto God: but before

The Cornish  
rebels giue an  
onset, and are  
ouerthrowne  
at Fenington;  
their capteins  
diedly swale.

The lord  
Greie and  
Spinola come  
with a supplie  
to the lord  
Russell.

The lord  
Russell marcheth  
towards  
Excester for  
their deliue-  
rance.

The rebels  
are ouer-  
throwne at  
the windmill.

The lord  
Russell  
preacheth  
a sermon  
and causeth  
a generall  
thanksgiving  
to be made  
vnto God.

before all was ended, there began a new alarm; and forthwith euerie man to horse & to harnesse againe. The rebels which remained in the towne of saint Marie Clift, hearing of the euill successe befallen to their neighbours, and they doubting that their turne would be next to receiue the like; do spread abroad the newes, and request to be aided and assisted. Whereupon, forthwith in great tropes reioyced vnto them a number of their companions out of euerie quarter, to the number (as it was said) of sir thousand men: and in all hast, they make themselves and all things in a readinesse to abide the brunt. Upon the next morning being sundaie, my lord minding to follow on his course, commandeth the trumpet to sound, & euerie man to make ready to march forwards. And about nine of the clocke in the same morning, they come to Clift; where the armie is diuided into thre parts, and in thre severall places do appoint to make entrie into the towne. For in so manie places they had fortified the towne, and made great rampires for their defense.

The kings  
armie marcheth  
towards  
bishops Clift.

Sir William  
Francis first  
entred the  
rampire.

The kings  
armie re-  
treateth.

The rebels  
take the  
kings wa-  
gons, mun-  
ition and trea-  
sure.

Sir William  
Francis  
being  
in the  
foreward  
was  
killed.

Bishops  
Clift towne  
set on fire  
and burnt.  
The rebels  
overthrew  
to the towne.

These rampires were after some bickering recovered, and sir William Francis of Summer-setshire was named to be the first that gaue the aduenture, & made the entrie. The commons being driuen from the said rampires, ran all into the towne; and there ioine themselves together to abide the pulse. And as the kings armie was in good order marching into the towne, one of the chiefe captains of these rebels, named sir Thomas Pomeroie knight, kept himselfe in a furze close, and perceiuing the armie to be past him, and hauing then with him a trumpeter, and a drumme, commanded the trumpet to be sounded, and the drumme to be stricken vp. At which sound, the lord priuie seale, and his companie were amazed, supposing verelie that there had bene an ambush behind them to haue intrapped and inclosed them. Whereupon, they forthwith retire backe in all the hast they may: which when they in the towne perceiued, they follow after, and neuer staid vntill they came to the wagons then being in the high waie; & which now by fleeing and retiring of the armie, are the foremost and next to the towne. And these being laden with munition, armour, and treasure, they take and bring into the towne, where they rife as much as they could, sauing the peeces of the ordinance, which with the shot and powder they bestowed in places conuenient, and employed the same against my lord and his companie.

The armie hauing recovered the hill, did there pause a while, and finding themselves to be deceived, march backe againe towards the towne: but before they came thither, it was aduertised vnto my lord, that the towne and euerie house therein was fortified and full of men; and that it was not possible for ante to passe that waie without great perill and danger, except the towne were set on fire. Whereupon order was giuen, that as they passed and entered into the towne, notwithstanding it was my lords owne, they should set the houses on fire. Sir William Francis being in the foreward was foremost, and leaning the waie which he took before, took the first and other waies which waie was both deepe and narrow. The enemies being vpon the banks vpon euerie side of the waie, with their stones to beat him, that they stroke his headpece fast to his head and thereof he died. The armie being come into the towne, they set fire on euerie house as they passed by. But the rebelles containing themselves in the middle of the towne, do stand at their defense, where the fight was very fierce and cruell; and bloody was that daie: for some were slaine with the sword, some burned in the houses, some flying for themselves

were taken prisoners, and manie thinking to escape ouer the water were drowned: so that there were dead that daie one with an other about a thousand men.

The towne thus being recovered, and the order shew giuen, the lord Greie desireth to passe ouer the riuer, and to be in the open field, which is a great heath named Clift heath: & this he could not do, but that he must passe ouer either the water or the bridge, both which were somewhat dangerous, for the water was somewhat mirie and muddie, as also at that time verie deepe, by reason of the flowing of the seas, which causeth the same at euerie tide to swell. Howbeit one John Pardo a gentleman, and who had dwelled thereabouts, knowing the said water, gaue the first aduenture ouer, and found waie nere vnto a mill about the bridge; and after him others do followe. But this was not for all the rest of the armie, who must needs passe ouer the bridge, which as then they could not do, by reason that the same was so ouerlaid with great trees and timber, as also there stood the gunner with his peece readie charged. Whereupon proclamation was made, that whosoener would aduenture and make waie ouer the bridge, should haue foure hundred crownes for his labo: When one forthwith moze respecting the gaine, than foreseeing the perill, gaue the aduenture: but the gunner rewarded him, for he discharged his peece vpon him, and slue him. And then before he could againe charge his peece, one of the companie, who before was passed ouer the water, came and entred the bridge at the further end, and comming behind him slue him; who forthwith calleth companie vnto him, and causeth aside all the trees and timber, and maketh the bridge cleere, and so the whole armie passeth ouer the bridge into the heath.

The lord Greie as soone as he was passed ouer the water, he rode forthwith to the top of the hill, which is in the middle of the heath; and from thence did make a view of all the countrie about him: and looking backe towards Woodburie, he saw and espied vpon Woodburie hill a great companie assembled; & marching forward, & suspecting that they were a new supplie appointed to follow and come vpon them, and aduertised the lord Russell therof. Whereupon it was concluded, that the prisoners whom they had before taken at the windmill and in the towne, who were a great number, and which if they were newlie set vpon, might be a detriment and a perill vnto them, should be all killed: which forthwith was done, euerie man making a dispatch of his prisoners; and then the night approaching, there they incamped themselves for that night.

The rebelles, which were and laie about Greesfer, were aduertised out of hand of this the euill successe of their neighbours; wherefore they with as manie as they could get, in all hast came to Clift heath: and in the lower side thereof next to the high waie, do intrench and fortifie a place fast by a hedge, and so crettie there, in the night, do place their ordinance, & make themselves in readinesse to abide the brunt: and as soone as the daie light serued, discharge and shot off their peeces vnto the armie incamped about the top of the hill. The lords and captains to end the quarrell, do determine to giue the onset vpon them; and according to the nature of warres, do politelie diuide themselves into thre parts, and euerie one hath his place assigned and order appointed vnto him.

The lord Russell, hauing no waie open before him, causeth his pioneers to make waie ouer the hedges & inclosed grounds, and by that means doth at length recover vpon the herie backe of the enemies: and they were so intrapped on euerie side, that they could

The lord  
Greie passeth  
ouer the  
waie into  
Clift heath.

John Pardo  
first giveth  
the aduenture  
and findeth  
waie ouer the  
water.

A proclamation  
is made, that  
whosoener  
shall first  
find the  
bridge to be  
cleere, shall  
haue foure  
hundred  
crownes.

The bridge  
recovered.

All the  
prisoners  
before  
taken are  
committed  
to the  
sword.

The rebelles  
are ouerth-  
rown vpon  
Clift heath.

Sir William  
Francis be-  
ing at Grees-  
fer.

The rebelles  
forbide the  
pass.

The lord  
Russell com-  
meth to Ex-  
eter.

The malice  
and his by-  
races salute  
the lord Rus-  
sell, and he  
embaseth  
them.

The king  
thanketh  
Russell for  
accepting of  
the service of  
warre, and  
likewise re-  
neweth the fa-  
uor.

ape  
ere  
and

er. The lord  
Greie passed  
over the river  
into Clift  
heath.

was  
be-  
hich  
bett

John Yard  
first giveth  
the adventure  
and liberty  
waite over the  
water.

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A proclama-  
tion, that who  
former recou-  
red first the  
byrdge to have  
four hundred  
crownes.

The bridge  
recovered.

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All the pris-  
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committed to  
the towne.

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The rebels  
were  
upon  
Clift heath.

William  
Francis  
was  
at

Rebels  
knew  
the  
out.

Edward  
did  
com-  
mit to  
Cres-  
ter.

The ma-  
lor  
and his  
by-  
cous  
father  
the lord  
Wals-  
ley  
and he  
confronted  
them.

The king  
thankfullie  
accepted  
the  
service  
of the  
men  
and libe-  
rally re-  
warded  
the same.

not by any means escape, but must yield or fight. The one they would not, and in the other they prevail-  
led not. For notwithstanding valiantly and stout-  
ly they stood to their tackle, and would not give over  
as long as life and limb lasted: yet in the end they  
were all overthrowen, and few or none left alive.  
Great was the slaughter, and cruel was the fight;  
and such was the valor and stoutness of these men,  
that the lord Greie reported himselfe, that he neuer  
in all the wars that he had been in did know the like.

This fight being done, and all things set in good  
order, the whole armie marched vnto Topsham,  
which was about a mile off, and laie in that towne all  
that night, and carried with them in a hostler the  
bodie of corps of sir William Francis, and from  
thence carried it to Excester, where it was buried in  
marshall manner verie honorable in the bodie of the  
cathedral church of saint Peters. When the rebels  
who laie about the citie heard how their neighbors  
had sped, and from time to time had the worse side,  
and were still overthrowen: then as men despairing  
to prevail, secretly gaue over the siege and ran  
apace euerie man his waie. The gentlemen, which  
were kept prisoners in the churches and in other pla-  
ces about the citie, being now at libertie, came  
straight to the walles about midnight, & gaue know-  
ledge thereof to the watch; and they forthwith did  
the like vnto the maior. The ioie and comfort ther-  
of was so great, and the desire of fresh vittells so  
much pressed, that manie not abiding till the daie,  
light gat and shifted themselves out of the gates, but  
more for vittells than for spoile, and yet they were  
glad of both: howbeit some did not long enioie the  
same, for manie being more greedy of meat than  
measurable in feeding, did so ouercharge themselves  
in surfeiting, that they died thereof.

The next morrow being tuesday and the first of  
August, the lord priue scale thinking it long before  
he came to the citie, commanded the trumpets verie  
early to sound, and euerie man to make readie and  
to prepare alwaie. And accordinglie all things being  
done, he marcheth towards Excester, and about  
eight of the clocke being tuesday the first of August  
1549 he came to the same, to the great ioy & comfort  
of the long captiuaed citizens, who were no more  
glad of their deliuerie, than was his lordship and all  
good subjects full of his victorie. But at his com-  
ming he entred not into the citie: for being aduer-  
tised from the maior that the citie was altogether vn-  
furnished of vittells, order was taken that no stran-  
ger, nor one nor other should enter into the citie, but  
lie in the campe for a time. When his lordship pitched  
his tents without the wals in St. Johns fields, next  
to Southing haie, & upon the cities wals next to the  
posserne of his house was the kings standard of the  
red dragon set vp. As soon as he was entred into  
his tent, the maior & all his brethren in most seemlie  
& decent order went vnto him, who most louinglie  
embraced them, most thankfullie accepted them,  
and most highlie commended them for their trau-  
batic, and seruice, which vpon his fidelitie and hono-  
r he did promise should be well considered by the kings  
maiestie, and which in the end was performed. For  
the king being aduertised thereof, he did not onelie  
thankfullie accept and highlie commend their ser-  
uices, but also rewarded and considered the same,  
both by confirmation of their charters, enlarging of  
their liberties, and augmenting of their revenues,  
in giuing vnto them the maior of Gloucestre, which as  
was said was sometimes their ancient inheritance,  
but by power of the earles of Deuon by force taken,  
and by wrong and iniurie kept from them.

Immediatlie after his comming, sir William  
Herbert then master of the kings horses, and after

earle of Denbroke, came with a thousand Welsh-  
men: who though they came too late to the fraile; yet  
some inough to the plaie. For the whole countrie  
was then put to the spoile, and euerie soldier sought  
for his best profit: a iust plague of the Lord vpon re-  
bels and dissotall persons. But the citie being as yet  
altogether destitute of vittells, and the Welshmen  
at their first comming seeing the same, they did by  
their speciall industries & travels fraught & furnish  
the same within two daies with coine, cattels, and  
vittells, verie plentifullie, to the great reliefe and  
comfort of the people therein, & to the benefit of them-  
selues. The lord priue scale remained and continued  
in this citie about twelue daies before he removed:  
setting all things in good order, rewarding the good  
& punishing the euill. To sir Peter Carew he gaue  
all Wineslades land, to sir Calwen Carew Hum-  
frie Arundels lands, to William Gibbes esquier  
Berries lands, and to manie others which had done  
god seruices he gaue prisoners, both bodie, goods,  
and lands.

On the other side he commanded forches and gal-  
lowes to be set vp in sundrie places, as well within  
the citie as also in the countrie; and did command  
and cause manie to be executed and put to death, &  
speciallie such as were noted to be chiefe and busie  
doers & ringleaders in this rebellion. Among them  
all there was no one so exalted as was Welsh the  
vicar of saint Thomas nere the Erbridge at Exce-  
ster, who was preferred and presented to that bene-  
fice by the lord Russell patron thereof. This man  
had manie god things in him, he was of no great  
 stature, but well set and mightilie compact: he was  
a verie good wrestler, shot well both in the long bow  
as also in the crossebow, he handled his handgun and  
peece verie well, he was a verie good woodman and a  
hardie, and such a one as would not giue his head for  
the polling nor his beard for the washing, he was a  
companion in any exercises of activitie, & of a cour-  
teous and gentle behauiour, he descended of a good  
honest parentage, being bozne at Pennerin in  
Cornewall; and yet in this rebellion an archcap-  
taine and a principall doer. He was charged with  
three principall crimes. The first was, that he did not  
onelie persuade the people to the contemning of the  
reformed religion, according to the kings proce-  
dings, and to keepe and obserue the Romish and po-  
pish religion: but also did erect, keepe, and vse the  
same in his parish church. Secondarily, he was a  
capitaine and a principall dealer in the cause of the re-  
bellion, which was chieflie directed by him, his order,  
& aduise. Thirde, he caused one Kingwell a tinner  
of Chagford, and seruant to master John Charels of  
Lauestake to be hanged, because secretly he had  
conueied letters betwene my lord and his master,  
and was earnest in the reformed religion, which was  
then termed the kings proceedings, & an enimie to  
the popish state. And being a sharpe inueter against  
the one, and an earnest maintainer of the other, it  
procured vnto him great hatred and malice: when  
the rebellion was begun he sought by all the meanes  
he could how to escape alwaie: but he was so nar-  
rowlie watched, that he could neuer haue any opor-  
tunitie so to do.

They used all the deuises they could to recouer  
him to their opinions, sometimes with faire words,  
sometimes with threats, and sometimes with  
imprisonments: but still he inuied against them,  
calling them rebels and traitors both against God  
and the king, and foreprophesied vnto them that de-  
struction and confusion would be the end & reward  
of their doings. Thus when they could not reclame  
him to their disposition, then by the order and iudge-  
ment of this vicar Welsh, he was fetched out of the  
prison,

The Welsh-  
men came too  
late to the  
fight, but some  
inough to the  
spoile.

The lord pri-  
ue scale re-  
mained at Ex-  
cester reward-  
ing the good  
and punish-  
ing the euill.  
Sir Peter  
Carew, sir  
Calwen Ca-  
rew, William  
Gibbes, re-  
warded with  
traitors  
lands.

These things  
laid to the  
charge of the  
vicar of saint  
Thomas.

The rebels  
hang King-  
well.



prison, and forthwith brought forth before Calphas and Pilat, and condemned to be hanged: which was executed upon him forthwith, and he brought to an elme tree in Crilond, without the west gate of the citie, before the house of one Nicholas Caeue, and there hanged. The like crueltie or rather tyrannie was done at Sampford Courteneie, where then a certeine frankelin a gentleman, named William Hektons, who comming to Sampford to haue some communication with them for the staie of their rebellion, and for the pacifying of them in their due obedience, was at the townes end taken prisoner, & carried to the churchhouse, where he so earnestlie reproued them for their rebellion, & so sharplie threatened them an euill successe: that they all fell in a rage with him, and not onlie with euill words reuiled him: but also as he was going out of the churchhouse & going downe the staires, one of them named Githbridge with a bill strake him in the necke, and immediatlie notwithstanding his pitifull requests and lamentations, a number of the rest fell upon him, slue him, and cut him into small peeces: and though they counted him for an heretike, yet they buried him in the church-yard there, but contrarie to the common manner, laicng his bodie north and south.

These things being called to remembrance and objected against this vicar, although some men in respect of his vertues and good gifts did pitie and lament his case, and would haue gladlie bene sutors for his pardon: yet the greatnesse of his lewdnesse and follies considered, they left him unto his deserts: & so was by order of the marshall law condemned to death. And yet this one thing by the waie I must speake in his commendation. There was among the rebels a stranger and an alien, who was a verie skilfull gunner, & could handle his peece verie well, and did much harme vnto the citie, & among others slue one Smith standing at a doore in nozthgate street with a great shot from saint Dauids hill. This fellow toke vpon him, that he would set the whole citie on fire, and it should be cleane burned within foure houres, do they what they could. This his offer was so well liked, that the date and time was appointed when this should be done.

The vicar hearing thereof, assembleth vnto him as manie men as he could make and haue, & came to this companie when this fire should be kindled, and was so hot and earnest against their attempts, that he would in no wise suffer so lewd an act and wicked a thing to be done. For (saith he) do you what you can by policie, force, or dint of sword to take the citie, I will iointe with you, and do my best: but to burne a citie which shall be hurtfull to all men and good to no man, I will neuer consent thereunto, but will here stand with all my power against you. And so stout he was in this matter, that he stopped them from their further enterprising of so wicked a fact. But to the matter. The execution of this man was committed to Barnard Duffeld, who being nothing slacke to follow his commission, caused a paire of gallowes to be made, and to be set vp vpon the top of the tower of the said vicars parish church of S. Thomas: and all things being readie and the stage perfected for this tragedie, the vicar was brought to the place, and by a rope about his middell dymme vp to the top of the tower: and there in chains hanged in his popish apparell, and had a holie water bucket and sprinkle, a sacring bell, a paire of beads, & such other like popish trash hanged about him, and there he with the same about him remained a long time. He made a verie small or no confession, but verie patientlie toke his death, he had bene a good member in his common-wealth, had not the words ouer-groونه the good coine, and his soule vices ouercom-

med his vertues.

The lord priue seale remaining still in Excester was continuallie occupied in setting things in order, he was verie seuerer and sharpe against such offenders as were chiefe and principall ringleaders of this rebellion: but to the common sort who were led and carried, and who did humble themselves, he was pitifull and mercifull, and did daillie pardon infinite numbers. And his lordship thinking verelie that all things were now quieted, & the rebels pacified, suddenlie newes were brought vnto him that there assembled at Sampford Courtneie, both Devonshire men and Cornishmen, and who were fullie bent to mainteine their quarrell and abide the battell. These newes so troubled and tickled my lord, that all businesse set apart, he commaunded forthwith the trumpet to be sounded, and the drumme to be stricken vp, and all his armie to be forthwith mustered: which was then the greater, by reason of the Welshmen and gentlemen of the countrie and of the commoners, who vpon submission had obtained pardon, and increased to the number of eight or ten thousand men, and forthwith he marcheth towards Sampford Courtneie, where sir William Herbert requested to haue the foze-ward for that daie, which was granted him.

And being come thither, albeit the great companie of so manie good souldiers and well appointed might haue disnated them, being nothing nor in order, nor in companie, nor in experience, to be compared vnto the others: yet they were at a point they would not yeld to no persuasions, nor did, but most manfullie did abide the fight: and neuer gaue ouer, untill that both in the towne and in the field they were all for the most taken or slaine. At which time one ap. Owen a Welsh gentleman, more boldlie than aduisedlie giuing the aduenture to enter the rampier at the townes end, was there slaine by the rebels, and after carried backe to Cron, where after the manner of wars he was honorable buried in the bodie of saint Peters church, scio of the kings side besides him then slaine: and so of a traitorous beginning they made a shamefull ending. Fewer the lesse manie escaped and they fled towards Summerfetshire: after whom was sent sir Peter Carew, and sir Hugh Paulet then knight marshall: with a great companie attending vpon them, and followed them as far as to King Weston in the countie of Summerfet: where they ouertooke them and ouerthrew them, and also toke one Coffin a gentleman their captaine prisoner and brought him vnto Excester.

The lord Russell himselfe minding to make all things sure, taketh his torneie, and marcheth into Cornewall: and following his former course, causeth execution to be done vpon a great manie, and especially vpon the chiefe belwedders and ringleaders: but the chiefe and principall captaine he kept as prisoner, and brought them with him to Excester. And when this lord had set all things in god order, he returned to Excester, & remained there for a time: but after departed towards London, where he was received with great ioy and thanks: and being come before the king, he forgot not to commend vnto his maiestie the god seruice of this citie in this rebellion, which (as is before said) was liberallie rewarded and considered. After his departure, and according to his order and appointment, the chiefe captaine and principall heads of this rebellion, whom he left in prison in the kings goale at Excester, were carried to London and commaunded to the tower, and in their due time were afterwards executed to death, namelie Humfreie Arundell esquier, Willielme esquier, John Berrie and Coffin gentlemen, and Holmes yeoman: which Coffin and Holmes were seruants to

The rebels appoint to set fire on the citie and to burne it.

The vicar of saint Thomas letteth and will not consent to the burning of the citie.

The vicar is hanged in chains vpon the top of the tower with his popish trash and ornaments about him.

The rebels assemble at Sampford Courtneie.

The rebels ouertooke them at Sampford Courtneie.

The religious house within the precinct of Emmerie S. Peter

Sir Peter Carew pursueth the rebels which fled to King Weston.

The lord priue seale taketh his torneie into Cornewall.

King William built the tower the citie done.

Examp. Hamis R. Exm.

Exchro. Exm.

The chiefe captaine of the rebellion was carried to London and there put to death.

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The rebels  
assembled at  
Stamptons  
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The rebels  
ouerthwone  
at Stamptons  
Courtne.

Extolled  
as he  
within the  
pauise of the  
monie of  
St. Peters.

King Ethel-  
bert builded  
the walls of  
the cite of  
Excester.

Exemplified  
the rebells  
S. I. o.  
the rebells  
S. I. o.

Exemplified  
the rebells  
S. I. o.  
the rebells  
S. I. o.

to Sir John Arundell knight. Of the number of them who were slain, there is no certaintie knowne, but manie more be found lacke then number: holobeyt it was accounted by such as continued in the whole service of this commotion to be about foure thousand men. But what number was of the contrarie side dispatched, nothing is reported, albeit it be well knowne that they escaped not scotfree, and especiallie the Burgonians, who were abhorred of the one partie, and nothing fauoured of the other. Thus much concerning the description of the cite, and of the sundrie inuasions and assaults against the same, and especiallie of the last rebellion or commotion in the yeare of our Lord 1549, wherein much more might be spoken, but this may suffice for this matter. And for as much as the cathedrall church of this cite, called by the name of St. Peters, is a parcell of the cite, and compassed within the wals of the same, though in respect of certaine priuileges distinct from the iurisdiction thereof; I thought it good to subiect hereunto the description of the said church; and of the antiquitie of the same.

### The antiquitie, foundation, and building of the cathedrall church of saint Peters in Excester.



After that corrupt religion and superstition was crept and receiued into the church, and the people became deuout therein, then began the erecting of religious houses and monasteries in euerie countie. And as this was vniuersall throughout all chrestendome vnder the gouernement of the Romane bishop: so also was it generallie done throughout all England, in which generallie this cite was of a particularitie; for in this cite from time to time as opportunitie serued sundrie religious houses and monasteries were erected and builded, of which there were thre within the cite, circuit, and place now called the clofe of St. Peters, and which in time accrued and were vniued into one. The first was a house for women called moniales or nuns, which is now the deanes house or halendar haie. The other was a house of monks, supposed to be builded by king Ethelred, the third sonne to king Ethelwolp, and these two were vniued by bishop Leofricus vnto the cathedrall church. The third was a house for monks of the order of St. Benet, which was builded and founded by king Athelstane, about the yeare of our Lord 932: and this is that part of the cathedrall church now called the ladie chappell. For the said king, hauing diuened out of this cite the Wiltens then dwelling therein, and minding to make a full conquest both of them and of this their countie which they then inhabited, did so fiercelie follow and pursue them euen into Cornewall, that in the end he conquered them, and had the victorie. After which he returned to this cite, and here staing and sojourning for a time, did reedifie the cite, encompassed it with a stone wall, and founded the cathedrall church, which he then appointed for a monasterie for monks of St. Benets order. For so is it written: *Hanc urbem rex Athelstani primus in potestatem Anglorum, effugatis Britonibus redactam turribus munivit, et muro ex quadratis lapidibus cinxit, ac antiquitus vocatam Munketon nunc Excester vocari voluit: ac ibi sedens mansum quoddam dedit ad fundandum monasterium pro monachis Deo et sancto Petro famulantibus.* Besides the charges which he was at the building of the said church, he gaue also lands and reuenues vnto them sufficient for maintenance and liuelihoods, whereof Hoxkehull and Treaslaros were are parcell, and which now are appendant and appertaining to the treaslaros of the cathedrall

church.

After the time of king Athelstane, the Danes with great hostilitie and crueltie hauing ouerrun this whole land, they also came to this cite, and in spoiling the same, did also ransacke and spoile the said church, whose continuall inuasions the monks being not able to indure, fled and forsoke their house and home, and sought places of better safetie. By which means this monasterie for sundrie yeares was left desituted, vntill the time of king Edgar; who on a time made a progresse into these west parts, to visit his father in law Mdogarus then earle of Deuon, and founder of the abbey of Taunfoke, whose daughter he had married. And being come to this cite, did here rest and staie himselfe, where then he saw the distressed state of the said church, & pitying the same, caused search and inquirie to be made of the monks which were scattered and yet left: and when he had gotten them together, he restored them vnto their house and liuelihoods, and appointed Sidemannus who was afterwards bishop of this diocese to be abbat of the same. And from thensforth they continued together (though sometimes in troubles) vntill that king Swanus or Sweno the Dane, with a mightie and a huge armie came to this cite, besieged, toke, spoiled, and destroyed it with sword and fier. Whombe it not long after it was restored againe by king Canutus or Canutus, who being aduertised of the great cruelties which his father Sweno had done to the said monasterie, did at the request of Athelredus one of his dukes, make restitution vnto Athelwoldus then abbat of all their lands, liuings and priuileges: as doth appeare by his charter dated in the yeare of our Lord 1019.

After this, about thirtie yeares, king Edward the Confessor came to this cite, and he by the abuse and at the motion of Leofricus bishop of Crediton, and who sometimes was lord chancelor of England vnder the said king, and one of his priue counsell, partlie for the better safetie of the bishop and his successors, who lieng and hauing their houses in the countie, were subiect to manie and sundrie perils, and partlie to prouide a more conuenient place for the monks, did remove the bishops see from Crediton, and removed the monks vnto Welfminster: and he the king in his owne person, together with quene Edith his wife, did install the said Leofricus in possession of this his new church and see. The bishop thus removed from the old, and placed in the new see and church, both endow the same with all those lands and liuelihoods which he had of the gift of the said king, and which before did appertene to his former church, and to reduce and make his sanctuarie to his mind, polleth downe the two monasteries nere adioining, the one being of monks and the other of nuns, and addeth and vnieth them vnto his owne church, and hauing brought all things to effect according to his mind, deuifeth and maketh lawes, orders, and ordinances for the good gouernment of his church and cleargie.

After the death of Leofricus, all his successors for the most part procure the augmentation and increase of this their new erected see and church, some in liuelihoods, some in liberties and priuileges, some in buildings, and some in one thing, and some in another. William Warewest the third bishop of this church, who had sometimes bene chapleine to the Conqueror, and to his two sonnes William and Henrie, was in such fauor and good liking with the Conqueror, that at his request he gaue vnto him and to this church, Wilmpton, Bampton, and St. Stephens, in Excester, which gift his said sonnes being kings of England did ratifie and confirme. And then this said bishop, hauing the ordering and distributing

The Danes  
spoil the  
church of St.  
Peters.

The monks  
forsoke their  
monasterie.

Florescunt  
arborum.

King Edgar  
restored the  
abbat and  
monks to  
their house.

Sidemannus  
abbat of this  
church, and  
after bishop  
of this diocese.

Canutus  
restored both  
lands & priu-  
leges to the  
church.

The bishops  
see removed  
from Crediton  
to Exon.

Leofricus the  
first bishop of  
Excester.

The king at  
the request of  
William  
Conqueror  
gave to the  
church of  
Wilmpton,  
Bampton, &  
St. Stephens  
in Excester.

g g g g g. the reof,

thereof, giueth Plimpton to the regular monkes there, for whom he had founded and builded a monasterie, and wherein he himselfe shortly after leauing and yeeling vp his bishoprike, became and was a monke. Brampton was referued to the church, and which afterwards was annexed to the deanerie. And St. Stephens with the fee to the same appertaining, he referued to himselfe and to his successors, & where by they are barons and lords of the parlement. This bishop in the yeare of our Lord 1112, first began to enlarge his cathedrall, and laid the foundation of that part, which is now the choro: quier: for before that time it was no bigger than that, which since and now is called the ladic chapell. After him William Bzwer the bishop made and established in the yeare of our Lord 1235, a deane and a chapter of foure and twentie prebendaries: and for the deane (whome he appointed, and whose name was Serlo) and for his successors, he gave and impropriated Brampton and Coliton Kableigh, and for the prebendaries he purchased lands, allotting and assigning to euery of them *Pro pane & sale* the like portion of foure pounds.

Peter Duinel the bishop finding the chancell of his church to be fullie builded and ended, beginneth to found and build the lower part of the bodie of his church, in the yeare of our Lord 1284, from the chancell of his church vnto the west end of the said church. This man first appointed a chanter and a subdeane to be in his church. To the one of them he impropriated Waineton and Chudleie, and to the other the personage of Gloscheaile in Cornewall. After him John Grandisson, in the yeare of our Lord 1340, did increase the length of the bodie of the church from the fust westwards, as also vaulted the rofe of the whole church, and did fullie end and finishe the same. And albeit from the time of king Athelstane the first founder in the yeare of our Lord 932, vntill the date of the death of this bishop Grandisson, which was in the yeare 1369, there were about 437 yeares distant, and in the meane time this church was continued in building by sundrie persons: yet it is so decentlie and vniformelie compacted, as though it had bene builded at one verie time and instant.

The successor of this Grandisson, who was named Thomas Wentingham, finished and ended the north tower of the church. After this, about the yeare of our Lord 1400, and in the time of bishop Stoford, the cloister was added to the church, and builded at the most part of the charges of the deane and chapter. And not long after Edmund Lacle bishop began to build the chapter house, which being not ended in his time, his next successor George Penill, in the yeare of our Lord 1456, did fullie end and absolue the same: and which is a verie faire, beautifull, and a sumptuous worke. And thus much concerning the antiquitie, foundation, and building of this cathedrall church. Thus far John Hooker.

About the same time that this rebellion (whereof all the foresaid discourse tendeth) began in the west, the like disordered hurles were attempted in Dorsetshire, and Buckinghamshire: but they were speedilie appeased by the lord Greie of Wilton, who coming downe that waie to soine with the lord priuie seale, chased the rebels to their houses, of whome two hundred were taken, and a dozen of the ringleaders to him deliuered, wherof certeine afterwards were executed. Whereouer, in diuerse other parts of the realme, namelie in the south and east parts, did the people (as before ye haue heard) assemble themselves in rebellions maner, committing manie foule disorders: but yet by god policie and wholesome persuasions they were appeased, except in Dorsetshire, where

after there was a rumour spied, that the commons in Kent had throwne downe the ditches and hedges, wherewith certeine pasture grounds were inclosed, and had laid the same open. Diuerse seditious persons and buisie fellows began to complaine that the like had not bene done in Dorsetshire, and ceased not to practise how to raise the people to an open rebellion; meaning not onelie to laie open parkes and inclosures, but to attempt other reformations, as they termed them; to the great danger of ouerthrowing the whole state of the common-wealth.

They chiefelie declared a spitefull rancor: and hated conceived against gentlemen, whome they maliciouslie accused of inordinat couetousnesse, pride, rapine, extortion, and oppression, practised against their tenants and other, for the which they accounted them worthy of all punishment. Whereupon diuerse of them, namelie the inhabitants of Atilborough, and other of their neighbors, conceiuing no small displeasure, for that one Greene of Wilbie had taken in a parcell of the common pasture, as was supposed, belonging to the towne of Atilborough, and abiding to the common pasture of Warham, riotouslie assembled together, and there downe certeine new ditches made by the said Greene, to inclose in the said parcell of commons.

This was done before Midsummer, and so it rested till the first of Iulie, at which time there should be a publike plate kept at Wilmondham, a towne distant from Dorsetshire six miles, which plate had bene accustomed yearelie to be kept in that towne, continuing for the space of one night and one daie at the least. Whereupon the wicked contriueres of this unhappy rebellion, toke occasion by the assembling of such numbers of people as resorted thither to see that plaie, to enter further into their wicked enterprise: and vpon conference had, they immediatlie assembled at Dorsetshire a mile from Wilmondham, & there they cast downe certeine ditches of maister Hubbords on the tuesdaye, and that night they repaired to Wilmondham againe, where they practised the like feats. But as yet they toke no mans goods by violence.

Whereupon one John Flowerdew of Hetherlet gentleman, finding himselfe grieved with the casting downe of some ditches, came vnto some of the rebels, and gaue to them for tie pence to cast downe the fences of an inclosure belonging to Robert Ket, a tanner of Wilmondham, which pasture lieth nere to the faire Maunge at Wilmondham also: which they did. And that night consulting together, the next morning they toke their iourneie to Hetherlet, by the procurement of the said Robert Ket, in reuenge of the displeasure which he had conceived against the said Flowerdew, and set them in hand to plucke vp and cast downe hedges and ditches, wherewith certeine pasture grounds belonging to the said Flowerdew were inclosed.

Here was somewhat adu. For maister Flowerdew did what he could to haue caused them to desist from that attempt, in somuch that manie sharpe words passed betwixt Ket and the said maister Flowerdew. But Ket being a man hardie and forward to anie desperate attempt that should be taken in hand, was straight entred into such estimation with the commons thus assembled together in rebellious wise, that his will was accomplished: and so those hedges and ditches belonging to the pasture grounds of maister Flowerdew were throwne downe and made plaine. Whereupon was Ket chosen to be their capteine and ringleader, who being resolved to set all on fir and seuen, willed them to be of god comfort, and to follow him in defense of their common libertie, being readie in the common-wealths cause to hazard both

The foundation of the quier of St. Peters church.

Bishop William Bzwer instituteth the deane & foure and twentie prebendaries.

The bodie of saint Peters church first founded.

The chanter and subdeane first constituted in this church.

Bishop Grandisson a great benefactor to the church.

The church of St. Peters was in building 437 yeares.

The cloister builded.

The building of the chapter house.

John Fox.

Common rebellion.

Rebellion.

The beginning of the rebellion in Dorsetshire.

The citizens of Dorsetshire.

A conference to further the rebellion in a meeting at a publike place.

Thomas Ket.

The rebels request licen to passe the rough Dorsetshire.

Ket chosen to be capteine of the rebels.

Sir Roger Wodhouse.

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both life and goods.  
Here with they passed the water betwixt Crin-  
gelford and Eton, and coming to Botolphorpe, cast  
downe certeine hedgges and ditches in that place, and  
their number being now greatlie increased, they in-  
camped there that night. Here sir Edmund Wain-  
dam knight, being high shiriffe of Suffolke and  
Suffolke, came and proclaimed them rebels, com-  
manding them to depart in the kings maiesties  
name. With which proclamation they were greatlie  
offended, and attempted to haue got him into their  
hands: but he being well hoisted, valiantlie brake  
through them that had compassed him in: howbeit  
he escaped from them and got into Norwich, being  
not past a mile off. The same night there came a  
great number of letow people vnto them, as well out  
of the citie of Norwich as out of the countrie, with  
weapon, armour, and artillerie.  
  
The daie before that Ket came to this place, a  
great number of the meaner sort of the citizens of  
Norwich had thowne downe a quickset hedge, and  
filled by the ditches, wherewith the foresaid commons  
were on the one side inclosed, to keepe in the cattell  
of the citizens that had the same going before their  
common neatherd: and so that sente which by god  
and prouident aduise of their foresathers, had bene  
raised and made for the common profit of the whole  
citie, was thus by a sort of letow persons defaced and  
cast downe at that present. And scarce had they  
thowne downe the ditch in the hyer end of this pa-  
rish, but that a companie of euill disposed persons  
stale out of the citie, and got them to Kets campe:  
The maior of the citie named Thomas God aduer-  
sed hereof, doubting what might follow of this mis-  
chievous begun rebellion, thought good to trie if he  
might persuaue the rebels to giue ouer their traito-  
rous enterprises: and therefore taking certeine of the  
aldermen with him, he went to Kets campe, bring-  
ing that perswasions he couold to reduce them vnto their  
doutfull obedience, & to depart home to their houses.  
But his trauell was in vaine, and therefore retur-  
ned backe to the citie without hope to doe anie good  
with that brutall rout.  
  
After whose departure, they considering in what  
danger they stood to be surprisid, if they should scat-  
ter abroad in such sort as till then they had done,  
seeking to wast and spoile the countrie about them,  
without keeping together in anie warlike order,  
thought it stood most with their suertie to draw into  
one place, and to fortifie the same for their further  
strength. Upon this resolution they determined to  
go with all speed vnto Spousehold, a place as they  
toke it meet for their purpose, and therefore sent to  
the maior of Norwich, requesting him of licence to  
passe through the citie, because it was their nereest  
waie, promising not to offer anie iniurie or violence  
to anie person, but quietlie to march through the citie  
vnto their place appointed. But the maior did not on-  
lie denie them passage, but also with sharpe and bitter  
speech reproving their rebellious doings, told them  
what should follow thereof, if they gaue not ouer in  
time from further proceeding in such wicked at-  
tempts.  
  
The next daie being thursdaie, sir Roger Wood-  
house with seuen or eight of his houshold seruants,  
came to them, bringing with him two carts laden  
with beere, and one cart laden with other vittels: for  
a recompense whereof he was stripped out of his ap-  
parell, had his horses taken from him, and whatso-  
euer else he had, the rebels accounting the same a  
good price, he himselfe was cruellie tugged and cast  
into a dish of one Spares of nether Arleham by Wel-  
le Donbridge: where the same daie the rebels, being  
disappointed of their purpose to passe through Nor-

wich, found meanes to passe, and coming to mai-  
ger Corbets house of Sprowston, intended to haue  
burnt the same house. But yet being persuaued to  
spare it from fire, they spoiled his goods, defaced a  
douchouse of his, which had bene a chappell, and after-  
wards got them to Spousehold, and coming to St.  
Leonards hill, on which the erle of Surrie had built  
a statelie house called mount Surrie, they inken-  
nelled themselves there on the same hill, and in the  
woods adioining that lie on the west and the south  
side of the same hill, as the commons or pasture cal-  
led Spousehold heath lieth on the east side, which con-  
teined foure or five miles in length, & thre or foure  
in bredth.  
  
They put sir Roger Woodhouse, and other pris-  
oners whom they had caught, in Arctward within  
the foresaid house of mount Surrie, on the which  
they seized, and spoiled whatsoeuer they found within  
it. In the meane time, the maior of Norwich taking  
aduise with his brethren the aldermen, what was best  
to doe in this case: whether presentlie to issue forth,  
and distresse the rebels now in the beginning, least  
time might giue them meane to increase their pow-  
er: or rather to staie till they had aduertised the  
councell of the whole matter. In the end they agreed  
that this last aduise was most surest, and so they dis-  
patched a post with all speed to the court. Beside this  
great campe (as they termed it) at Spousehold, there  
was a lesser at Kissing chafe neare to Lin: but the  
rebels there, by the good diligence and circumspect po-  
licie of the iustices and gentlemen of those parts,  
were speedilie repelled, and driuen from thence.  
Norwich standing afterwards they assembled toge-  
ther at Watton, & there remained about a fortnight,  
stopping also the passage at Whetford and Brandon  
ferrie, within nine miles of the said Watton: and  
at length came and ioined themselves with these  
other at Spousehold, by appointment of their ge-  
nerall captaine (as they toke him) the foresaid Ro-  
bert Ket.  
  
Whereafter, there came flocking from Suffolke  
and other parts, a great multitude of letow disposed  
persons, raised by firing of beacons, and ringing of  
bells. Also a number of rascals & naughty letow per-  
sons stale out of the citie of Norwich, and went to  
campe. And thus being got together in great multi-  
tudes, they added one wickednesse to another, as ha-  
ving no feare of themselves after their downefall,  
nor holding them content with the committing of  
one villanous trespassse and horrible transgression,  
according vnto the poets words to the like purpose:  
*Quisquam hominum est, quem tu contentum videris uno  
Flagitio?*  
  
Now to cloke their malicious purpose with a coun-  
terfeit shew of holinesse, they caused one Coniers  
vicar of saint Martins in Norwich to saie seruice  
morning and euening, to praise to God for prosperous  
speed in that their vngoodlie enterpryse. Whereafter  
they went about to ioine to their cause diuers honest  
men, and right commendable for religion, doctrine,  
vertue, and innocencie of life, amongst whom were  
Robert Watton a preacher, Thomas God maior of  
Norwich, and Thomas Alderich of Spangræne hall.  
These thre, although sore against their willes, were  
constrained to be present with them in all matters  
of counsell, and to take vpon them (as associates with  
captaine Ket) the administration and order of euerie  
thing: which happened well for manie. For when et-  
her Ket himselfe, or anie other of the captains,  
though setting on of the outrageous multitude, pur-  
posed anie mischæse (as often it came to passe) in one  
place or other, through their graue aduise, and appro-  
ued industrie, their furie was sundrie times raised  
and calmed. Although Ket bent to all vngratiousnes,  
would

The citizens  
of Norwich.

Thomas  
God.

The rebels  
insubordination  
to passe thro-  
ugh Nor-  
wich.

Sir Roger  
Woodhouse.

Mount Sur-  
rie.

Spousehold.

Kissing chafe.

Watton.

Counterfeit  
religion.

would diuerse times grant forth commissions, abusing now and then the names of honest men thereby appointing his vnchristie mates to fetch in vittels to furnish their campe withall. The tenor of one of the which commissions here insuch.

The forme of a warrant granted out  
by the rebels to take up vittels.

**W**he kings friends & deputies, doo grant licence to all men, to prouide and bring into the campe at Aboulseshold, all manner of cattell, and prouision of vittels, in what place soeuer they may find the same: so that no violence or iniurie be done to any honest or pious man. Commanding all persons as they tender the kings honoz and the all maiestie, and the relate of the common welth, to be obedient to vs the gouernors, and to those whose names insue.

Signed

Robert Ker.

Gentlemen  
imprisoned.

Then followed in order a long list of names, for the number of the gouernors was great, as they that beside the chiefe captians had chosen out of euery hundred two, and there were six and twentie hundredes. By vertue of such commissions, manie that were of god worship and credit in the countrie, whom the rebels in their rage had condemned, were fetched from their houses, and other places where they might be found, and being brought to the campe, were committed to prison. Also the ditches and hedges, wherewith the commons abode in the countrie, were inclosed, were throlone downe, & manie were warned and called forth from sundrie parts, to come and take part with them in these tumultuous uprores. And all these things were done, the maior, maister Aldrich not onlie holding their peace and twinkling thereat, but also sometime after a manner giuing their consent to the same, for to haue resisted them had bene but follie, and the waie to haue put themselves in danger of destruction, and their countrie too.

The number  
of the rebels.

The honest citizens of Dorwich in this meane while remained in great perplexitie, hearing nothing from the king nor his counsell. They therefore being vncertaine what to do, abode in the citie, till they might vnderstand what order it should please the king to take for the quieting of these troubles. The cause why the counsell was thus slacke in prouiding remedie against the Dorseth rebels, was: for that they were busie in quieting the troubles in the inner part of the realme about London, and other places (as before ye haue heard) by meanes whereof the power of these Dorseth rebels still increased, so that there were assembled togither into their campe, to the number of sixtene thousand vngracious vnchristis, who by the aduise of their captians fortified themselves, and made prouision of artillerie, powder and other abillments, which they fetched out of ships, gentlemen houses, and other places where any was to be found, and withall spoiled the countrie of all the cattell, riches and coine, on which they might laie hands.

Rebels and  
theues can  
not kepe to-  
gether with-  
out iustifica-  
tion of iustice.

But because manie (as in such case is euer seene) did prouide for themselves, and hid that which they got, laung it vp for their owne store, and brought it not forth to further the common cause, yet and the other gouernors (for so would they be called) thought to prouide a remedie, and by common consent it was decreed, that a place should be appointed, where iudgements might be exercised, as in a iudiciall hall.

Whereupon they found out a great old oke, where the said Act, and the other gouernors or deputies might sit and place themselves, to heare and determine such quareling matters as came in question. Afore whom sometime would assemble a great number of the rebels, and exhibit complaints of such disorders, as now and then were practised among them; and there they would take order for the redressing of such wrongs and iniuries as were appointed, so that such greedy vagabounds as were ready to spoile more than seemed to stand with the pleasure of the said gouernors, and farther than their commissions would beare, were committed to prison. This oke they named the tree of reformation.

The tree of  
reformation.

The maior, maister Aldrich and others, whom they had receiued into the number of their gouernors, would oftentimes go vp into this tree, and make diuerse pithie orations to persuade the outrageous multitude to giue ouer their riotous rapines and spoilings. There were also certaine diuines which did vse all waies possible to withhold them from their wicked attempts, and to reduce them to peace and quietnesse, although this was not done without danger of their liues. Neuertheless, these in the due time used to preach in the churches, and in the night to watch with armour vpon their backs, leaning nothing vndone that might seme to apertene vnto the due of godlie and vertuous diuines, or faithfull and obedient subjects. Among these was doctor Mathew Parker, afterward archbishop of Cantuarie, whose wisdom, faithfulness, and integritie was most apparant.

Doctor Parker.

He coming on a daie into the campe with his brother Thomas Parker, that was after maior of Dorwich, found them before the tree at common prayer, the foreremembred Coniers vicar of saint Martin in Dorwich saying the Letanie. Whereupon doctor Parker thinking the time to serue for his purpose, went vp into the tree, where he made a sermon, diuiding it into thre feuerall parts. In the first he exhorted them to vse with moderation those vittels which they had prouided & brought into their campe, and not riotouslie nor launthlie to wast and consume them. In the second he aduised them in no wise to take reuenge of priuat displeasures, and not to chaine or keepe in irons those persons whom they held in ward, nor to take anie mans life from him. Lastly, he wished that they should haue regard to themselves, & leaue off their rash begun enterprise, giuing eare to such heralds or other messengers as came from the king, and to shew such honour vnto his maiestie now in his yong and tender yeares, as they might inioy him hereafter being grown vp in vertue, to their great ioy, comfort, and gladnesse. As he was handling this matter, with manie good and effectuall reasons, hauing the auditozie attentive to his words, one lewd fellow among the rest cried out and said: How long shall we suffer this biterling doctor, who being waied by gentlemen, is come hither with his tong, which is sold and tied to serue their appetite? But for all his prating words, let vs bide them, and bring them vnder the orders of our law.

The preacher  
to the rebels.

The rebels  
they were  
to Parker.

When began the multitude to stir and make a noise, threatening the preacher, some of them saying: It were well, that for his faire told tale we should bring him downe with a mischiefe, with arrowes and lanclings. This speech brought doctor Parker in no small feare, and the more, for that he heard a noise and clattering of weapons vnder him, so that he looked for present death among them. But herein he was decciued: for there was not a man that stood next him within the compasse of the tree, would him anie harme. And immediatlie the foreremembred vicar of



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S. Martins that executed the office of the minister, began with helpe of some singingmen that were present, the canticle *Te Deum*, wherewith the unruly multitude seemed partlie to quiet themselves. Which occasion doctor Parker perceiving to serue his turne, thought not longer to tarie amongst them; but quietly got him downe from the tree, and with his brother made hast towards the citie. But before he came to Dockthorp gate, there were of the rebels that came to him, and began to question with him about his licence, whereby he was authorized to preach; but he perceiving that there was no reason to be conceived of them, kept his waies, and left his brother to argue the matter with them.

Yet the next daie he entering into saint Clements church, took occasion to expound somewhat out of one of the lessons that was read that daie, concerning these wicked backbiters; manie of the rebels continuing about him; but not interrupting him a whit, hearing the end of his exhortation, although they feared greatlie therewith offended. But as he came out of the church, they followed him, and told him that (as they understood) he had three or foure able geldings to serue the king; and therefore charged him that after dinner they might be ready for them to occupie. But doctor Parker made them no great answer; but calling to him his horsekeeper, commanded him to plucke off the shoes from some of his geldings, and to pare their hounes unto the quicke; and that he should anoint the other with neruall, as if they had bene lamed with trauell. The rebels perceiving this, when they saw the same geldings had forth as it had bene to pasture, made no further businesse. Whereupon doctor Parker shoulde after, feining as if he went abroad to walke two miles off from the citie, at Crinklesford bridge found his horses ready as he had appointed, with his servants, and mounting vp, took his iourneie towards Cambridge, with as much speed as was possible, escaping thither out of all danger, although by the waie they met with and saw diuerse of the rebels plaieng their parts in their wonted outrageous manner. Thus did doctor Parker escape the hands of the wicked rebels, who despising his whole some admonitions, did afterwards by Gods iust iudgement proue his words to be most true.

But in the meane time proceeding from one mischief to another, after they had practised to spoile the gentlemen of the countrie of their goods, they began to attach their bodie, and by force to bring them in to their campe: so that such as escaped their hands, were glad to flee, and hide themselves in woods and caves, where they might best keepe themselves out of their aduersaries reach and intended dangers. But to speake of all the horrible praisses by these ungracious people exercised, it would be too long a proceesse. That shifs they found to cloake their doings, and that euen vnder the kings authoritie, if it is wonderfull. For whereas there were certaine commissions directed vnto diuerse gentlemen in the countrie, to take order for the appeasing of these tumults; they getting the same into their hands, took vpon them the authoritie committed to the gentlemen, vnto whome the same commissions were sent; and taking off the scales from the other, fastened the same vnto their counterfeit writings. To conclude, they grew to such vnumerable disorder, that they would not in manie things obey neither their generall capteine, nor anie of their gouernors, but ran headlong into all kind of mischief, & made such spoile of vittels which they brought out of the countrie adjoining vnto their campe, that within few daies they consumed (beside a great number of beies, twentie thousand muttons, also swans, geese,

hens, capons, ducks, & other fowles so manie as they might laie hands vpon. And furthermore, they spared not to breake into parks, and kill what dere they could. Such haucke they made of all that came in their waie, and such number of sheepe speciallie they brought into their campe, that a good fat weather was sold for a groat. The woods, groues, and trees that were destroyed I passe ouer, and make no mention thereof. Herewith, what crueltie was shewed by them in fettering and manacing such gentlemen as they caught, and committed to prison for some mistaking they had conceived of them, it was a miserable case to behold. Some there were whom they brought forth; as it had bene to iudgement before the tree of redemption, there to be tried afore the gouernors, as if they had bene guiltie of some heinous and greuous crime. And when it was asked of the commons, what should be done with those prisoners, they would crie with one voice, hang them, hang them. And when they were asked why they gave so sharpe iudgement of those whom they neuer knew, they would roundlie answer, that other cried the same crie; and therefore they ment to giue their assent with other; although they could pae no reason, but that they were gentlemen, & therefore not woorthie to liue.

Whilest the rebels thus raged abroad in the countrie at Hengham eleuen miles from Norwich, sir Edmund Breuet knight, with a small companie of his owne mentall seruants, set vpon the night watch of the rebels that were placed there, & brake through, ouerthrowing diuerse of them; and hauing some of his owne men also vnhorsed by the rebels, and in danger to be heluen in peeces among them, yet he recovered them, & escaped their hands through great manhood. After which good nights seruice, as they would haue it esteemed, they repaired to their great capteine Ket, to shew their hurts received, & to complaine of their griefes. It was talked among them, that they would go to sir Edmund Breuet's house called Buckenham castell, to assault it, and to fetch him out of it by force. But it was doubted of some, least it were too strong for them; and other feared sharpe stripes, if they should attempt that exploit, being at the least twelue miles from their maine campe: and so that enterpise went not forward, the most part thinking it best to sleepe in whole skins.

There was at London the same time a citizen of Norwich, one Leonard Southerton fled from thence for feare of his life, whome the counsell sent for, to come to speake with them: and being asked what he knew touching the state of the rebels, he declared to them from point to point the manner of all their outrageous proceedings; but yet that as he understood, there were manie among them that would laie aside their armour, if they might be assured of the kings pardon: and therefore if it would please the king to set forth a proclamation, that all such as would depart from the campe and be quiet, should haue their pardon for all that was past, he doubted not but that those routs should be dispersed. His aduise was allowed, and thereupon was an herald sent with all speed in companie with the said Southerton vnto Norwich; & comming into the campe the last of Iulie, and standing before the tree of redemption, apparelled in his cote of armes, pronounced there before all the multitude, with loud voice, a free pardon to all that would depart to their homes, and laing aside their armour, giue ouer their traitorous begun enterpise.

After he had made an end of his proclamation, in maner all the multitude cried, God saue the king. And manie of them falling downe vpon their knees, could

The outrageous  
dealing as  
gainst gentle-  
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Sir Edmund  
Breuet's ser-  
uice.

Leonard  
Southerton.

Pardon pro-  
claimed by an  
herald at  
armes.

could not forbear with feares gushing from their eyes, but commend the kings great and unspeakable mercie thus freely offered unto them, which undoubtedly they had at that time all of them received, if the wicked speech of some of the rascall sort, and namelie the traitorous persuasions of that wicked caittife Iket himselfe, had not staied them from their dutifull inclinations. But after that Iket had with lowd voice before declared, that kings & princes were accustomed to grant pardons to such as are offenders, and not to others; he trusted that he needed not anie pardon, sith he had done nothing but that belonged to the dutie of a true subiect: and here with he besought them not to forsake him, but to remember his promise, sith he was readie to spend his life in the quarell. The herald hereupon called him traitor, and commanded John Detibone the swordbearer of Northwich to attach him for treason. Then began a great hurle burle among the multitude, so that the herald, perceiving they began to shrink from their former purpose of receiving the kings pardon, departed from them with these words: All ye that be the kings friends, come awaie with me. The mayo: & maister Alberich, with a great number of other gentlemen & honest peomen that were readie to obey the kings commandement, followed him.

The citizens  
favouring the  
rebels.

The mayo: being thus returned to the citie, caused the gates to be shut, and such gentlemen as had been committed to prison within the castell, or other places in the citie, he caused to be set at libertie, & with their aduise toke order how the rebelles might be kept out. But as he was busie about such matters, certeine of the citizens that favoured the rebelles had received a great multitude of them into the citie, which did put the citizens in such feare, that it was thought the most suretie for the gentlemen that had bene now released out of prison, to be shut up againe, least the rebelles finding them abroad, should haue murdered them. Yet after this, when the rebels were departed out of the citie againe, the mayo: & aldermen fell in hand to rampire by the gates, to plant ordinance, and to make all necessarie provision that for them was possible.

At length they fell to shooting off their artillerie as well from the citie as from the campe, doing their best to annoie each other. But when the rebelles saw that they did little hurt to the citie with their great ordinance lieng upon the hill, they removed the same downe to the foot of the same hill, and from thence began to beat the walles. Notwithstanding, shortly after they made sute for a truce to indure for a time, that they might passe to and fro through the citie, to fetch in vittells, whereof some want began to pinch them in the campe. The mayo: and aldermen flatlie denied their request, protesting that they would not permit anie traitors to haue passage through their citie.

The rebels soze kindled in wrath with this answer, and deniall of their sute, came running downe from the hill, and assaulking the gates, were beaten off with shot of arrowes and other weapons. And yet such rage appeared among the rebels, that the boies and yong lads shewed themselves so desperat in gathering up the arrowes, that when they saw and felt the same sticking in some part of their bodies, they would plucke them forth, and deliuered them to their bow-men, that they might bestow the same againe at the citizens. In all this boile (a thing noteworthy) the seditious sort minding nothing more than the compassing of their purpose, had as little faie of themselves in this their outrage, as a bull at the sight of a cow, or a stoned horse at the view of a mare; according unto the old saying of the poet:

*Non facile est taurum visa retinere iuuenca,  
Fortis equus vise semper adhaerit equa.*

In the meane time, whilst they were thus busie upon one side of the citie, an alarm rose at the defendants backs, crying that the rebels were entered the citie on the contrarie side: and so euerie man thinking awaie, and running thither to repell the enimie there, that part was left void of defendants where the first assault began. Whereof the rebels being aduised, rushed into the river that runneth before bishops gate, got to the gates, and breaking them open, entered without anie great resistance. For all the citizens were withdrone to their houses and other places, where they hoped best to hide themselves from the furie of their enimies.

The rebels having thus entered the citie by force, conquered all the guns and artillerie, with other furniture of warre out of the citie into their campe. The herald that was yet abiding in the citie, to see if the rebels would before the daie prefixed for their pardons, being not yet expired, giue ouer their enterprise, came with the mayo: into the market place, and in the hearing of a great multitude of people that were come thither and stood about him, he clamoured for commandement in the kings name, that they should laie armes aside, and get them home to their houses: which so manie as did, he pronounced a generall pardon, and to the rest extreme punishment by death.

The rebels that stood by and heard him, when he had once made an end of his proclamation, bade him get him thence with a mischief: for it was not his faire offers, nor his sweet flattering words that should beguile them, sith they made no account of such manner of mercie, that vnder a colour of pardon, should cut off all their safetie and hope of preservation. The herald perceiving how obstinate they were bent, and set on all mischief, and that it was impossible to bring them from their outrageous treason, either through feare of punishment or hope of pardon, departed without hauing brought that to passe for which he was sent. Immediately after his departure, the rebels sought for Leonard Southerton, purposing to haue apprehended him, and committed him to prison, for accompanying the herald thitherwards. But he hauing knowledge of their meaning, hid himselfe from them.

After this, there were by Ikets commandement apprehended diuerse persons, as the mayo: Robert Watton, William Rogers, John Homerston, William Brampton, and manie others, which were brought out of the citie, and committed to prison in mount Surrie. Iket perceiving well that he must either now obtaine a bloodie victorie by force against his countrie, or else to take such an end as his ungracious attempts did well deserue, got together so manie wicked persons as he might procure to come unto him from each side, with great rewards and faire promises: so that it was a strange matter to consider that a multitude of bntchiffs and rascals came to him upon the sudden.

The citizens of Northwich were soze displeased, that their mayo: (being an honest man, and one greatly beloved among them) should be imprisoned, and so remaine in danger of life among the rebels: for they threatened him soze, & telling at his name, would saie one to another; Let vs all come together to morrow, for we shall see a \* cods hed sold in the campe for a penny. Whereupon the citizens fearing least through the malice and rage of the rebels, their mayo: might chance to be made awaie among them, procured maister Thomas Alberich (whose authoritie was great among them) to be a meane for his deliuerance: who comming to Iket with sharpe and bitter words

The mayo:  
Northwich  
libertie.

Augustine  
ward.

The lord  
Marquise  
Northwich  
in  
Northwich  
the  
rebels.

The traitor  
rous refusal  
of the rebels  
to accept the  
kings pardon.

Northwich  
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Prisoners  
committed to  
ward in mount  
Surrie.

Iket's power  
increaseth.

William  
the mayo:  
whole name  
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words reprov'd him for his cruell dealing, by im-  
prisoning so honest a man as the maior was, and  
withall commanded him to release him: which either  
for shame, or rather through feare of a guiltie con-  
science that pricked him, he caused incontinentlie to be  
done: who thereupon might now and then go and  
come at his pleasure to and fro the citie. But because  
he could not still remaine in the citie, but was con-  
strained to continue for the most part in the campe,  
he appointed Augustine Steward to be his deputie,  
who with the assistance of Henrie Bacon, and John  
Atkinson thiriffes, governed the citie right orderlie,  
and kept the most part of the citizens in due obe-  
dience.

The counsell advertised now upon the heralds  
returne, that there was no waie to reduce these  
Poztholke rebels unto quiet otherwise than by force,  
appointed the marquisse of Pozthampton with fif-  
tane hundred horsemen to go downe vnto Poztholke  
to subdue those stubborne traitors that so vndutiful-  
lie refused the kings mercifull pardon, & helie offered  
by his officer at armes, and others. There went with  
the lord marquisse diuerse honorable and worshipfull  
personages, as the lord Sheffield, the lord Went-  
worth, sir Anthoine Drennie, sir Henrie Parker, sir  
Richard Southwell, sir Rafe Sadler, sir John  
Clere, sir Rafe Kowlet, sir Richard Lee, sir John  
Gates, sir Thomas Dalsen, sir Henrie Beding-  
field, sir John Sullard, sir William Malgraue, sir  
John Cuts, sir Thomas Cornewallis knights, to-  
gether with a great manie of other knights, es-  
quiers and gentlemen, and a small band of Italians,  
vnder the leading of a capteine named Spalatesta.

The lord marquisse being approached within a  
mile of Poztholke, sent sir Gilbert Dethicke knight,  
now Carter, then Pozrie, king at armes, vnto the  
citie, to summon them within to yeld it into his  
hands, or vpon refusal to proclame warre against  
them. Hereupon Augustine Steward the maiors  
deputie sent to the maior that was in the campe with  
him, advertising him what message he had receiued  
from the marquisse. The maior sent word againe,  
that nothing was more gracious vnto him, than to  
see into what miserie the citie and countrie about  
were brought by the rage of these commotions; and  
declaring in what case he stood, being kept by force  
among the rebels, whereas otherwise he would (ac-  
cording to his dutie) haue come to his hono. But  
as for the citie, he had committed the gouernance vnto  
Augustine Steward, who should be readie to sur-  
render it into his lordships hands: and that if he  
would giue him leaue, he would come himselfe to  
his hono, submitting all things wholie to his lord-  
ships order and disposition.

This message being brought backe by the said  
Pozrie, Augustine Steward the maiors deputie  
with the thiriffes, and a great number of the citizens,  
came to the lord marquesses campe, and deliuered  
by the sword to his lordship, declaring how the ma-  
ior himselfe would gladlie haue come, if he could  
haue got from the rebels: and that although a great  
roul of the lewd citizens were partakers with the  
rebelles, yet a number of the substantiall & honest ci-  
tizens would neuer consent to their wicked doings,  
but were readie to receiue his lordship into their  
citie. The lord marquisse giuing good words to the  
citizens, and willing them to be of good comfort, sith  
he trusted to appease these troubles verie shortly,  
deliuered the sword vnto sir Richard Southwell, who  
bore it before the lord marquisse as he passed forth  
towards the citie, entring the same by saint Ste-  
phans gate. And incontinentlie was proclamation  
made that they should all resort into the market  
place, where they consulted together how they might

best defend the citie against the enimies, and to re-  
presse their furie. Whereupon was order giuen for the  
placing of watch and ward about the gates and the  
walls, as might seme expedient. The lord marquisse  
supped that night and lodged in the maiors deputies  
house; but his lordship as well as other kept their ar-  
mour on their backs all that night, for doubt of some  
sudden assault to be made against the citie by the re-  
bels. Here it chanced that the strangers, either by  
appointment, or otherwise, went forth, and offered  
himselfe to the rebels vpon Pagdalen hill.

The strangers  
offer himselfe  
to the rebels.

The rebels came forth with their horsemen: but  
it seemed that they were better practised to fetch in  
booties, than to make their manage or careere, which be-  
ing percelused of their fellows that were footmen,  
they put forth their archers before their horsemen,  
and such numbers herewith came swarming forth of  
their campe, meaning to compasse in those stran-  
gers, that they perceiuing the maner and purpose of  
the enimies, cast themselves in a ring, and retired  
backe into the citie againe. But they left one of their  
compantie behind them, a gentleman that was an It-  
talian, who more valiantlie than warlike ventured to  
farre among the enimies, and through euill hap be-  
ing ouerthrowne beside his horse, he was inuironed  
about with a great multitude of those rebels, that  
tooke him prisoner, and like vile wretches spoiling  
him of his armour and apparell, hanged him ouer the  
walls of mount Surrie. Which ad well shewed what  
courtesie might be looked for at such cruell traitors  
hands, that would thus vnmmercifullie put such a ge-  
ntleman and worthe souldior to death: for whose ran-  
some, if they would haue demanded it, they might  
haue had no small portion of monie to haue satisfied  
their greedy minds. But it seemed that their bestlie  
crueltie had bereft them the remembrance of all ho-  
nest consideration and dutifull humanitie.

An Italian  
hanged by the  
rebels.

The marquisse of Pozthampton causing (as be-  
fore ye haue heard) diligent watch to be kept vpon  
the walles, and at the gates, appointed the same to be  
visited right often, that through negligence no mi-  
hap should follow. Moreover, besides the watch at  
the gates and walles, the residue of the souldiors ma-  
king a mightie huge fire in the market place, so as  
all the streets were full of light, they remained there  
all that night in their armour, readie vpon anie oc-  
casion to resist the enimies if they should make anie  
attempt. Sir Edward Warner marshall of the  
field gaue the watch word, sir Thomas Dalsen, sir  
John Clere, sir William Malgraue, sir Thomas  
Cornwallis, and sir Henrie Bedingfield were ap-  
pointed to the defense of other parts of the citie. And  
now when euerie thing was thought to be safelie  
provided for, and that the lord marquisse and other  
were laid to take their rest, the rebels about the mid-  
dest of the night began to shot off their great artille-  
rie towards the citie, so thicke as was possible: but  
the bullets passed ouer their heads that were lodged  
in the citie, without doing anie great hurt at all.

Sir Edward  
Warner.

The lord marquisse, by reason of the often ala-  
rms that were giuen, whilst the enimies thus cea-  
sed not to rage with continuall shot of ordnance,  
was called vp by the marshall sir Edward War-  
ner; and comming into the market place, accompa-  
nied with the nobles and gentlemen of the armie, fell  
in counsell with them, how to foresee that the citie  
in such danger might be safelie defended against  
the enimies with such small power as he had there  
with him. It was therefore determined, that all the  
gates which were on the contrarie part of the towne  
from the rebels campe, and likewise the ruinous  
places of the walles should be rampired vp, that if  
the enimies should chance to giue an assault to the  
citie,

citie, they might more easilie be repelled.

But as these things were in doing, and almost brought to end, in a manner all the whole multitude of the rebelles came out of their cabins, running downe in most furious maner to the citie, and with great shouts and yelling cries went about to set fire on the gates, to cline over the walles, to passe the river, and to enter the citie at such places where the walles were thorough age decayed and ruinous. The soldiors that were there with the lord marquisse, did shew their uttermost indeuor to beat backe the enimies. This fight in most cruell wise continued for the space of thre houres without ceasing, the rebels forcing themselves to the uttermost of their powers to enter perforce vpon them, and they within the citie shewed no lesse courage to repell them backe. The hardie manhood of diuerse knights, and other men of worship was here right apparant. It was strange to see the desperat boldnesse of the rebelles, that when they were thrust through the bodies or thighs, and some of them bough-sinewed, would yet seeke reuenge in striking at their aduersaries, when their hands were scarce able to hold by their weapon; thinking themselves somewhat satisfied if the humors of their enuie and deadlie spite might be fed but with a drop of their aduersaries blood; with such a malignant spirit (tending wholie to vengeance) these desperat rebels were possessed, according to the poets speech in the like sense and meaning:

The desperatnesse of rebelles.

Inuicta, sat. 13.

*Inuicta dabit minimus solatia sanguis.*

The rebels beaten backe.

But such was the valiancie of the gentlemen and soldiors, which were there with the lord marquisse, that in the end the enimies which were already entered the citie, were beaten out againe, and driuen backe to their accustomed kennell holes with losse of thre hundred of their numbers. They within the citie hauing thus repelled the enimies, & accounting themselves in more safetie than before, for the rest of the night that yet remained, which was not much, they gaue themselves to refresh their wearied bodies with some sleepe. The next daie, the lord marquisse was informed by some of the citizens, that there were no small number in Bees campe that would gladlie come from him, if they might be sure of their pardon; and that at Pockethorpe gate there were foure or five thousand, that wished for nothing more than for pardon: and that if the same were offered them, there were no doubt (as they belieued) but that they would submit themselves to the kings mercie.

The marquisse was glad to vnderstand so much, & instantlie dispatched Porreie king at armes, with a trumpetter, to assure them on the kings behalfe, that they should be pardoned for all offenses past, and that had bene committed in time of this rebellion, if they would lay armes aside. Porreie and the trumpet comming to the gate, found not a man there: but the trumpetter sounding his trumpet, there came running downe from the hill a great multitude of their people, & amongst other as chiefe, one Flotman, whom Porreie commanded to staie. Wherevpon the said Flotman asked him what was the matter, and wherefore he had called them together by sound of trumpet: To thy waies (said he) & tell thy companie from my lord marquisse of Northampton, the kings maiesties lieutenant, that he commandeth them to cease from committing anie further outrage: and if they will (saith he) obey his commandement, all that is past, shall be forgotten & pardoned.

Flotman.

Pardon offered to the rebels.

Flotman hauing heard Porreies declaration, as he was an outrageous and buisie fellow, presumptuously made answer, that he cared not a pins point for my lord marquisse, and withall, like a rebellious

traitor, railed vpon his lordship, and maintained, that he and the rest of the rebels were earnest defenders of the kings roiall maiestie, and that they had taken weapon in hand not against the king, but in his defense, as in time it should appeare, as they that fought nothing but to mainteine his maiesties roiall estate, the libertie of their countrie, and the safetie of their commonwealth, &c. To conclude, he vterlie refused the kings pardon, and told Porreie certeinlie, that they would either restore the common-wealth from decaye, into the which it was fallen, being oppressed thorough the couetousnesse and tyrannie of the gentlemen; either else would they like men die in the quarrell.

Scarcelie had he made an end of his tale, when suddenlie a fearefull alarm was raised thorough out the citie: for whilst Flotman was thus in talke with the king of armes at Pockethorpe gate, the rebels in great rage entering the citie by the hospitall, went about to bying all things to destruction: but being incountered nere to the bishops palace, by the lord marquisse his men, there ensued a bloudie conflict betwixt them, which continued long with great fiercenesse and eger reuenge on both parts. There died about seuen score of the rebels, and of the soldiors that secured against them some number, beside a great multitude that were hurt and wounded on both parts. But the pittifull slaughter of the lord Sheffield, who hauing more regard to his honor than safetie of life, desirous to shew some proofe of his noble valiancie, entering amongst the enimies, as he fought right hardlie, though not so warlike as had bene expedient, fell into a ditch as he was about to turne his horse: & herewith being compassed about with a number of those horrible traitors, was slaine amongst them; although he both declared what he was, and offered largelie to the vilans, if they would haue saued his life. But the more noble he shewed himselfe to be, the more were they kindled in outrageous furie against him. And as he pulled off his head peece, that it might appeare what he was, a butcherlie knaue named Fulks, who by occupation was both a carpenter & a butcher, slat him in the head with a club, and so most wretchedlie killed him. A lamentable case, that so noble a young gentleman, inuend with so manie commendable qualities, as were to be wished in a man of his calling, should thus miserablie end his daies by the hands of so vile a vilan.

Diuerse other gentlemen and worshipfull soldiors came to the like end among those outrageous rebels, and amongst other, Robert Woluaston, that was appointed to keepe the doore of Christs church, was killed by the same Fulks, who took him for sir Edmund Laneuet, against whom the rebels bare great malice, for that he sought to annoie them so farre as by anie means he might, as partlie ye haue heard. But the slaughter of that noble man the lord Sheffield, so discouraged the residue of the soldiors that were come with the lord marquisse. And on the other part, the rebels were advanced thereby, in greater hope to preuaile against them, and therevpon pressed forward with such hardinesse, that they caused the lord marquisse and his people to giue place, and to forsake the citie, enerie man making the best thift he could to saue himselfe. But yet diuerse gentlemen of good account and worship remaining behind, as sir Thomas Cornewallis, and others, whom the rebels afterwards kept in strict durance, untill the daie came of their overthrow by the kings power, vnder the conduction of the earle of Warwicke.

The lord marquisse and the residue that escaped, made the best thift they could to get out of danger; and at length, he and the most part of them that were

The rebels enter the citie.

The miserabill estate of Flotman.

The lord Sheffield wofull slaine.

The albe maies death roughly handled reuered the marquisse hidden his selfe.

Alexander Nevill.

Wise to be feared to be lost at length.

The marquisse and the residue that escaped.

Dom. 1549.

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The rebels entering into the houses of such as  
were knowne to be wealthie men, spoiled and bare  
awaie all that might be found of anie value. But to  
speake of all the cruell parts which they plaied, it  
would be tedious to expresse the same, their doings  
were so wicked and outragious. There was shooting,  
holing, and wounding among them, wounding, and  
crying out of women and childzen. To be short,  
the state of the citie at that present was most mis  
erable. The maiors deputie kept himselfe close in his  
house, and might behold all this mischief and de  
struction of the citie, but durst not come abroad, nor  
go about to staie them: at length, a great multitude  
of the rebels that were come downe fro their campe,  
entering by saint Augustines gate, came straight to  
his house, and stroue to breake open the doores: but  
when they could not easilie bring their purpose to  
passe that waie forth, they began to fire the house.  
Whereupon for feare to be burned within his owne  
lodging, he set open the doores, and in came those un  
manerlic ghests, toke him, plucked his gowne be  
hind his backe, called him traitor, and threatened to  
kill him, if he would not tell them where the lord  
marquisse of Northampton had hidden himselfe.

And when he had told them that undoubtedly he  
and all his companie were gone, they were in a  
great rage, and with terrible noise and rambling  
they sought euerie corner of the house for him, and  
taking what they found, they departed. But yet ma  
nie of them afterwards partlie pacified for a peece of  
monie, and other things which they reuelled of the  
malor, and partlie reproued for the wrongfull robber  
ies by some that were in credit among them, they  
brought againe such packs and fardels as they had  
trussed vp together, and threw them into the thops of  
those houses, out of the which they had taken the same  
before: but yet there were diuers of the citizens that  
were spoiled of all that they had by those rebels, that  
entered their houses under a colour to seeke for the  
marquisse of Northampton's men. Namelie, the  
houses of those citizens that were fled, were spoiled  
and ransacked most miserable, for they reputed and  
called them traitors and enemies to their king and  
countrie, that thus had forsaken their houses and  
dwellinges in time of such necessitie: yet manie of  
the citizens bringing forth bread, here, and other vi  
tels vnto the rebels to refresh them with, somewhat  
calmed their furious rage, and so escaped their vio  
lent hands, although no small number were so slesed  
(as before ye haue heard) that they haue liued the  
worst for it all the daies of their life since that time.

But now the rebels having thus got possession of  
the citie, & chased awaie the kings people, they toke  
order to haue the gates kept hardlie with watch  
and ward of the citizens themselves, thertuning them

with most shameful death, if they omitted the same.  
These brutish persons were so farre swept into all  
kind of beastlie outrage, that when it rained, they  
would kennell by themselves in the churches, abusing  
the place appointed for the seruice and worshipping  
of the almightie God, in most prophane and wicked  
manner, and neither prayer nor yet threats of men  
or women that abused them to modestie could take  
place. The kings maiestie aduertised therefore, that  
there was no waie to tame their diuelish and traito  
rous outrage, but by force: with the aduise of his  
councell caused a power to be put in a readinesse, as  
well of his owne subiects as of strangers, namelie  
lancequenets, which were come to serue his maiestie  
against the Scots.

But now it was thought expedient to vse their  
seruice against these rebels, whose power and despe  
rate boldnesse was so farre increased, that without a  
maine armie, guided by some generall of great ex  
perience, and noble conduct, it would be hard and  
right dangerous to subdue them: wherein violence  
and force was to be used, sith they had shewed them  
selves in an extremitie of stubborneesse, like buls that  
by basting are to be tamed, or like disneched stallions  
which with bit & bridle must be managed, as one saith:

*Asper equis duris contrahitur ora lupatis.*

Whereupon that noble cheeke and valiant erle  
of Marlowe, lately before appointed to haue gone  
against the Scots and Frenchmen into Scotland,  
was called backe, and commanded to take vpon  
him the conduction of this armie against the poore  
folke rebels: for such was the opinion then concei  
ued of that honorable erle, for the high manhood,  
valiant prowesse, and great experience in all war  
like enterpises, sufficientlie tried, and knowne to  
rest in him, that either they might be vanquished and  
ouercome by him, or by none other.

Captaine Ket and his rebellious armie, having  
some aduertisement by rumors spred, of this prepa  
ration and coming of an armie against them; they  
were not slacke to make themselves strong and rea  
die to abide all the hazard that fortune of warre  
might bring. The erle of Marlowe then, after that  
his men and provisions were readie, did set for  
ward, and came vnto Cambridge, where the lord  
marquisse of Northampton and other met his lord  
ship. Here also diuerse citizens of Norwich came to  
him, and falling downe vpon their knees before him,  
besought him to be good lord vnto them; and withall  
declared their miserable state, great greafe and sor  
row, which they had conceiued for the wretched de  
struction of their countrie: beseeching him to haue  
pittie vpon them. And if in such extremitie of things  
as had happened vnto their citie, they had through  
feare or ignorance committed anie thing contrarie  
to their dutifull allegiance, that it might please his  
honor to pardon them their offenses in such behalf,  
sith if anie thing were amisse on their parts, the same  
came to passe fore against their wills, and to their ex  
treame greafe and sorrow.

The erle of Marlowe told them, that he knew  
indeed in what danger they had bene among those  
brutish ribalds; and as for anie offense which they  
had committed, he knew not: for in leauing their  
citie sith matters were growne to such extre  
mitie, they were to be borne with, but in one thing  
they had ouershot themselves: for that in the begin  
ning they had not sought to repress those tumults,  
sith if they had put themselves in defense of their  
countrie, to resist the rebels at the first, such mischiefs  
as were now growne, might easilie haue bene auoi  
ded. But neuertheless, vpon this their humble sub  
mission, he granted them all the kings mercifull par  
don, and commanding them to prouide themselves of

The erle of  
Marlowe ap  
pointed to go  
against the  
Scots and  
Frenchmen.

The erle of  
Marlowe com  
meth to  
Cambridge.

The kings  
pardon gra  
nted.



who served  
under the erle  
of warwicke.

of armour and weapon, appointed them to march forth with the armie, wearing certeine laces or ribbons about their necks for a difference, that they might be knowne from others. There were in this armie under the earle of Warwicke diuerse men of honor and great worship, as lords, knights, esquires, and gentlemen in great numbers. First the lord marquisse of Northampton, and sundrie of them that had bene with him before, desirous to be reuenged of his late repulse, the lords Willoughbie, Powes and Wale, Ambrose Dupleie, sonne to the said earle, and at this present worthilie adorned with the title (which his father then bare) of earle of Warwicke, and his brother lord Robert Dupleie now erle of Leicester; also Henrie Willoughbie esquire, sir Thomas Cresham, sir Parinaduke constable, William Deuereux sonne to the lord Ferrers of Chartleie, sir Edmund Bneuet, sir Thomas Palmer, sir Andrew Flammoche, and diuerse other knights, esquires, and gentlemen: all which plaid their parts as time and occasion was ministered vnto them to giue trall of their manhood.

The earle of Warwicke, and such as were come with him to Cambridge, marched directlie from thence towards Northwich, and came vnto Willmouham the two and twentieth of August, where and by the waie the most part of all the gentlemen of Northfolke that were at libertie, came vnto him. The next daie betimes he shewed himselfe vpon the plaine, betwixt the citie of Northwich and Cinton wood, and lodged that night at Intwood, an house belonging to sir Thomas Cresham knight, a two miles distant from Northwich. Here they rested that daie and night following, not once putting off their armour, but remaining still in a readinesse, if the enimies should haue made anie sudden inuasion against them. The earle of Warwicke in the meane time sent the afore remembred king of armes Porreie, to summon the citie, either to open the gates that he might quietlie enter; or else to loke for warre at his handes that would then assaie to win it by force, and such reward as rebels (that willfullie withstand their soueraigne) ought to receiue.

Northwich  
summoned.

what answer  
was made to  
the herald by  
the citizens of  
Northwich,  
whom he  
assigned there  
vnto.

When he understood that the herald was come to the gates, he appointed the maiors deputie Augustine Steward, and Robert Rug, two of the chiefe citizens, to go to him and to know his errand. They passing forth at a posterne, and hearing his message, made answer, that they were the miserablest men that were then living, as they themselves beleued, sith that hauing suffered such calamities as they could not but tremble at in calling to remembrance, they could not now haue libertie to declare the loiall dutie which they bare & ought to beate to the kings highnesse: so that they accompted themselves most vnfaynfull, sith their hap was to liue in that season, in which they must either seapard losse of life, or the estimation of their good name, although they trusted the kings maiestie would be gracious lord vnto them. sith they had giuen no consent vnto such wicked rebellion as was thus raised against his highnesse, but with losse of goods and perill of life so farre as in them laie, had done what they could to keepe the citizens in good order and dutifull obedience.

One thing more they would humbly desire of my lord of Warwicke, that whereas there was no small number of Kets armie in the citie without armour or weapon, and as it should seeme irksome and wearie of that which had bene already done, it might please him once againe to vouchsafe to offer them the kings pardon, and if he should thus do, they had great hope that the rebels would gladly accept it, and so the matter might be pacified without more

bloudshed. Porreie returned to the earle of Warwicke, and declared what answer he had receiued. The earle desirous of nothing more than to haue the matter thus taken up, as well for other considerations, as for feare least the gentlemen remaining prisoners with the rebels, should be unmercifullie murdered by their keepers, if they came to the bittermost triall of battell, he resolved to proue if it would thus come to passe. And hereupon was Porreie with a trumpet sent to offer them a generall pardon, who being entered the citie, met about fortie of the rebels on horsebacke, riding two and two together verie pleasant and merrie, and so passing from S. Stephens gate vnto Willmouham gate, the trumpetter sounded his trumpet, and with that, a great multitude of the rebels came thronging downe together from the hill: to whom the hoisemen speedilie riding, commanded that they should diuide themselves, and stand in order vpon either side the waie. And as Porreie and the trumpetter, with two of the chiefe citizens entred betwixt them, they were receiued with great noise and clamour, for euery of them putting off their hats or caps, cried; God saue king Edward, God saue king Edward.

Porreie and the two citizens, highlie commending them herein, requested them to keepe their place and order wherein they stood for a while: and then Porreie passing forth about two hundred and fiftie paces, came to the top of the hill, and putting on his coate armour, staied a while (for Ket was not yet come) and at length began to declare vnto them in what manner diuers times since first they had taken armes in hand, the kings maiestie by sundrie persons, as well heralds as other, had sought to reduce them from their vnlawfull and rebellious tumults, vnto their former dutie and obedience; and yet neuerthelesse, they had shewed themselves wilfull and stubborne, in refusing his mercifull pardon freely offered vnto them, and despised the messengers which his grace had sent vnto them to pronounce the same. He willed them therefore to call themselves now at length to remembrance, and to behold the state of the common-wealth, which they so often to no purpose had still in their mouths, and neuerthelesse by them miserable defaced, & brought in danger of bitter ruine and decay.

And herewith discourting at large of the horrible, wicked, and heinous murders, riots, burnings, and other crimes by them committed, he willed them to consider into what sea of mischances they had throwne themselves, and what punishment they ought to loke for as due to them for the same; sith as well the wrath of God as the kings armie was hanging ouer their heads, and readie at hand, which they were not able to resist. For his grace had resolved no longer to suffer so great and presumptuous mischance as this, to be fostered in the middle of his realme: and therefore had appointed the right honourable earle of Warwicke, a man of noble fame and approved balliance, to be his generall lieutenant of that his roiall armie, to persecute them with fire and sword; and not to leaue off, till he had utterly disperfed and scattered that wicked and abominable assemblie. And yet such was the exceeding greatnesse of the kings bountifull merrie and clemencie, that he that was by him appointed to be a reuenger of their heinous treasons committed against his maiestie, if they continued in their obstinate wilfulness, should be also the interpreter and minister of his gracious and free pardon, to so manie as would accept it. Which wille they now imbraced, the said earle had made a solemne vow, that they should neuer haue it offered to them againe; but that he would persecute them till he had purged

Porreie king  
of armes sent  
to offer the  
rebels their  
pardon.

Porreie the  
herald made  
a long as-  
cendie to the  
rebels, for the  
renewing of  
them to good  
order.

Alexandre  
Moull.

The king  
sent of a  
reschell t

The kings  
purpose in  
sending the  
earle of war-  
wicke against  
them.

Let me  
to haue  
sought  
of war

of War. Forreie the  
herald deliv-  
eth his an-  
swer to the  
earle of War-  
wicke.  
came to  
to proue  
erebpon  
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Bishops  
and with  
hanging  
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God saue

hlie com-  
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hile: and  
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het was  
lare unto  
st they had  
ie by sun-  
sought to  
rebellious  
fence; and  
clues will  
all pardon  
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which they  
uffs, and  
e brought

the horri-  
burnings,  
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he had vt-  
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i, to so ma-  
they now  
ie how, that  
in againe;  
e had pun-  
shed

shed the whole multitude according unto their lust  
deserts.

Yanie that heard him, hauing due confide-  
ration of their miserable estate, were touched with  
some remorse of conscience, fearing at length to taste  
the reuenge of such horrible crimes as they had been  
partakers of with others in committing the same.  
But the moze part finding themselves highlie offen-  
ded with his words, began to iangle (as they had  
done before unto other that had bene sent to offer  
them pardon) that he was not the kings herald, but  
some one made out by the gentlemen in such a gate  
coate, patched together of belements and church-  
stufte, being sent onelie to deceiue them, in offering  
them pardon, which would proue nought else but  
halters; and therefore it were well done, to thrust  
an arrow into him, or to hang him by. Although o-  
ther seemed dutifullie to reuerence him, and diuerse  
that had serued in Scotland and at Bullongne, re-  
membryng that they had sene him there and knew  
him, told and perswaded their fellowes, that he  
was the kings heraid inded. Wherebpon they be-  
came moze mild, and offered him no further iniurie:  
but yet they could not be perswaded that this par-  
don tended to anie other end, but to bring them to  
destruction; and that in stead of pardon, there was  
prepared for them nought else but a barrell full of  
halters.

Such lewd speech was amongst them, fauou-  
ring altogether of malicious mistrust, and most  
willfull treason. Forreie neuer thelesse departing  
from thence, accompanied with het, came to ano-  
ther place, where he made the like proclamation:  
for the multitude was such that he could not be heard  
of them all in one place. Here, before he had made  
an end of his tale, there was a vile boie (as some  
write) that turned vp his bare taile to him, with  
words as unkinde as his gesture was filthie: with  
which spitefull reproch thus shewed towards the  
kings maiesties officer at armes, one (which in com-  
panie of some other that were come ouer the water  
to view things) being greatlie offended, with an  
harquebuse shot stroke that vngracious lad through  
the bodie a little aboue the reins.

Which when some of the rebels had sene, a doz-  
zen of their horsemen came galloping out of the  
wood, crieng; We are betrayed friends, we are be-  
traied, if you loke not about you: do you not see  
how our fellowes are slaine with guns before our  
faces: What may we hope if we disarme our selues,  
that are thus vsed being armed? This herald goeth  
about nothing else, but to bring vs within danger  
of some ambush, that the gentlemen may kill and  
beate vs all downe at their pleasure. Wherebpon  
they all thanke auaie, and fled, as they had bene  
out of their wits: yet did their great capitaine Ro-  
bert het accompanie Forreie, meaning (as hath  
bene said) to haue gone to the earle of Warwicke  
himselfe, to haue talked with him: but as he was al-  
most at the foot of the hill, there came running after  
him a great multitude of the rebels, crieng to him,  
and asking him whether he went; We are readie (said  
they) to take such part as you do, be it neuer so bad:  
and if he would go anie further, they would (as they  
said) suerlie follow him.

Forreie then perceiving such numbers of peo-  
ple following them, desired het to staie them: who  
returning backe to them, they were incontinentlie  
appeased, and so they all returned with him backe  
to their campe. When the earle of Warwicke vn-  
derstood that they were thus altogether set on mis-  
chiefe, and neither with praier, proffer of pardon,  
threatening of punishment, nor other meanes they  
could be reduced to quietnesse, he determined to

proceed against them by force. And wherebpon bring-  
ing his armie unto saint Stephens gate, which the  
rebels stopped vp, with the letting downe of the post-  
culice, he commanded those that had charge of the ar-  
tillerie, to plant the same against the gate, and with  
batterie to breake it open.

As these things were in hand, he understood by  
Augustine Steward the maiors deputie, that there  
was an other gate on the contrarie side of the citie,  
called the Wasen gate, which the rebels had rammed  
up, but yet not so, but that it might be easilie broken  
open. Wherewith were the pioniers called, and com-  
manded to breake open that gate also: which being  
done, the soldiers entered by the same into the citie,  
and due diuerse of those rebels that stood readie to  
defend and resist their entrie. In the meane time had  
the gunners also broken in sunder with their shot  
the postculice, and nere hand the one halfe of the o-  
ther gate, by the which the marques of Northamp-  
ton, and capitaine Durrie, alias Poignard, (that being  
sent from London met my lord of Warwicke by the  
waie) entered with their bands, and droue backe the  
rebels with slaughter, that were readie there to re-  
sist them.

Whereouer, the maiors deputie caused the  
waie gate to be set open: at the which the earle  
of Warwicke himselfe entring with all his armie,  
and finding in manner no resistance, came to the  
market place. Here were taken a threescore of the re-  
bels, the which according to the order of martiall lawes  
were incontinentlie executed, according to the qua-  
litie of their offense, confessing (no doubt) in consci-  
ence, that their punishment was proportioned to  
their trespasses, and that in dieng the death (were the  
same neuer so extreme & dreadfull) they had but their  
desert; and therefore might well saie with the poet:

*Supplicia scelerum paenas expendimus omnes.*  
Shortly after, the carriages belonging to the ar-  
mie were brought into the citie by the same gate,  
and passing through the citie, by negligence & want  
of order giuen to them that attended on the same ca-  
riage, they kept on forward till they were got out at  
Bishops gate towards Household. Whereof the re-  
bels being aduised, they came downe, & setting upon  
the carters, and other that attended on the carriages,  
put them to flight, and droue auaie the carts laden  
with artillerie, powder, and other munition, bring-  
ing the same into their campe, & greatlie reioysing  
thereof, because they had no great store of such things  
among them: but yet capitaine Durrie with his  
band comming in good time to the rescue, recovered  
some of the carts from the enimies, not without  
some slaughter on either side. Whereouer, the eni-  
mies as yet being not fullie driuen out of the citie,  
placed themselves in crosse streets, & were readie to  
assaile the soldiers as they saw their aduantage, part  
of them standing at S. Michaels, part at S. Ste-  
phans, and part at S. Peters, and some of them also  
stood in Timmers street.

Where they assailing such as bradsheddie were en-  
tered within their danger, they due diuerse, and a-  
mong other thre or foure gentlemen, before they  
could be succoured from anie part. The earle of War-  
wicke aduertised hereof, passed forth with all his for-  
ces to remoue the enimie, and comming to S. An-  
drew in Johns street, was receiued with a sharpe  
shorme of arrowes: but capitaine Durrie his harque-  
busers galled them so with their shot, that they were  
glad to giue place, and so fled auaie. There were  
slaine a hundred and thirtie, and diuerse of them  
shynking aside into churchyards and other places  
vnder the walles, were taken and executed. All the  
rest got them vp to their campe at Household, and  
so the citie was rid of them for that time. Then dis-  
posed

the re-  
bels were al-  
together dis-  
comfited

the herald  
was at  
the gate

the rebels  
were

the rebels  
were

the rebels  
were

The Wasen  
gate.

Virgill.

Carters laden  
with munition  
on taken by  
the rebels

Gentlemen  
slaine.

Order taken  
for the safe  
keeping of  
the citie.

the earle of Warwicke take order for the safe keeping of the citie, appointing watch and ward to be kept on the walles, and in euerie street. Also that all the gates should be rammed vp, except one or two that stood towards the enemies, at the which were planted certaine peeces of the great artillerie.

Alexander  
Newill.

But the rebels vnderstanding that the earle of Warwicke wanted powder and other things appertaining to the vse of the great ordinance, and withall perceiuing that the Welshmen which were appointed to the gard of the said great peeces of artillerie were no great number, and therefore not able to resist anie great force that should come against them, they came downe the hill vpon the sudden as it were wholie together in most outrageous maner. And withall one Pyles that was a verie perfect gunner, and maruellous skillfull in the feat of shooting of great artillerie, and at that time remaining among the rebels, shot off a peece; and due one of the kings principall gunners, that was attending vpon those peeces of artillerie, which stood thus before the gate. Whom when the rebels perceiued thus to be slaine, they made forward with more courage, and gaue such a desperate onset vpon them that garded the said artillerie, that their small number, being not able to withstand their aduersaries great and huge multitude pressing in such furious rage vpon them, that they were constrained to flee backe, and to leaue the artillerie for a preie vnto the enemies, who seizing vpon the same, conueied them awaie with certaine carts laden with all manner of munition for wars vp to their campe: a matter (as was thought) of no small importance, sith the enemies thereby were furnished now with such things, whereof before they stood most in need, and now hauing store thereof, they spared not liberallie to bestow it against the citie, beating downe not onlie the highest top of Bishops gate, but also a great part of the wals on that side.

The rebels  
take certaine  
peeces of ar-  
tillerie from  
the earle of  
Warwicke.

Captaine  
Dzuric.

And here trulie the good seruice of captaine Dzuric is not to be forgotten, who now as earlie being readie to reuenge this iniurie, following vpon the enemies, put them to flight, and recouered much of that which they had taken from the earls souldiers. The earle of Warwicke after this cut off the entries at the gates, and rampired them vp, placed at the bridges and turnings of the waies and streets diuers bands of souldiers to keepe the passages, brake downe the White friers bridge, and at Bishops gate he appointed the lord Willoughbie with a great number of souldiers to defend that part, & in this sort he made provision to defend the citie from the rebels, if they should attempt to make anie surpise vpon the sudden.

The next daie yet they passing ouer the riuer, set fire on certaine houses at Connessforth, burning the more part of all the houses of two parishes: and so great was the rage of the fire, that catching hold vpon an house wherein the merchants of Norwich vse to laie vp such wares and merchandize as they conueie to their citie from Permouth, the same house with great store of wheat and other riches was miserably consumed and defaced. Thus whilest euerie thing seemed to chance and fall out in fauour of the rebels, there were some in the earle of Warwicks armie, that despairing of the whole successe of their iourneie, came to the earle of Warwicke, and began to perswade with him, that sith the citie was large, and their companies small (for indeed the whole appointed numbers as yet were not come, neither of strangers nor Englishmen) it was impossible to defend it against such an huge multitude as were assembled together in Kets campe, and therefore besought him to regard his owne safetie, to leaue the citie, and not to hazard all vpon such an vncertaine

Conncell gi-  
uen to the earle  
of Warwicke  
to abandon  
the citie.

maine chance.

The earle of Warwicke as he was of a noble and invincible courage, baliant, hardie, and not able to abide anie spot of reproch, whereby to lose the least peece of honour that might be, made this answer: Whie (saith he) and do your harts faile you so sone? Are you so mad withall, to thinke that so long as anie life resteth in me, that I will consent to such dishonour? Should I leaue the citie, heaping vp to my selfe and likewise to you such shame and reppose as woorthilie might be reputed an infamie to vs for ever? I will rather suffer whatsoeuer either fire or sword can worke against me. These words being vttered with such a courage as was maruellous to consider, he drew out his sword. Which other of the honorable and woorthipfull that were then present likewise did, whome he commanded that each one should kisse others sword, according to an ancient custome used amongst men of war in time of great danger: and herewith they made a solemne vow, binding it with a solemne oth, that they should not depart from thence, till they had either vanquished the enemies, or lost their liues in manfull fight for defence of the kings honour.

Whilest these things were in doing, the rebels brake into the citie on that side, where was no suspicion of their entring at all; but being come almost to the bridges, they were incountered by the souldiers, beaten backe, and chased out by the same waie they came. The next daie being the six and twentieth of August, there came to the earle 1400 lancequenets. The rebels notwithstanding that such reinforcement of the earles power might haue somewhat discouraged them, yet trusting altogether to certaine baine prophesies, which they had among them, and set out in verses by such wilfards as were there with them in the campe, they had conceiued such a baine hope of prosperous successe in their businesse, that they little esteemed anie power that might come against them.

Among other of those same verses, these were two: The countrie gnuifes, Hob, Dick, and Hick, with clubs and clowted shoon, Shall fill vp Dufsin dale with blood of slaughtered bodies soone.

Vpon hope therefore of this and other baine prophesies, the rebels through the diuels procurement, that had nourished and pricked them forward all this while in their wicked proceedings, determined to remoue thither, to the end that they might with more speed make an end of the matter, before they should be dztuen to disperse themselves by famine. For the earle of Warwicke had taken order to haue the passages stopped, in such wise as no vittels could easilie be conueied to their campe, the want whereof began already to pinch them. Here vpon setting fire on their cabins, which they had raised and built here and there of timber and bushes (the smoke whereof covered all the grounds about them) they came downe with their ensignes into the dallee called Duffin dale, where with all speed that might be they intrenched themselves about, and raising a rampire of a good height, set stakes also round about them, to keepe off the horsemen.

The earle of Warwicke perceiuing their doings, the next daie being the seuen and twentieth of August with all his horsemen, and the Almans with certaine Dzuries band, issued forth of the citie, marching straight towards the enemies. Yet before he approached in sight of them, he sent sir Edmund Keneut & sir Thomas Palmer knights, with others, to vnderstand of them, whether now at length they would submit themselves, & receiue the kings pardon; which if they would do, he offered to grant it frelie to all the whole multitude, one or two of them onlie excepted:

The earle  
of Warwicke

Lancequenets come to  
the earle of  
Warwicke.

The rebels  
trust in baine  
prophesies.

The number  
of the rebels  
same.

The rebels  
remoue.

The earle  
of Warwicke  
with his  
armie  
approacheth  
the enemies  
barrill.

Pardon  
of the rebels  
offered.

n. Dom. 1549

An. Reg. 3.

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The rebels  
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The rebels  
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The earle of  
Warwicke go-  
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red.

red: but they with generall voices refusing it, the earle fell in hand to encourage his people vnto the battell, and hauing appointed as well the horsemen as footmen in what order they should giue the charge, they passed forward in approaching the enimies. The rebels beholding them thus to come forward, put themselves in order of battell, in such manner, that all the gentlemen which had bene taken prisoners, and were kept in irons for starting awaie, were placed in the fore ranke of their battell, coupled two and two together, to the end they might be killed by their owne friends that came to seeke their deliuerance: but yet as God would haue it, the most part of them were saued. Spies the master gunner among the rebels, lending a peece of ordinance, shot it off, and stroke him that caried the kings standard in the thigh, and the horse through the shoulder.

The earle of Warwicke and others for grieved therewith, caused a whole bolie of artillerie to be shot off at the rebels: and herewith capteine Durie with his owne band, & the Almans & lanceknights, whether ye list to call them, on foot, getting nere to the enimies, hailed them with their barquebut shot so sharplie, and thrust forward vpon them with their pikes so stronglie, that they brake them in sunder. The gentlemen, who (as we haue said) were placed in the fore ranke, found meanes (as god hath was) to shrinke aside, and escaped the danger for the more part, although some indeed were slaine by the Almans, and other that knew not what they were. The light horsemen of the kings part herewith gaue in amongst them so roundlie, that the rebels not able to abide their valiant charge, were easilie put to flight, and with the foremost their grand capteine Robert Ket galloped awaie so fast as his horse would beare him. The horsemen following in chase, slue them downe on heapes, euer still as they ouertake them; so that the chase continuing for the space of thre or foure miles, there were slaine to the number of thre thousand five hundred at the least: besides a great multitude that were wounded as they fled here and there ech waie forth, as seemed best to serue their turne for their most speedie escape out of danger. Yet one part of them that had not bene assailed at the first onset, seeing such slaughter made of their fellows, kept their ground by their ordinance, and shanke not: determining as men desperatlie bent, not to die vnreuenged, but to fight it out to the last man.

They were so inclosed with their carts, carriages, trenches (which they had cast) and stakes pitched in the ground to keepe off the force of horsemen, that it would haue bene somewhat dangerous to haue assailed them within their strength. But sure they were that now they could not escape, seeing no small part of their whole numbers were cut off and distressed, and they inuironed on ech side, without hope of succour or relae of bittels, which in the end must needs haue forced them to come forth of their inclosure to their vndoubted ouerthrow and destruction. The earle of Warwicke yet pittens their case, and loth that the king should lose so manie stout mens bodies as were there amongst them, which might do his maiestie and their countrie good seruice, if they could be reclaimed from this their desperat follie vnto due obedience, sent Porreie vnto them, offering them pardon of life if they would throw downe their weapons and yeld: if not, he threatened that there should not a man of them escape the deserved punishment. Their answer was, that if they might be assured to haue their liues saued, they could be contented to yeld: but they could haue no trust that promise should be kept with them. For notwithstanding all such faire offers of pardon, they took it that

there was nothing meant but a subtil practise, to bring them into the hands of their aduersaries the gentlemen, that had prepared a barrail of ropes and halters, with which they purposed to trusse them by: and therefore they would rather die like men, than to be strangled at the wils and pleasures of their moztall enimies.

The earle of Warwicke right soie to see such desperat minds among them, sent to the citie, and caused the most part of the footmen which he had left there to defend the same, to come forth now in battell arrate, that they might helpe to distresse those wilfull rebels that thus obstinatelie refused the kings pardon. And hauing brought as well them as the Almans and the horsemen in order of battell againe, and readie now to set vpon the rebels, he exsences sent vnto them to know that if he should come himselfe and giue his word, that they should haue their pardon, whether they would receiue it or not. Herevnto they answered, that they had such confidence in his word, that if he would so do, they would giue credit thereto, and submit themselves to the kings mercie. Incontinentlie herevpon he went vnto them, and commanded Porreie to read the kings pardon freely granted to all that would yeld. Which being read, euerie man threw downe his weapon, and with one whole and enter voice cried, God saue king Edward, God saue king Edward. And thus thorough the prudent policie, and fauourable mercie of the earle of Warwicke, a great number of those offenders were preserued from the gates of death, into the which they were readie to enter.

Thus were the Porretolke rebels subdued by the high prowesse, wisdome, and policie of the valiant earle of Warwicke, and other the nobles, gentlemen, & faithfull subiects there in the kings armie: but not without losse of diuers personages of great worth, beside other of the meaner sort, nameilie master Henrie Willoughbie esquier, a man so well beloued in his countrie for his liberalitie in housekeeping, great courtesie, byright dealing, assured steadfastnes in friendship, & modest staednes in behauiour, that the countries where his livings laie lament the losse of so worthie a gentleman euen to this daie. There died also master Lucie esquier, master Forster esquier, and master Throckmorton of Northamptonshire, gentlemen of no small credit and worth in their countries. The battell being thus ended, all the spoile gotten in the field was giuen to the soldiers, who sold the most part thereof openlie in the market place of Porwich. The next daie the earle of Warwicke was aduertised that Ket, being crept into a barne, was taken by two seruants of one master Riches of Swanington, and brought to the house of the same Riches. Herevpon were twentie horsemen sent thither to fetch him, who brought him to Porwich. The same daie examinations were taken of them that were the principall beginners and setters forth of this unhappie rebellion, and diuerse being found gillie were hanged, and nine of the chiefe procurers of all the mischief (Robert Ket and his brother William onelie excepted) were hanged vpon the oke of reformation, spies the number & two of their prophets being thre of that number.

Some others of them were bestone, hanged, and quartered, & their heads and quarters set vp in publicke places for a terro: to others. But yet the earle of Warwicke spared manie, where some would gladlie haue perswaded him, that there might haue bene a great number more executed. But his lordship perceiving them importunate in that uncharitable sute, told them (as it were in fauour of life of those illie wretches, whose miserable case he seemed to pittie) that measure must be vsed in all things, & in punish-

Pardon once  
againe offer-  
red.

They yeld to  
the earle of  
Warwicke.

Gentlemen  
slaine in this  
rebellion.

Ket taken.

Execution.

The earle of  
Warwicke shew-  
eth mercie.

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ing of men by death (saith he) we ought alwaies to beware that we passe not the same. I know well that such wicked doings deserue no small reuenge, and that the offenders are worthy to be most sharplie chastised. But how farre yet shall we go: Shall we not at length thew some mercie? Is there no place for pardon? What shall we then do? Shall we hold the plough our selues; plaine the carters and labour the ground with our owne hands. These and such like words tastig altogether of mercie and compassion in that noble earle, did quench the cruell desire of reuenge in them that were altogether kindled in wrath and wished nothing more than to see the whole multitude executed: but now moued with the earles wise and mercifull answer to their rigorous sute, they became more mild and mercifull towards the miserable creatures.

This also is not to be forgotten, that when information was giuen against some of the rebels, for that they had bene busie fellows, & great doers in time of those vpproes, so as it was thought of some, that it stood with god reason to haue them punished by death, when the earle of Warwike vnderstood by credible report of Pooreie king at armes, that vpon the offer of the kings pardon, they were the first that theyr downe their weapons, and submitted themselves to the kings mercie, the earle would not in a meane while consent that they should die, but protested frankelie that he would keepe promise with them, and that he would be as good to them as his word: and so they had their liues saued. The same daie was order giuen by the earle that the bodies of them that were slaine in the field should be buried. On the morrow being the nine and twentieth of August, the earle of Warwike, with the nobles and gentlemen of the armie, and others in great numbers, both men and women, went to saint Peters church, and there gaue praises and thanks to God for the victorie obtained. And this done, he with all the armie departed out of the citie, and returned homewards with high commendation of citizens & others, that acknowledged the said earle to be the defender of their liues, and recoverer of their wiues, children, houses, and livings.

It was afterwards ordeined, that vpon the same daie in the which the rebels were thus subdued, the citizens yearelie should repaire to their churches, and there to heare sermice, and to haue a sermon abroad, to the which they should come together, to giue thanks to God for their deliuerance as that daie, and this is obserued till these our times. Robert Ket and his brother William Ket were brought vp to London, where they were committed to the tower, and shortly after arraigned of their treason and found guiltie, were brought to the tower againe, where they continued till the nine and twentieth of Nouember, on which daie they were deliuered to sir Edmund Windham high shiriffe of Norfolk and Suffolke, to be conueied downe into Norfolk, where Robert Ket was hanged in chains vpon the top of Norwich castell: and William Ket his brother on the top of Windmondham Steple, in which towne they had both dwelled, and conspired with others to go forward with their wicked rebellion.

This William Ket (as was thought) had bene sure of his pardon, if he had not plained the traitorous hypocrite: for vpon his submission at the first to my lord marquisse of Northampton, at his comming downe to suppress this rebellion, he was sent to his brother to persuaade him and the rest to yeld, and receiue the kings pardon: but he (like a dissembling wretch, although he promised to my lord to doe what he could in that behalfe) vpon his comming to his brother into the rebels campe, beholding the great multitude that were there about him, he did not one,

lie not dissuade him and them from their traitorous rebellion, but encouraged them to persist and continue in their doings, declaring what a small number of souldiers the marquisse brought with him, nothing able to resist such a puissance as was there assembled. So that if it had not bene through the wicked persuation of him, and some others at that time, not onelie Robert Ket himselfe, but also all the multitude beside, would haue submitted themselves, and received the kings pardon, to the preservation of manie a good mans life that after died in the quarrell.

But now to retorne somewhat backe to the doings in Scotland. In the meane while that such huris were in hand here in England, ye shall vnderstand that in the beginning of this summer, the king by aduise of his counsell sent forth a nauie by sea towards Scotland, the which arrting in the Forth, and comming before Leith, saluted the towne with cannon shot, & remaining there ten or twelue daies, took in the meane time the Ile of Jusketh, leaving therein foure ensignes of Englishmen, and one of Italians, with certeine pioners to fortifie the place. But the Frenchmen (as in the Scottish historie ye shall find more at large) after the departure of the English nauie, recovered that Ile againe out of the Englishmens possession (after they had kept it sixe daies) with the slaughter of capteine Cotton their generall, capteine Applebie, & one Jasper that was capteine of the Italians, beside others. After the recovering of this Ile, monsieur de Desse returned into France, leauing his charge to monsieur de Thermes latelie before there arrived: who after the departure of the said Desse, with a campe volant did what he could to stop the Englishmen within Vadington from vittels. But notwithstanding the earle of Rutland being lieutenant of the north, did not onelie vittell it, but put the French armie in danger of an ouerthrow, as it was thought must needs haue followed, if they had not with more speed than is vsed in a common march kept alwaie, after they perceiued the English armie so neare at their elbowed.

Moreover, beside these inordinate vpproes and insurrections aboue mentioned, about the latter end of the said moneth of Iulie, in the same yeare, which was 1549, an other like sturre or commotion began at Semer in the north:iding of Yorkshire, and continued in the easpring of the same, and there ended. The principall doers and raiuers by whereof, was one William Dmbler of Castlederton peoman, and Thomas Dale parish cleark of Semer, with one Stæuenfon of Semer, neighbour to Dale and nephew to Dmbler, which Stæuenfon was a meane or messenger betwene the said Dmbler and Dale, being before not acquainted together, and dwelling seuen miles one from the other: who at last by the trauell of the said Stæuenfon, and their owne euill dispositions, inclined to vngratiousnesse and mischiefe, knowing before one the others mind by secret conference, were brought to talke together on saint James daie, Anno 1549.

The causes mouing them to raise this rebellion, were these. First & principally their traitorous hartis grudging at the kings most goodlie proceedings, in aduancing and reforming the true honour of God and his religion. An other cause also was, for trusting to a blind and fantasticall prophesie, wherewith they were seduced, thinking the same prophesie should shortly come to passe, by hearing the rebellions of Norfolk, of Denonshire, and other places. The reason of which prophesie and purpose together of the traitors was, that there should no king reigne in England, the noblemen and gentlemen to be destroyed, and the realme to be ruled by foure gouernours,

The slaine  
carcases buried.

The two  
Kets executed.

William Ket a  
dissembling  
traitor.

Justices  
taken.

Monsieur de  
Desse returned  
into France.

The earle of  
Rutland.

M. Fox.  
An other  
bellion or  
mult began  
in Yorkshire.

The chaile  
barrers of the  
rebellion.

The causes  
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Yorkshiremen  
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A blind  
prophesie among  
the traitors.

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compassionate  
their purpose.

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nours, to be elected and appointed by the commons, holding a parlement in commotion, to begin at the south and north seas of England, supposing that this rebellion in the north, and the other of the Denow- shire men in the west, meeting (as they intended) at one place, to be the meane how to compass this their traitorous diuinely deuise. And therfore laicng their studies together, how to find out more companie to ioine with them in that detestable purpose, and to set forward the sturre, this deuise they framed: to sturre in two places, the one distant seven miles from the other, and at the first rush to kill and deströie such gentlemen and men of substance about them, as were fauourers of the kings proceedings, or which would resist them.

But first of all for the more speedie raising of men, they deuised to burne beacons, & thereby to bying the people together, as though it were to defend the sea- coasts: and hauing the ignorant people assembled, then to put out their poison, such as they thought were picked with powertie, and were unwillig to laboz, and therfore the more readie to follow the spoile of rich mens goods, blowing into their hears that Gods seruice was laid aside, and new inuentions neither god nor godlie put in place, and so feeding them with faire promises, to reduce into the church againe their old ignorance and idolatrie, thought by that means someth to allure them to rage and run with them in this commotion. And furthermore, to the intent they would giue the more terroz to the gentlemen at the first rising, least they should be resisted, they deuised that some should be murdered in churches, some in their houses, some in seruing the king in commissi- on, and other as they might be caught, and to picke quarrels at them by alteration of seruice on the holie daies: and thus was the platföyme cast of their de- uise, according as afterwarde by their confession at their examinations was testified, and remaineth in true reco: d.

Thus they being together agreed, Dmbler and Dale, with others, by their secret appointment, to la- bourd the matter in the parish of Seimer, Win- tringham, and the townes about, that they were in- fected with the poison of this confederacie, in such sort that it was easie to vnderstand wherunto they would incline, if a commotion were begun, the accomplish- ment wherof did shortly follow. For although by the words of one drunken fellow of that conspiracie named Caluero, at the alehouse in Wintringham, some suspicion of that rebellion began to be melted before by the lord president and gentlemen of those parties, and so prevented in that place where the re- bels thought to begin: yet they gaue not ouer so, but drew to another place at Seimer by the seacoast, and there by night rode to the beacon at Straxton, and set it on fire, and so gathering together a rude rout of rascals out of the townes neare about, being on a sturre, Dmbler, Thomas Dale, Barton, and Robert Dale, hasted forthwith with the rebels to maister Whites house to take him: who notwithstanding be- ing on horsebacke, minding to haue escaped their hands, Dale, Dmbler, and the rest of the rebels took him, and Clopton his wiues brother, one Sauage a merchant of York, and one Werrie seruant to sir Walter Mildmaie. Which foure without cause or quarrell, sauing to fulfill their rebellious prophesie in some part, and to giue a terroz to other gentlemen, they cruelly murdered, after they had caried them one mile from Seimer towards the Wold, and there after they had stripped them of their clothes & purples, left them naked behind them in the plaine fields for crows to feed on: untill Whites wiue and Sauages wiue, then at Seimer, caused them to be

buried.

Long it were and tedious to recite what remell these rebels kept in their raging madnesse, who ran- ging about the countrie from towne to towne, to im- large their vngenerous and rebellious band, taking those with force which were not willing to go, & lea- uing in no towne where they came aint man above the age of sixteen peares, so increased this number, that in short time they had gathered three thousand to fauour their wicked attempts, and had like to haue gathered more, had not the Lords godnesse through prudent circumspection of some interrupted the course of their furious beginning. For first came the kings gracions and free pardon, discharging & par- doning all them and the rest of the rebels, of all trea- sons, murders, felonies, & other offences done to his maiestie before the one & twentieth of August, 1549. Which pardon although Dmbler contemptuouly reading, persisted still in his wilfull obstinacie, dis- suaded also the rest from the humble accepting of the kings so louing & liberall pardon: yet notwithstanding with some it did good, who of likelihood submitted themselves, assuredly belicuing if they persevered in their enterprisse, there was no way with them but one, namelie deserued death, wherewith there was no dispensing after the contempt of the princes par- don and refusal of his mercie: so that in this hea- uie case they might verie well complaine and saie:

*Funditus occidimus, nec habet fortuna regressum.*

To make short, it was not long after this, but Dmbler as he was riding from towne to towne, twelue miles from Hummanbie, to charge all the constables and inhabitants where he came, in the kings name to resort to Hummanbie: by the waie he was espied, and by the circumspect diligence of John Wozd the younger, James Allabete, Rafe Twinge, and Thomas Constable gentlemen, he was had in chafe, and at last by them apprehended, and brought in the night in sure custodie vnto the ci- tie of York, to answer vnto his demerits. After whome within short time, Thomas Dale, Henrie Barton, the first chieftains and ringleaders of the former commotion, with John Dale, Robert Wright, William Becocke, Weatherell, and Edmund Buttrie, busie stirrers in this sedition, as they trauelled from place to place, to draw people to their faction, were likewise apprehended, commi- ted to ward, lawfullie conuicted, and lastlie execu- ted at York the one and twentieth of September, in the yere of our Lord 1549. *Ex actis iudicii publici a regi- stro exceptis & notatis.*

Whilist these wicked commotions and tumults through the rage of the vndiscreet commons were thus raised in sundrie parts of the realme, to the great hinderance of the common-wealth, losse and danger of euerie god and true subiect, sundrie whol- some and godlie exhortations were published, to ad- uertise them of their dutie, and to laie before them their heinous offenses, with the sequele of the mis- chiefs that necessarilie followed thereof, the which if they should consider together, with the punishment that hanged ouer their heads, they might easilie be brought to repent their lewd begun enterprisses, and submit themselves to the kings mercie. Among o- ther of those admonitions, one was penned and set forth by sir John Cheke, which I haue thought good here to insert, as a necessarie discourse for euerie god English subiect. Wherem, to a trader of fudge- ment and capacitie, such learning and wisdom, with a true lofall subiects heart bewaileth it selfe to haue bene settled in that gentleman: as the verie reading of this treatise is able to turne a rebellious mind to mekenesse: if reason be not altogether led awoie captiue by lust.

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4 The

The rebels  
increase their  
number & re-  
bellious band.

The kings  
pardon offered,  
received,  
refused.

Virgil.

Dmbler cap-  
tured of the re-  
bels taken.

The names of  
the rebels ta-  
ken and exe-  
cuted at  
York.

The deale of  
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was payed.

The deale of  
rebels that  
thought be-  
hind.

M. Fox.  
An other re-  
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mult begun  
in Yorkshyre.

The chiefe  
with rerrers of this  
rebellion.

The causes  
moving the  
Yorkshyre  
to rebellion.

A blind pro-  
phesie among  
the northerne  
gouner  
men.

¶ The hurt of fedition how greuous  
it is to a common-wealth, set out by sir Iohn  
Cheeke knight, in the year 1549.

The true subiect to the rebell.



Along so manie and notable benefits,  
wherewith God hath already and plen-  
tifully indued vs, there is nothing more  
beneficiall, than that we haue by his  
grace kept vs quiet from rebellion at this time. For  
we see such miseries hang ouer the whole state of the  
common-wealth, through the great misorder of your  
sedition, that it maketh vs much to reioice, that we  
haue bene neither partners of your doings, nor con-  
spirers of your counsels. For euen as the Lacede-  
monians for the auoiding of drunkennesse did cause  
their sons to behold their seruants when they were  
drunke, that by beholding their beastlinesse, they  
might auoid the like vice: euen so hath God like a  
mercifull father staied vs from your wickednesse,  
that by beholding the filth of your fault, we might  
flee for offense abhorre you like rebels, whome  
else by nature we loue like Englishmen. And so for  
our selues, we haue great cause to thanke God, by  
whose religion and holie word daile taught vs, we  
learne not onely to feare him truely, but also to o-  
beie our king faithfullie, and to serue in our owne  
uocation like subiects honestlie. And as for you, we  
haue surelie iust cause to lament you as brethren,  
and yet iust cause to rise against you as enemies,  
and most iust cause to ouerthrow you as rebels.

For what hurt could be done either to vs priuat-  
lie, or to the whole common-wealth generallie, that  
is now with mischief so brought in by you, that euen  
as we see now the flame of your rage, so shall we  
necessarilie be consumed hereafter with the miserie  
of the same. Wherefore consider your selues with  
some light of vnderstanding, and marke this grie-  
uous and horrible fault, which ye haue thus vilelie  
committed, how heinous it must needs appeare to  
you, if ye will reasonable consider that which for my  
duties sake, and my whole countries cause, I will  
at this present declare vnto you. Ye which be bound  
by Gods word not to obeie for feare like men-plea-  
sers, but for conscience sake like christians, haue con-  
trarie to Gods holie will, whose offense is enerla-  
sting death, and contrarie to the godlie order of qui-  
etnesse, set out to vs in the kings maiesties lawes,  
the breach whereof is not vnknowne to you, taken  
in hand vncalled of God, vsent by men, vnfit by  
reason, to cast awaie your bounden duties of obe-  
dience, and to put on you against the magistrats,  
Gods office committed to the magistrats, for the re-  
formation of your pretended injuries. In the which  
doing ye haue first faulted grieuousslie against God,  
next offended vnnaturallie our soueraigne lord,  
thirdlie troubled miserablie the whole common-  
wealth, vndone cruellie manie an honest man, and  
brought in an vtter miserie both to vs the kings sub-  
iects, and to your selues being false rebels. And yet  
ye pretend that partlie for Gods cause, and partlie  
for the common-wealths sake, ye do arise, when  
as your selues cannot denie; but ye that seeke in  
word Gods cause, do breake in deed Gods comman-  
dements; and ye that seeke the common-wealth,  
haue destroyed the common-wealth: and so ye marre  
that ye would make, & breake that ye would amend,  
because ye neither seeke anie thing rightlie, nor  
would amend anie thing orderlie.

Ye that faulteth, faulteth against Gods ordi-  
nance, who hath forbidden all faults, and therefore  
ought againe to be punished by Gods ordinance, who  
is the reformer of faults. For he saith, I caue the pu-

nishment to me, and I will reuenge them. But the  
magistrate is the ordinance of God, appointed by  
him with the sword of punishment to looke straight-  
lie to all euill doers. And therefore that that is done  
by the magistrate, is done by the ordinance of God,  
whome the scripture oftentimes doth call God, be-  
cause he hath the execution of Gods office. How  
then do you take in hand to reforme? Be ye kings:  
By what authoritie? By what occasion? Be ye the  
kings officers: By what commission? Be ye called  
of God: By what tokens declare ye that? Gods  
word teacheth vs, that no man should take in hand  
anie office, but he that is called of God like Aaron.  
What Moses I praise you called you? What Gods  
minister had you rise?

Ye rise for religion. What religion taught you  
that? If ye were offered persecution for religion, ye  
ought to flie: so Christ teacheth you, and yet you in-  
tend to fight. If ye would stand in the truth, ye ought  
to suffer like martyrs, and you would stee like ty-  
rants. Thus for religion you keepe no religion, and  
neither will follow the counsell of Christ, nor the con-  
stancie of martyrs. Why rise ye for religion? Haue  
ye anie thing contrarie to Gods booke? Poa, haue  
ye not all things agreeable to Gods word? But the  
new is different from the old, and therefore ye will  
haue the old. If ye measure the old by truth, ye haue  
the oldest; if ye measure the old by fanse, then it is  
hard: because mens fanfies change, to giue that is  
old. Ye will haue the old still. Will ye haue anie ol-  
der than that as Christ left, & his apostles taught, &  
the first church after Christ did vse? Ye will haue that  
the canons do establish. Why that is a great deale  
younger than that ye haue, of later time, and newlie  
invented. Yet that is it that ye desire. Why then ye  
desire not the oldest. And do you preferre the bi-  
shops of Rome afore Christ, mens inventions afore  
Gods law, the newe sort of worship before the ol-  
der? Ye seeke no religion, ye be deceiued, ye seeke  
traditions. They that teach you, blind you, that so  
instruct you, deceiue you. If ye seeke what the old  
doctors saie, yet loke what Christ the oldest of all  
saith. For he saith, Before Abraham was made I  
am. If ye seeke the truest way, he is the verie truth;  
if ye seeke the readiest waie, he is the verie waie; if  
ye seeke euerlasting life, he is the verie life. What  
religion would ye haue other now, than his religion?

You would haue the bibles in againe. It is no  
maruell, your blind guides would leade you blind  
still. Why, be ye howlets and backs, that ye can-  
not looke on the light? Christ saith to euerie one,  
Search ye the scriptures, for they beare witnesse of  
Christ. You saie, Pull in the scriptures, for we will  
haue no knowledge of Christ. The apostles of Christ  
will vs to be so readie, that we maie be able to giue  
euerie man an account of our faith. We will vs not  
once to read the scriptures, for feare of knowing of  
our faith. Saint Paul praieeth that euerie man may  
increase in knowledge: ye desire that our know-  
ledge might decaie againe. A true religion ye seeke  
belike, and worthe to be sought for. For without  
the sword indeed nothing can helpe it, neither Christ,  
nor truth, nor age can mainteine it. But why should  
ye not like that which Gods word establisheth, the  
primitive church hath authorised, the greatest lear-  
ned men of this realme haue drawn, the whole con-  
sent of the parlement hath confirmed, the kings  
maiestie hath set forth? Is it not truely set out? Can  
ye deuise anie truer than Christes apostles vse? Ye  
thinke it is not learnedlie done. Were ye commons  
take vpon you more learning, than the chosen bi-  
shops and clearks of this realme haue? Think ye  
folle in it? Ye were wont to iudge your parlement  
wisest, & now will ye suddenlie excell them in wis-  
dome?

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done: & can ye thinke it lacketh authoritie, which the king, the parlement, the learned, the wise haue iustlie approued? Learne, learne, to knowe this one point of religion, that God will be worshipped as he hath prescribed, and not as we haue deuised; and that his will is whole in his scriptures, which be full of Gods spirit, and profitable to teach the truth, to reprove lies, to amend faults, to bring one by in righteousnesse, that he that is a Gods man may be perfect & ready to all good woorkes. What can be more required to serue God withall? And thus much for religion, rebells.

The other rable of Norfolk rebelles, ye pretend a common-wealth. How amend ye it? By killing of gentlemen, by spoiling of gentlemen, by imprisonment of gentlemen? A marvellous fained common-wealth. Whie should ye thus hate them? For their riches or for their rule? Rule they neuer took so much in hand as ye do now. They neuer resisted the king, neuer withstood his counsell, be faithful at this daie when ye be faithlesse, not onelie, to the king, whose subiects ye be, but also to your lordes whose tenants ye be. Is this your true duecie, in some of homage, in most of fealtie, in all of allegiance; to leave your duties, go backe from your promises, fall from your faith, and contrarie to law and trust to make unlawfull assemblies, vngodlie companies, wicked and detestable camps, to disobeie your betters, and to obeie your fanners, to change your obedience from a king to a ket, to submit your selues to traitors, and breake your faith to your true king and lordes? They rule but by law, if otherwise, the law, the counsell, the king taketh alwaie their rule. Ye haue orderlie sought no redresse, but ye haue in time found it. In countries some must rule, some must obeie, euerie man maie not beare like stroke: for euerie man is not like wise. And they that haue sense most, and be best able to beare it, and of iust dealing beside, be most fit to rule. It is an other matter to vnderstand a mans owne greife, and to knowe the common-wealths fore; and therefore not they that knowe their owne case, as euerie man doth, but they that vnderstand the common-wealths state, ought to haue in countries the preferment of ruling. If ye felt the paine that is ioined with gouernance, as ye see and like the honor, ye would not hurt others to rule them, but rather take great paine to be ruled of them. If ye had rule of the kings maiestie committed vnto you, it were well done ye had ruled the gentlemen: but now ye haue it not, and cannot beare their rule, it is to thinke the kings maiestie forlish and vniust, that hath giuen certeine rule to them. And seeing by the scripture, ye ought not to speake euill of anie magistrate of the people, why do ye not onelie speake euill of them whose the kings maiestie hath put in office, but also iudge euill of the king himselfe, and thus seditiouslie in field stand with your swordes drawn against him?

If riches offend you, because ye wish the like, then thinke that to be no common-wealth, but enuie to the common-wealth. Enuie it is to appaie an other mans estate, without the amendment of your owne. And to haue no gentlemen, because ye be none your selues, is to bring downe an estate, and to mend none. Would ye haue all alike rich? That is the ouerthrow of labour, and utter decay of woorkes in this realme. For who will labour more, if when he hath gotten more, the idle shall by lust without right take what him lust from him, vnder pretense of equalitie with him. This is the bringing in of idleness, which destroiethe the common-wealth; and not the amendment of labour, that mainteineth the common-wealth. If there should be such equalitie, then ye take alwaie all hope from yours to come to

anie better estate than you now leaue their. And as manie incane mens children do come honestlie by, and are great succour to all their stocke: so shoulde none be hereafter holpen by you, but because ye seke equalitie, whereby all can not be rich. Ye would that (belike) whereby euerie man shoulde be poore; and thinke beside that riches and inheritance be Gods prouidence, and giuen to whom of his wisdom he thinketh good: to the honest for the increase of their godlinesse, to the wicked for the heaping by of their damnation, to the simple for a recompense of other lackes, to the wise for the greater setting out of Gods godnesse. Whie will your wisdom now stop Gods wisdom, and prouide by your lawes, that God shall not enrich them, whom he hath by prouidence appointed as him liketh? God hath made the poore, & hath made them to be poore that he might shew his might, and let them aloft when he liketh for such cause as to him seemeth, & plucke downe the rich to this state of pouertie by his power, as he disposeth to order them. Whie do not we then bring poore beare it wiselie, rather than by lust seke riches vnwiselie, and shew our selues content with Gods ordinance, which we must either willingly obeie, and then we be wise, or else we must vnprofitable strue withall, and then we be mad?

But what meane ye by this equalitie in the common-wealth? If one be wiser than an other, will ye banish him, because ye intend an equalitie of all things? If one be stronger than another, will ye slay him, because ye seke an equalitie of all things? If one be well fauourder than an other, will ye punish him, because ye loke for an equalitie of all things? If one haue better utterance than another, will ye pull out his tonge to saue your equalitie? And if one be richer than an other, will ye spoile him to mainteine an equalitie? If one be elder than an other, will ye kill him for this equalities sake? How iniurious are ye to God himselfe, who intendeth to bestow his gifts as he himselfe liketh: and ye seke by wicked insurrections to make him giue them commonlie alike to all men as your vaine fantasie liketh? Whie would ye haue an equalitie in riches & in other gifts of God? There is no meane sought. Either by ambition ye seke lordlinesse much vnfit for you; or by couetousnesse ye be vnfitable, a thing likelie inough in ye; or else by folie ye be not content with your estate, a fantasie to be plucked out of you.

But if we being wearie of pouertie would seke to enrich our selues, we should go a farre other waie to worke than this, and so shoulde we rightlie come to our desire. Doth not S. Peter teach vs afore God a right waie to honour, to riches, to all necessarie and profitable things for vs? He saith, Humble your selues that God might exalt you, and cast all your care on him, for he careth for you. He teacheth the waie to all good things at Gods hand, is to be humble, and you exalt your selues. Ye seke things after such a sort, as if the seruant shoulde anger his master, when he sekerh to haue a good turne of him. Ye would haue riches (I thinke) at Gods hand who giueth all riches, and yet ye take the waie cleane contrarie to riches. Knowe ye not that he that exalteth himselfe, God will throw him downe? How can ye get it then by thus setting out your selues? Ye shuld submit ye by humilitie one to another, and ye set by your selues by arrogancie above the magistrates. See herein how much ye offend God. Remember ye not that if ye come nigh to God, he will come nigh vnto you? If then ye go from God, he will go from you. Doth not the psalme saie, He is holie with the holie, and with the wicked man he is forward? Euen as he is ordered of men, he will order them

Riches and inheritance from whom, to whom, and to what end giuen.

The becom- scionable wa- thing of equa- litye betw- hurtfull.

The precept of S. Peter teaching the right waie to riches and hono-.

them againe. If ye would follow his will, and obeye his commandments, ye should eat the fruits of the earth, saith the prophet; if not, the sword shall devour you. He might have eaten the fruits of this seasonable year, if ye had not by disobedience rebelled against God. Now not onely ye can not eat that which your selues did first sowe by labour, and now destroy by sedition; but also if the kings maiesties sword came not against you, as iust policie requireth, yet the iust vengeance of God would light among you, as his word promiseth, and your cruell wickednesse deserueth.

The act of rebellion aggravated, & pronounced most wicked and horrible.

For whatsoeuer the causes be that haue moued your wilful affectiōs herin, as they be vniuersall causes, & increase your faults much, the thing it selfe, the rising I meane, must needs be wicked and horrible before God, and the usurping of authoritie, and taking in hand of rule, which is the sitting in Gods seat of iustice, and a proud climbing vp into Gods high throne, must needs be not onely cursed noislie by him, but also hath bene often punished afore of him. And that which is done to Gods officer, God accounteth it done to him. For they despise not the minister, as he saith himselfe, but they despise him: and that presumption of chalenging Gods seat, doth shew you to haue bin Lucifers, and sheweth vs that God will punish you like Lucifers. Wherefore rightlie looke, as ye duly haue deserued, either for great vengeance for your abhominable transgression, or else earnestlie repent, with vnfeined minds, your wicked doings; and either with example of death be content to dehort other, or else by faithfullnesse of obedience declare how great a seruice it is to God, to obeye your magistrats faithfullie, and to serue in subiectiōn trulie.

An exhortation to rebels.

Disobedience to the prince is a most abominable sinne, and that we are bound by dutie to obey.

Well, if ye had not thus grievously offended God, whome ye ought to worship, what can ye reasonably thinke it, to be no fault against the king, when ye ought to reuerence? Ye be bound by Gods word to obeye your king, and is it no breach of dutie to withstand your king? If the seruant be bound to obeye his maister in the familie, is not the subiect bound to serue the king in his realme? The child is bound to the priuat father, and be we not all bound to the common-wealths father? If we ought to be subiect to the king for Gods cause, ought we not then I praye you to be faithfullie subiect to the king? If we ought dutifullie to shew all obedience to heathen kings, shall we not willingly and trulie be subiect to christian kings? If one ought to submit himselfe by humilitie to another, ought we not all by dutie to be subiect to our king? If the members of our naturall bodie all follow the head, shall not the members of the politick bodie all obeye the king? If goddly manners be content to giue place the lower to the higher, shall not religion teach vs alwaies to giue place to the highest? If true subiects will die gladlie in the kings seruice, should not all subiects thinke it dutie to obeye the king with iust seruice. But you haue not onely disobeyed like ill subiects, but also taken stoutlie rule vpon you like wicked magistrats.

A notable and rhetorical clause, and to the purpose.

Ye haue bene called to obedience by counsell of priuat men, by the aduise of the kings maiesties counsell, by the kings maiesties free pardon. But what counsell taketh place, where surdinesse is law and churlish answers be counted wisdom? Who can perswade where treason is aboue reason, and might ruleth right, and it is had for lawfull whatsoeuer is lustfull, and commotioners are better than commissioners, and common law is named common-wealth? Haue ye not broken his lawes, disobeyed his counsell, rebelled against him? And what is the common-wealth worth, when the law which is indifferent for all men, shall be wilfullie and spitefullie

broken of head-strong men, that seeke against lawes to order lawes; that those may take place, not what content of wise men hath appointed, but what the lust of rebels hath determined? What vniuersallnesse is in ill seruants, wickednes in vnnaturall children, surdinesse in vnrulie subiects, crueltie in fierce enemies, wilddnes in beastlie minds, pride in disdainfull hearts; that sheweth now in you, which haue fled from house to house, to incamped robberies, and are better contented to suffer famine, cold, trauell, to glut your lusts, than to liue in quietnesse to saue the common-wealth, and thinke more libertie in wilfulness, than wisdom in dutifullnesse, and so run headlong not to the mischief of other, but to the destruction of your selues, and vnder by folle that ye intend by mischief, neither seeing how to remedie that ye iudge faultie, nor willing to saue your selues from miserie: which stiffnessse cannot do, but honestie of obedience must frame.

If authoritie would serue vnder a king, the council haue greatest authoritie; if wisdom and grantie might take place, they be of most experience; if knowledge of the common-wealth could helpe, they must by daile conference of matters vnderstand it best: yet neither the authoritie that the kings maiestie hath giuen them, nor the grantie which you know to be in them, nor the knowledge which with great trauell they haue gotten, can moue you either to keepe you in the dutie ye ought to do, or to avoid the great disorder wherein ye be. For where disobedience is thought stoutnesse, and fullnesse is counted manhood, and stomaching is courage, and prating is iudged wisdom, and the clauiest is most meet to rule; how can other iust authoritie be obeyed, or sad counsell be followed, or goddly knowledge of matters be heard, or commandments of counsellors be considered? And how is the king obeyed, whose wildest be withstanding, the disobedientest obeyed, the high in authoritie not weied, the vnskillfullest made chiefe captains, to the noblest most hurt intended, the braggistest braller to be most safe? And euen as the viler parts of the bodie would contend in knowledge & gouernement with the fine wits: so do the lower parts of the common-wealth enterpryse as high a matter, to striue against their dutie of obedience to the council.

But what talke I of disobedience so quietlie? Haue not such mad rages run in your heads, that forsaaking and burrowing the quietnesse of the common peace, ye haue heinoussie and traitorouslie incamped your selues in field, and there like a bile in a bodie, naie like a sinke in a towne, haue gathered together all the nasty vagabonds and idle loiterers to beate armour against him, whome all godlie and good subiects will liue and die withall. If it be a fault when two fight together, and the kings peace broken, and punishment to be sought therefore; can it be but an outrageous and a detestable mischief, when so many rebels in number, malicious in mind, mischievous in enterpryse, fight not among themselves, but against all the kings true and obedient subiects; and seeke to proue whether rebellion may beat downe honestie, and wickednesse may overcome truth or no? If it be treason to speake heinoussie of the kings maiestie, who is not hurt thereby, and the infamie returneth to the speaker againe; what kind of outrageous & horrible treason is it, to assemble in campe an armie against him, and so not onely intend an overthrow to him, and also to his common-wealth; but also to cast him into an infamie, through all outward and strange nations, and perswade them that he is hated of his people, whome he can not rule; and that they be no better than vilans, which will not with goddly orders be ruled.

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The rebels fullie fraught with most villainous qualities.

The kings council of greatest authority, and wisdome; yet are they wisest.

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That death can be deuised cruell enough for those  
rebels, who with trouble seeke death, and can not  
quench the thirst of their rebellion, but with the blood  
of true subiects; and hate the kings mercifull par-  
don, when they miserable haue transgressed, and in  
such an outrage of mischief will not by stubborne-  
acknowledge themselves to haue faulted, but intend  
to bzoile the common-wealth with the flame of  
their treason, and as much as lieth in them not one,  
to annoie themselves, but to destroe all others: He  
that is discontented with things that happen, and  
because he cannot beare the miserie of them, renteth  
his beare, and teareth his skin, & mangleth his face,  
which easeth not his sorow, but increaseth his mis-  
erie; maie he not be iustlie called mad and fantasti-  
call, and wozthie whose wisdom should be suspec-  
ted? And what shall we saie of them, who being in  
the common-wealth, feeling a soe greuous vnto  
them, and easie to haue bene amended, sought not  
the remedie, but haue increased the greife, and like  
frantike beasts raging against their head, doe teare  
and deface as much as lieth in them his whole autho-  
ritie in gouernement, and violentlie take to them-  
selves that rule vpon them, which he by policie hath  
granted vnto other?

And who weieing well the beauntie of the fault,  
maie not iustlie saie and hold them to be worse here-  
in than any kind of brute beasts? For we see that the  
sheepe will obieie the shepheard, and the neat be ru-  
led by the neatheard, and the hourse will know his  
keeper, and the dog will be in awe of his maister, and  
euerie one of them feed there, and of that, as his kee-  
per and ruler doth appoint him, & goeth from thence,  
and that, as he is forbidden by his ruler. And yet we  
haue not heard of, that anie heard of companie of  
these haue risen against their heardman or gouer-  
nour, but be alwaies contented not onelie to obieie  
them, but also to suffer them to take profit of them.  
And we see furthermore, that all heards, & all fozts,  
be more egre in fiercenesse against all kind of stran-  
gers, than they be against their owne rulers, & will  
easier offend him who hath not hurt them, than  
touch their ruler who seeketh profit on them.

But ye that ought to be gouerned by your ma-  
gistrates, as the heards by the heardman, and ought  
to be like sheepe to your king, who ought to be like a  
shepheard vnto you, euen in the time when your  
profit was sought, and better redresse was intended,  
than your vplires and vniquietnesse could obtaine,  
haue beyond the crueltie of all beasts foliue risen a-  
gainst your ruler, and sheued your selues wozthie to  
be ordered like beasts, who in kind of obedience will  
fall from the state of men. A dog stropeth when he is  
beaten of his maister, not for lacke of stomach, but  
for naturall obedience: you being not striken of  
your head but fauoured, not kept downe but succou-  
red and remedied by law, haue violentlie against  
law not onclie barked like beasts, but also bitten  
like helhounds. What? Is the mischief of sedition  
either not knowne vnto you, or not feared? Haue  
not examples aforesometimes told the end of rebels,  
and the wickednesse of rebellion it selfe? But as for  
old cramples, let them passe for a while, as things  
well to be considered. But at this present one thing  
more to be weied.

Loke vpon your selues, after ye haue wickedlie  
stept into this horrible kind of treason, doe ye not see  
how manie bottomlesse whirlpools of mischief ye  
be gulst withall, and what losse some kinds of rebel-  
lion ye be faine to waide through? Ye haue sent out  
in the kings name, against the kings will, precepts  
of all kinds, & without commandement comman-  
ded his subiects, and vniustlie haue ruled where ye  
list to command, thinking your owne fancies the

kings commandements, and rebels lusts in things  
to be right gouernement of things, not looking what  
should follow by reason, but what your selues follow  
by affection. And is it not a dangerous and a cruell  
kind of treason, to giue out precepts to the kings  
people? There can be no iust execution of lawes, re-  
formation of faults, giuing out of commandements,  
but from the king. For in the king onelie is the right  
herof, & the authoritie of him deriued by his appoint-  
ment to his ministers. Ye haue no authoritie of  
the king, but taking it of your selues, what thinke ye  
your selues to be? Ministers ye be none, except ye be  
the diuels ministers, for he is the author of sedition.

The kings maiestie intendeth to mainteine  
peace, and to oppresse warre; ye stirre by vppozes of  
people, hurliburles of vagabonds, routs of robbers,  
Is this anie part of the kings ministerie? If a vaga-  
bond would doe what he list, and call himselfe your  
seruant, and execute such offices of trust, whether ye  
would or no, as ye haue committed vnto another  
mans credit, what would euerie one of you saie or  
doe herein? Would ye suffer it? Ye wander out of  
houses, ye make euerie daie new matters as it  
pleaseth you, ye take in hand the execution of those  
things, God by his word forbidding the same; which  
God hath put the magistrates in trust withall. What  
can ye saie to this? Is it sufferable thinke ye? If ye  
told a pious message in another mans name, can it  
be but a falselie I praie you? And to tell a feined  
message to the common-wealth, and that from the  
king, can it be honest thinke ye? To command is  
more than to speake: what is it then to command so  
traitorous a lie? This then which is in word a deceit-  
full lie, and in deed a traitorous fact, noisome to the  
common-wealth, vnhonourable to the king, mischie-  
fous in you, how can ye otherwise iudge of it, but to  
be an vheard of and notable disobedience to the  
king: and therefore by notable example to be puni-  
shed, and not with gentlenesse of pardon to be for-  
giuen? Ye haue robbed euerie honest house, and spo-  
led them vniustlie, and pitioullie wronged poore men  
being no offenders, to their bitter vndoiing; and yet  
ye thinke ye haue not broken the kings lawes. The  
kings maiesties law and his commandement is,  
that euerie man should safelie keepe his owne, and  
use it reasonable to an honest gaine of his liuing:  
ye violentlie take and carie awaie from men with-  
out cause, all things whereby they should mainteine,  
not onelie themselves, but also their familie, & leaue  
them so naked, that they shall feele the smart of your  
curst enterprisse, longer than your owne vnnatu-  
rall & vngodlie stomachs would well vouchsafe. By  
iustice ye should neither hurt nor wrong man, and  
your pretended cause of this monstrous stur is to  
increase mens wealth. And yet how manie, and saie  
truth, haue ye decayed and vndone, by spoiling and  
taking awaie their goods? How should honest men  
liue quietlie in the common-wealth at anie time, if  
their goods, either gotten by their owne laboz, or left  
to them by their friends, shall vnlawfullie and vno-  
derlie, to the feeding of a sort of rebels, be spoiled and  
wasted, and vtterlie scattered abroad? The thing that  
ye take is not your right, it is an other mans owne.  
The maner of taking against his will is vnlawfull,  
& against the order of euerie godd common-wealth.  
The cause why ye take it is mischievous and horrible,  
to fat your sedition. Ye that take it be wicked trait-  
ors, and common enemies of all good order.

If he that desireth an other mans goods or cat-  
tell, doe fault: what doth he (thinke you) whose desire  
taking followeth, and is led to and fro by lust, as his  
wicked fantasie void of reason doth guide him? He  
that vseth not his owne well and charitablie, hath  
much to answer for: and shall they be thought not  
vniust,

The rebels  
outragious  
and intolera-  
ble demeanour  
descried.

Their disobe-  
dience nota-  
rious.

The rebels  
offend against  
the law of ius-  
tice & equitie.

The former  
matter behe-  
mentlie bagged.



The rebels  
are still char-  
ged with their  
rapines, and  
violentie  
inferred  
wopings.

Libertie defi-  
ned about all  
things.

\* Fit epithets  
and terms for  
head and tail  
of this rebel-  
lion.

The offense  
of excluding  
the kings sub-  
jects from the  
benefit of li-  
bertie aggra-  
uated.

unjust, who not onelie take a waite other mens, but also misfe and waite the same vngodlie? They that take things p'stullie a waite, and steale secretly and couertlie other mens goods, be by law iudged woth this death: and shall they that without shame spoile things openlie, and be not affeard by impudencie to p'fesse their spoile, be thought either honest creatures to God, or faithfull subjects to their king, or naturall men to their countrie? If nothing had moued you but the example of mischefe, and the soule p'actise of other moued by the same, ye should yet haue abstained from so licentious and vilanous a shew of robbery, considering how manie honeste there be, that being loth their wickednesse should be blazed abroad, yet be found out by p'ouidence, and hanged for desert. What shall we then thinke of late of you? Shall we call you pickers, or bid theues; nate more than theues, date theues, heard stealers, thire spoli-ers, and vtter destructioners of all kinds of families, both among the poore and also among the rich. Let vs yet further see. Be there no mo things wherein ye haue broken the kings laws, and so vilelie disobeyed him, flat contrarie to your bounden dutie and alle- giance?

Ye haue not onelie spoiled the kings true subjects of their goods, but also ye haue imprisoned their bodies, which should be at libertie vnder the king, and restrained them of their seruice, which by dutie they owe the king, and appaired both strength and health, wherewith they liue and serue the king. Is there a nie honest thing more desired than libertie? Ye haue shamefullie spoiled them thereof. Is there anie thing more dutifull than to serue their lord and master? But as that was desired of the one part, so was it hindered and stopped on your part. For nei- ther can the king be serued, nor families kept, nor the common-wealth looked vnto, where freedom of libertie is stopped, and diligence of seruice is hindered; and the helpe of strength and health abated. Spens bodies ought to be free from all mens bondage and crueltie, and onelie in this realme be sub- iect in publike punishment to our publike gouer- nour, and neither be touched of headlesse capteins, nor holden of brainlesse rebels. For the gouerne- ment of so pretious a thing ought to belong vnto the most noble ruler, and not iustlie to be in euerie mans pouer, which is iustlie euerie lining mans treasure. For what goods be so deare to euerie man, as his owne bodie is, which is the true vessell of the mind, to be measureable kept of euerie man for all exercises & seruices of the mind? If ye may not of your owne authoritie meddle with mens goods, much lesse you may of your owne authoritie take order with mens bodies.

For what be goods in comparison of health, liber- tie, and strength, which be all settled and fastened in the bodie? They that strike other, do greatlie offend, and be iustlie punishable; and shall they that cruel- lie and wrongfullie torment mens bodies with irons and imprisonments, be thought not of others but of the miselues honest, and plaine, and true dealing men? What shall we say by them, who in a p'ua- uat businesse will let a man to go his tournele in the kings high waite? Do they not thinke ye plaine wrong? Then in a common cause not onelie to hin- der them, but also to deale crueltie with them, and shut them from doing their seruice to the king, and their dutie to the common-wealth, is it not both dis- obedience, crueltie, and mischefe thinke ye? What an hinderance is it, to haue a good garment hurt, anie setwell appaired, or anie esteemed thing to be de- caied? And seeing no earthlie thing a man hath is more pretious than his body, to cause it to be cruellely tormented with irons, feeble with cold, weakened

with ordering: can it be thought anie other thing but wrong to the sufferer, crueltie in the doer, & great disobedience and transgression to the king? How then be ye able to defend it? But seeing ye so vnpri- tiffullie bere men, cast the m in prison, lade the m with irons, pine them with famine, contrarie to the rule of nature, contrarie to the kings maiesties lawes, contrarie to Gods holie ordinances, hauing no mat- ter but pretended and fained gloses, ye be not onelie disobedient to the king like rebels, but withstanding the law of nature like beasts, and so wothie to die like dogs, except the kings maiestie, without respect of your deserting, do mercifullie grant you of his godnesse that which you cannot escape by in- dice.

Yet ye being not content with this, as small things enterprize great matters, and as though ye could not satisfie your selues, if ye should leaue anie mischefe vndone, haue sought blood with crueltie, and haue laine of the kings true subjects manie, thinking their murder to be your defense, when as ye haue increased the fault of your vile rebellion, with the horroz of bloodshed, and so haue burdened mischefe with mischefe, whilste it come to an im- portable weight of mischefe. What could we do more, in the horriblest kind of faults, vnto the great- est transgressioners and offendors of God and men, than to looke strittlie on them by death, and so to rid them out of the common-wealth by seuerer pu- nishment, whome ye thought vntowthie to liue a- mong men for their doings? And those who haue not offended the king, but defended his realme, and by obedience of seruice sought to punish the disobedient, and for safegard of euerie man put themselves vnder dutie of law, those haue ye miserable and cru- ellie laine, and bathed you in their blood, whose do- ings ye should haue followed, & not to haue appaired the common-wealth, both by destruction of god- men, and also by increase of rebels. And how can that common-wealth by anie meanes indure, wher- in euerie man without authoritie, may unpun- shed slea whome he list, and that in such case as those who be laine shew themselves most noble of cou- rage, and most readie to serue the king and the com- mon-wealth, and those as do slea be most vilanous and traitorous rebels that anie common-wealth did euer susteine?

For a citie and a prouince be not the faire how- ses, and the strong walles, nor the defense of anie engine, but the lining bodies of men, being able in number and strength to mainteine themselves by god order of iustice, & to serue for all necessarie & behouable vses in the common-wealth. And when as mans bodie being a part of the whole common- wealth, is wrongfullie touched anie way, and specul- allie by death, then suffereth the common-wealth great iniurie, and that alwaies so much the more, how honeste and nobler he is, who is iniuriously murdered. How was the lord Sheffeld handled a- mong you, a noble gentleman, and of good seruice, both fit for counsell in peace, and for conduct in war, considering either the granitie of his wisdom, or the authoritie of his person, or his seruice to the com- mon-wealth, or the hope that all men had in him, or the need that England had of such, or among manie notable god, his singular excellencie, or the fauor that all men bare toward him, being loued of euerie man, and hated of no man?

Considered ye who should by dutie be the kings subjects, either how ye should not haue offended the k. or after offense haue required the kings pardon, or not to haue refused his godnesse offered, or at length, to haue pelved to his mercie, or not to haue laine those who came for his seruice, or to haue spared those

A pithie con-  
clusion intro-  
red by anie  
premisses, in  
volume of sta-  
tence & lawe  
time.

1549. Sh  
was wot  
and in the  
action p  
1549.

The host  
mans  
and man  
was in  
and to  
the distol  
herof b  
with.

The rebels  
charged with  
the murder  
and blouding  
of the kings  
liege people.

A licentious  
common-  
wealth cannot  
indure.

wherby  
breach  
was c  
was si  
and in  
an

wherewith  
soberest con-  
sisteth a citie,  
prouince, or  
politike bodie.

The re-  
bation  
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And Sh  
kings shoulde  
reer laud to the  
rebels charge

As by  
statute  
the re-  
bation  
and p



Excellent no-  
ble and true.

might hereafter follow the like, or the deed be so ab-  
horred, that others hereafter would avoid the like  
shame, & learne to be noble by Excellent, whose trusty  
doth not onlie deserue great praises, but also great  
reward.

A collection of  
beardroll of  
certeine out-  
rages done  
by the rebels.

Who then that would willinglie defend ye, can say  
anie thing for ye, which haue so diuerslie faulted, so  
traitorously offended, not onlie against priuat men  
seuerallie, but also generallie against whole colonies,  
and that after such a sort, as outward enemies full of  
deadlie feud could not more cruellie invade them? And  
thus the kings maiestie dishonored, his counsell  
dishonored, the gods of the poze spoiled, the houses of  
the wealthie sacked, honest mens bodies imprisoned,  
woorthie mens personages slaine, cities besieged and  
threatened, and all kind of things disordered, can ye  
without teares and repentance heare spoken of,  
which without honestie and godlinesse ye practised,  
and not find in your hearts now to returne to dutie,  
which by witchcraft of sedition were drownded in dis-  
order? Have ye not in disorder first greivouslie of-  
fended God, next traitorously risen against your  
king, and so neither woorthie euerlasting life, as long  
as ye so remaine, nor yet ciuill life being in such a  
breach of common quietnesse? If euerie one of these  
cannot by themselves plucke you backe from this  
your lewd and outrageous enterprises, yet let them  
altogether stir ye; or at least be a fearful example to  
others, to beware by your vnmearurable follie, how  
they do so far prouoke God, or offend man: and find  
by your missempir to be themselves better ordered,  
and learne still to obeie, because they would not re-  
pent, and so to liue with honestie, that they would  
neither willinglie offend Gods law, nor disobey  
mans.

Exhortations  
to obedience  
and dutie.

But and ye were so much bleared, that you did  
thinke impossible things, and your reason gaue ye  
against all reason, that ye neither displeased God  
herein, nor offended the king, yet be ye so blind, that  
ye vnderstand not your owne case, nor your neigh-  
bors miserie, nor the ruine of the whole common-  
wealth, which doth evidentlie followe your so foule  
and detestable sedition? Do ye not see how for the  
maintenance of these vngodlie rablements, not on-  
lie cities and villages, but also shires and countries  
be utterly destroyed? Is not their corne wasted,  
their cattell fethed awaie, their houses rised, their  
goods spoiled, and all to feed your byriling without  
reason, and to mainteine this tumult of rebellion  
invented of the diuell, continued by you, and to be o-  
uerthrowen by the power of Gods mightie hand? And  
whie should not so hurtfull wasting and harrid-  
ing of countries be iustlie punished with great seue-  
ritie, seeing robbing of houses, and taking of purses,  
do by law deserue the extremitie of death? How  
manie suffer iniurie when one hundred of a shire is  
spoiled? And what iniurie thinke ye is done; when  
not onlie whole shires be destroyed, but also euerie  
quarter of the realme touched? Have ye not brought  
vpon vs all pouertie, weaknesse, and hatred with in  
the realme, & discouragement, shame, and damage with-  
out the realme? If ye miserable intended not on-  
lie to bndow other, but also to destroye your selues, and  
to ouerthrowe the whole realme, could ye haue taken  
a readier waie to your owne ruine than this is?

The harts &  
mischiefs  
that befall ci-  
ties, &c. by  
maintaining  
rebells.

Rebellion is  
woorthie to  
be punished,

A further  
briefe of the in-  
conuenien-  
ces byed by  
rebellion.

The losse of  
haruest.  
Warms be  
poze mens  
storehouses.

And first if ye be anie thing reasonable, list by  
your reason, and weigh by wisdom, if not all things,  
yet your owne cases, and learne in the beginning of  
matters to foresee the end, and iudge aduisedlie yer  
ye enter into anie thing basillie. See ye not this  
yeare the losse of haruest? And thinke ye can growe  
to wealth that yere when ye lose your thrist and pro-  
fit? Warmes be poze mens storehouses, wherein lieth  
a great part of euerie mans owne liuing, his wines

and childrens liuing, wherewith men mainteine their  
families, paie their rents: and therefore be alwaies  
thought most rich when they haue best crops. And  
now when there is neither plentie of haie, nor suffici-  
ent of straw, nor corne enough, and that through the  
great disorder of your lewd rebellion, can ye thinke  
ye do well, when ye bndow your selues, and iudge  
it a common-welth when the commons is destroyed,  
and seeke your hap by unhappinesse, and esteeme your  
owne losse to be your owne forwardnes, and by this  
iudgement shew your selues, how little ye vnder-  
stand other mens matters, when ye can scarcelie con-  
sider the weightiest of your owne? Hath not the haie  
this yeare, as it rose from the ground, so rooted to the  
ground againe: and where it was twont by mens  
seasonable laboz to be taken in due time, and then  
serue for the maintenance of horse and cattell wher-  
with we liue, now by your disordered mischiefe hath  
bene by mens idlenesse and vndutifulnesse let alone  
vntouched, and so neither serueth the poze to make  
monie of, nor anie cattell to liue with. The corne  
was sowne with labour, and the ground tilled for it  
with labour, and looked to be brought home againe  
with labour: and for lacke of honest labozers it is lost  
on the ground; the owners being loiterers, and see-  
king other mens, haue lost their owne, and hoping  
for mounteins, lacked their present thrist, neither ob-  
teining that they sought, nor seeking that they  
ought.

And how shall men liue when the maintenance  
of their prouision is lacking? For labouring and  
their old store is wasted by wilfulness of sedition, and  
so neither spare the old nor saue the new. How can  
men be fed then or beasts liue, when as such wastfull  
negligence is miserablie vbled? And mispending the  
time of their profit, in shamefull disorder of inobedi-  
ence, they care not greatlie what becommeth of their  
owne, because they intend to liue by other mens:  
Haie is gone, corne is wasted, straw is spoiled, what  
reckoning of haruest can ye make, either for the aid  
of others, or for the releafe of your selues? And thus  
haue ye brought in one kind of miserie, which if ye  
saw before, as ye be like to see after, although  
ye had hated the common-welth, yet for loue of your  
selues ye would haue avoided the great enemie  
thereof, into the which ye willfullie now haue cast  
your selues.

An other no lesse is, that such plentie of vittels  
as was abundantlie in euerie quarter for the releafe  
of vs all, is now wastfullie and vnyustfullie spent,  
in mainteining you vnlatfull rebels, and so with  
disorder all is consumed, which with god husbandrie  
might long haue indured. For, so much as would  
haue serued a whole yeare at home with dili-  
gence and skilfull heed of husbandrie, that is willfullie  
wasted in a moneth in the campe, through the raueni-  
ng spoile of vllanie. For what is vnordered plentie,  
but a wastfull spoile, wherof the inconuenience is  
so great, as ye be woorthie to seele, and bringeth in  
more hardnes of liuing, greater dearth of all things,  
& occasioneth manie causes of diseases? The price of  
things must needs increase much, when the number  
of things wareth lesse, and by scarcitie be inhabited, &  
compelleth men to abate their liberalitie in house,  
both to their owne, and also to strangers. And where  
the rich wanteth, what can the poze find, who in a  
common scarcitie liueth most scarcelie, and seareth  
quickliest the sharpnesse of staruing, when enerie  
man for lacke is hungerbitten. Which if ye had well  
remembred before, as ye now maie after perceiue,  
ye would not I thinke so stiffe-neckedlie haue resi-  
sted and indangered your selues in the sosome of fa-  
mine, wherof ye most likeliest must haue the greatest  
part, which most subboynlie resisted, to your owne  
shame

The losse of  
one yeare  
haruest bene  
hurtfull.

The losse of  
one yeare  
haruest bene  
hurtfull.

The losse of  
one yeare  
haruest bene  
hurtfull.

The losse of  
one yeare  
haruest bene  
hurtfull.

The losse of  
one yeare  
haruest bene  
hurtfull.

The losse of  
one yeare  
haruest bene  
hurtfull.

After a great  
search com-  
meth a great  
death, a reason  
why.

The losse of  
one yeare  
haruest bene  
hurtfull.

A great decaye  
of people.

Rebells can  
not preuaile  
against the  
princes  
power.

A necessarie  
consequence  
that rebells  
are seuerely  
to be punished,  
and that such  
punishment is  
god and ne-  
cessarie.

Against too-  
ch pite for-  
bearing and  
requiring a  
small offen-  
ce.

Shame and confusion.

Experience teacheth vs, that after a great dearth cometh a great death; for that when men in great want of meat eat much ill meat, they fill their bodies with ill humors, and cast them from their state of health, into a subiection of sicknesse: because the good blood in the bodie is not able to keepe his temper, for the multitude of the ill humors that corrupteth the same. And so grow great & deable plagues, and destroye great numbers of all sorts, sparing no kind that they light on, neither respecting the poore with mercie, nor the rich with fauour. Can ye therefore thinke herein, when ye see decarie of vittels, the rich pinch, the poore famish, the following of diseases, the greatnesse of death, the mourning of widowes, the pittifullnesse of the fatherlesse, and all this miserie to come thorough your vnnatural mistheauour, that ye haue not dangerouse hurt the commons of your countrie with a dolefull and vncurable wounde: These things being once felt in the common-wealth, as they must needs be, euery man seeth by and by what followeth: euen a great diminishment of the strength of the realme, when the due number that the realme doth mainteine is made lesse, and thereby we be made rather a preie for our enemies, than a safetie for our selues.

And how can there be but a great decarie of people at the length, when some be ouerthrowne in warre, some suffer for punishment, some pine for famine, some die with the campes diet, some be consumed with sicknesse: For although ye thinke your selues able to match with a few vnprepared gentlemen, and put them from their houses, that ye might gaine the spoile: do ye iudge the refoze your selues strong inough, not onelie to withstand a kings power, but also to ouerthrow it? Is it possible that ye should haue so mad a frensie in your head, that ye should thinke the number ye see so strong, that all ye see not should not be able to preuaile to the contrarie: What reason could ye thinke, that if ye bode the hot byunt of battell, but ye must needs feele the smart, speciallie the kings power comming against you: which if ye feare not, belike ye know not the force thereof? And so much the greater number is lost in the realme, that both the ouercommer and the ouercommen be parties, although vnlike, of one realme: and what losse is not onelie of either side, but of both, that doth plainlie rebound to the whole.

Then where so great and so horrible a fault is committed, as woefe can not be mentioned of from the beginning, and bringeth in withall such penurie, such weaknes, such disorder in the common-wealth, as no mischiefe besides could do the like: can aie man thinke with iust reason, that all shall escape unpunished that shall escape the sword, and not manie for ferour and examples sake should be looked vnto, who haue bene either great doers in such a disordered bilantie, or great counsellors to such an outrageous mischiefe: seeing the onelie remedie of redressing wilfull faults is a iust and seuer punishment of such, whose naughtie deeds god men ought to abhorre for duties sake, and ill men maie dread for like punishments sake, and a free licence to do mischiefe unpunished is so dangerous, that the sufferance of one is the occasion of the fall of a great number, and vmanish pitie to one is a deceitfull crueltie to the whole, inticing them to their owne destruction by sufferance, which would haue auoided the danger by fore punishment.

And in such a barrennesse of vittels, as must needs come after so rauening a spoile, it must needs be, that some (though few) shall be so nipt with egermesse of famine, that they shall not recover againe themselves out of so fretting a danger. So in a generall

weaknesse, where all shall be feebled, some must needs die, and so diminish the number, and abate such strength as the realme defended it selfe withall before. Which occasion of neuer so few, comming of so great a cause, if ye should make iust amends for, not of recompense which ye could not, but of punishment which ye ought; how manie, how diuerse and how cruell deaths ought euery one of ye often suffer: How manie came to the camps from long labour to sudden ease, and from meane fare to streng of vittels; and so fell in a maner vnwares to such a contrarie change, that nature hit selfe abiding neuer great and sudden changes, can not beare it without some grounds entered of diseases to come, which vncircumspect men shall sooner feele than thinke of, and then will scarcelie iudge the cause, when they shall be vexed with the effect.

It is little maruell that idlenesse and meat of other mans charge will some feed by a fat like men; but it is great maruell if idlenesse and other mens meat do not abate the same by sicknesse againe, and speciallie comming from the one, and going to the other: contrarie in those who violentlie seeke to turne in a moment the whole realme to the contrarie. For while their mind changeth from obedience to vnrulinesse, and turneth it selfe from honestie to wildnesse, and their bodies go from labour to idlenesse, from small fare to spoile of vittels, and from beds in the night to cabins, and from sweet houses to stinking camps, it must needs be by changing of affections which alter the bodie, and by vning of rest that filleth the bodie, and by glutting of meats which weakeneth the bodie, & with cold in the nights which accreteth the bodie, and with corrupt aire which infecteth the bodie, that there followe some grievous tempest not onelie of contagious sicknesse, but also of present death to the bodie.

The greatest plucke of all is, that behemencie of plague, which naturallie followeth the dunt of hunger, which when it entereth once among men, what darts of pangs, what throlues of paines, what shoules of death doth it cast out? How manie fall, not assuied with the sicknesse, but fretted with the paine: How beateth it downe not onelie small tolowes, but also great countries? This when ye see light first on your beasts which lacke fodder, and after fall on men whose bodies gape for it, and see the scarcenelle of men to be by this your soule enterprisse, and not onelie other men touched with plagues, but also your owne house strong with death, and the plague also raised of your rising, to fire your selues: can ye thinke you to be anie other but mankillers of other, and murderers of your selues, and the principals of the ouerthrow of so great a number, as shall either by sword or punishment, famine, or some plague or pestilence be consumed and waisted out of the common-wealth?

And seeing he that decareth the number of cottages or plowes in a towne, seemeth to be an enemy to the common-wealth: shall we not count him, not onelie an enemy, but also a murderer of his countrie, who by harebained vnrulinesse causeth vtter ruine and pestilent destruction of so manie thousand men? Grant this follie then and oversight to be such as woorthilie ye maie count it, and I shall go further in declaring of other great inconueniences, which your dangerous and furious misbehaviour hath hurtfullie brought in; seeing diuerse honest and true dealing men, whose lining is by their owne prouision, hath come so before hand by time, that they haue bene able well to line honestlie in their houses, & paie beside the rents of their farmes trulie, and now haue by your crueltie and abhorred insurrections lost their goods, their cattell, their har-

Rebels punishable with manie deaths.

Idlenesse and meat of other mens charge.

The force of pestilence following famine.

The plague & pestilence occasioned by rebellion.

Rebels enemies a murderer of their countrie.

Further mischiefe of bare charitableness arising from rebellion.

After a great dearth cometh a great death, a realme

Male rotting in the ground

Waste of corn for lacke of reaping.

The toll of one peeres harrowest being hurtfull.

Rebels: that all is a summary of calamities arising from rebellion.

A great decarie of people.

Bodies can not possesse the power.

Wastfull spending of vittels by the rebels incommenent to the whole state.

A necessary consequence: that rebels and misrule are punished, which such punishment is good and necessary.

A necessitie of inhabiting the price of things.

Rebels: that all is a summary of calamities arising from rebellion.

rest, which they had gotten before, and wherewith they intended to live hereafter, & now be brought to this extremitie, that they be neither able to live, as they were wont at home before; nor to paie their accustomed rent at their due time. Whereby they be brought into trouble and unquietnesse, not onlie missing what they have lost by you, but also in danger of losing their holds at their lords hands, except by pitie they shew more mercie, than the right of the law will grant by iustice.

The fruits of honest mens travels long in gathering, quickliche spoiled by rebellion.

And that a griefe is it to an honest man, to labour trulie in yowth, and to gaine painefullie by labour, wherewith to live honestlie in age, and to have this, gotten in long time, to be suddenlie caught awaie by the violence of sedition, which name he ought to abhorre by it selfe, although no miserie of losse followed to him thereby. But what greater griefe ought seditious rebels to have themselves, who if they be not stricken with punishment, yet ought to pine in conscience, and melt awaie with the griefe of their owne faults, when they see innocents and men of true service hindered and burdened with the hurt of their rebellion, & who in a good commonwealth should for honesties sake prosper, they by these rebels onlie meanes be cast so behind the hand, as they can not recouer easilie againe by their owne trust, that which they have lost by those traitors mischiefes. And if unlist men ought not so to be handled at any mans hands, but onelie stand to the order of a law: how much more should true and faithfull subjects, who deserve praise, see no unquietnesse, nor be vexed with sedition, who be obedientlie in subjection, but rather seeke iust amends at false rebels hands, and by law obtaine that they lost by disorder, and so constrain you to the uttermost, to paie the recompense of wrongfull losses, because ye were the authors of these wrongfull spoiles.

An argument from equitye & bright dealing even with the burnt.

Then would ye some perceiue the commonwealths hurt, not when other felt it who deserved it not, but when you smarted who caused it, and stand not & looked upon other mens losses which ye might pitie, but tormented with your owne which ye would lament. Now I am past this mischief, which ye will not hereafter denie, when ye shall praise other mens foresight, rather than your wicked doings, in bewailing the end of your furie, in whose beginning ye now reioise. What saie ye to the number of vagabonds and loitering beggers, which after the overthrow of your campe, and scattering of this seditious number, will swarme in euery corner of the realme, and not onelie lie loitering vnder hedges, but also stand sturdie in cities, and beg boldlie at euery doore, leauing labour which they like not, and following idleness which they should not? For euery man is easilie and naturallie brought from labour to ease, from the better to the worse, from diligence to slothfulness: and after warres it is commonlie seene, that a great number of those which went out honest, returne home againe like roisters, and as though they were burnt to the warts bottome, they haue all their life after an vnauoie smeeke thereof, & smell still toward daiesleepers, pursepickers, highwaie robbers, quarrellmakers, yea and bloudsheders too.

As what shifts soldiers fall after discamping and ceasing from warres.

Do we not see commonlie in the end of warres more robbing, more begging, more murdering than before, and those to stand in the high waie to aske their almes, whome ye be affraid to saie naie vnto honestlie, least they take it awaie from you violentlie, and haue more cause to suspect their strength, than pitie their need? Is it not then daile heard, how men be not onelie pursued, but utterlie spoiled, & few make ride safe by the kings highwaie, except they ride strong, not so much for feare of their goods, which

men esteeme lesse, but also for danger of their life, which euery man loueth. Who is vndone at home and loiterers linger in streets, lurke in alehouses, range in highwaies, valiant beggers plate in towns and yet complaine of need, whose staffe if it be once hot in their hand, or sluggishness byed in theirosome, they will neuer be allured to labour againe, contenting themselves better with idle beggerie, than with honest and profitable labour. And what more noisome beasts be there in a commonwealth? Whores in houses sucke out the honie, a small matter, but yet to be looked on by good husbands. Caterpillers destroy the fruit, an hurtfull thing, and well shifted for by a diligent ouerser. Diuers beverme destroy cozne, kill pulleins, engines and snares be made for them.

But what is a loiterer? A sucker of honie, a spoiler of cozne, a stroier of fruit, a waister of monie, a spoiler of vittels, a sucker of bloud, a breaker of orders, a seeker of bycakes, a queller of life, a basilisk of the commonwealth, which by companie and sight doth poison the whole countrie, and staineth honest minds with the infection of his venime, and so draweth the commonwealth to death and destruction. Such is the fruits of your labour and trauell for your pretended commonwealth, which iustice would no man should taste of but your selues, that ye might trulie iudge of your owne mischief, and fraie other by example from presuming the like. When we see a great number of flies in a yeare, we naturally iudge it like to be a great plague, and hauing so great a swarming of loitering vagabonds, ready to beg and biall at euery mans doore, which declare a greater infection, can we not loke for a greuouser and perillous danger than the plague is? Who can therefore other wise deeme, but this one deadlie hurt, wherewith the commonwealth of our nation is wounded, beside all other is so pestilent, that there can be no more hurtfull thing in a well gouerned estate, nor more thowne into all kind of vice and varulinesse: and therefore this your sedition is not onelie most odious, but also most horrible, that hath spotted the whole countrie with such a staine of idleness.

There can be none end of faults, if a man rehearse all faults that do necessarilie follow this vnrulie sturdinesse. For not onelie vagabonds wandering and scattering themselves for mischief, shall run in a mans eyes, but also disorder of euery degree shall enter into a mans mind, and shall behold hereby the commonwealth miserable decayed by you, who should as much as other haue kept your selues in order in it. Neither be the magistrats duly obeyed, nor the lawes iustlie feared, nor degrees of men considered, nor masters well serued, nor parents trulie reuerenced, nor lords remembred of their tenants, nor yet either naturall or ciuill law much regarded. And it is plainlie vnpossible that that countrie shall well stand in gouernement, and the people growe to wealth, where order in euery state is not iustlie obserued: and that bodie cannot be without much griefe of inflammation, where anye left part is out of ioint, or not duellie set in his owne naturall place.

Wherefore order must be kept in the commonwealth like health in the bodie, and all the part of policie looketh to this end, how this temper may be safely maintained, without anye excess of vnrulie surableness, either of the one side, or of the other. And easie enough it is to keepe the same, when it is once brought into the meane, and to hold it in the state it is found in: but when it bursteth out once with a vehementie, and hath gotten into an vnrulie disorder, it spreadeth so fast, and ouersloweth all honest mens resisting so violentlie, that it will be hard to recouer the breach of long time againe, except with great

Againe saying that cannot be done by labour.

An argument from compassion.

People hurt by rebellion.

The necessity of order, and therefore should be all things be done in order.

The sight of many flies in a yeare naturally suggests a plague which follow.

Labels are given to the main profit.

Qualitie of idleness.

Disorder in euery degree caused by rebellion.

Magistrats disobeyed, and neglect of duties in general by rebellion.

Observing of order in euery estate supports a commonwealth, & contrariwise the hurt of disorder.

Labels hurt themselves.

What men are not to be in a rebellion, & what the people should do.



Against lotter-  
ring tubbers  
that can not  
awake with  
labour.

A lotterer  
described.

The sight of  
manie flies in  
a yeare a nat-  
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Disorder in  
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Magistrats  
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great and wise counsell, which no doubt shall be in  
season vied, there be wonderfull remedies sought  
therefore. And even as a man falling, is easier hol-  
den by by staie, than when he is fallen downe he is  
able to rise againe: so is the commonwealth slipping,  
by the foresight of wisdom better kept from ruine;  
than when it is once fallen into anie kind of miserie,  
the same may be called againe to the old and former  
state. Now we not euidentlie know, that a man may  
better keepe his arme or his leg from breaking or  
falling out of joint, afore hurt come to it; than after  
the hurt it may safely and quietlie be healed, and re-  
stored to the former strength and health againe: And  
now through your seditious means, things that were  
afore quiet and in good order, lawes feared and obeyed,  
subiects ruled and kept in dutie, be all now in a great  
disorder, and like (if it be not holpen) to grow to wild-  
nesse, and a beuillinesse; seeing that neither common  
dutie can be kept, which nature prescribeth, nor com-  
mon law can be regarded, which policie requireth.  
How can yee keepe your owne if yee keepe no order?  
Your wiues and children, how can they be defended  
from other mens violence, if yee will in other things  
beate all order? By what reason would yee be obedi-  
ent of yours as seruants, if yee will not obeye the king  
as subiects? How would yee haue others deale or-  
derlie with you, if yee will vse disorder against all  
others? Seeing then there is such a confusion now of  
things, such a turmoile of men, such a disorder of fa-  
milies; who can looke to liue quietlie a great while,  
who can thinke but that yee haue miserable tossed  
the commonwealth, and so vexed all men with disor-  
der, that the inconuenience hereof cannot onelie nip  
others, but also touch you?

But now see how that not onelie these beclouded  
for mischaunces haue beuillie growne on yee, but also  
those commodities, which yee thought to haue holpen  
your selues and others by, be not onelie hindered, but  
also hurt thereby. The kings maiestie by the aduise,  
as: intended a iust reformation of all such things as  
poore men could trulie shew themselves oppressed  
with, thinking equalitie of iustice to be the diademe  
of his kingdome, and the safegard of his commons.  
Which was not onelie intended by wisdom, but  
also set on with speed, and so entered into a due con-  
sidering of all states, that none should haue iust cause  
to grudge against the other, when as euerie thing  
rightfullie had, nothing could be but unrightfullie  
rugged at. And this would haue bene done, not  
onelie with your glad and willing assent: but also  
bene done by this date almost throughout the whole  
realme: so that quietlie it had bene obtained with-  
out inconuenience, and speedilie without delay. And  
what sooner had bene done by the kings maiesties  
authoritie, that would by right haue remained for e-  
uer, and so taken in law, that the contrarie partie  
neither could by iustice, neither would by boldnesse  
haue enterprised the breach thereof.

But least wicked men should be wealthe, and  
they whose hearts be not trulie bent to obedience,  
should obtaine at the kings hands that they deser-  
ued not in a commonwealth, yee haue maruellouslie  
and worthilie hurt your selues, and grieuouslie pro-  
uoked (except the kings goodnesse be more vnto you  
than your owne deserts can claime) that yee be not  
so much worthe as to be benefited in anie kind, as  
yee be worthe to lose that yee haue on euerie side. Yee  
haue thought god to be your owne reformer, belike,  
not onelie unnaturallie mistrusting the kings ius-  
tice, but also cruellie and vnciuillie dealing with  
your owne neighbours. Wherein I would as yee  
haue hurt the whole realme, so yee had not enterprised  
a thing most dangerous to your selues, & most con-  
trarie to the thing yee intended. If yee had let things

alone, thought god by your selues to be redressed,  
and dutifullie looked for the performance of that, the  
kings maiestie promising reformation, they should  
not haue bene vndone at this time, as in a great  
sort of honest places they be; nor whole countries, who  
for their quietnesse be most worthe to be looked on,  
should haue bene vnprouided for at this date. But  
this commoditie hath happened by the waie, that it  
is euidentlie knowne by your mischaunce, and others  
dutie, who be most true to the king, and most worthe  
to be done for, and who be most pernicious and tra-  
itorous rebels. And it is not to be doubted, but they  
shall be considered with thanks, and find iust redresse  
without deserued miserie, & you punished like rebels,  
who might haue had both praise & profit like subiects.

For that as yee haue valiantlie done of your  
selues, thinke yee it will stand anie longer, than men  
feare your rage, which cannot indure long; and that  
yee shall not then bide the rigor of the law for your  
prouoked iniuries, as yee vied the furie of your braines  
in other mens oppressions: Will men suffer wrong  
at your hands, when law can redresse it, & the right of  
the commonwealth will mainteine it, and god order  
in countries will beare it? Yee amend faults as ill  
surgions heale sores, which when they come to be  
whole about, they rankle at the bottome, and so be  
saine continuallie to be soze, or else be mended by  
new breaking of the skin. Your redresse seemeth to  
you perfect and good, yee haue pulled downe such  
things as yee would, yee thinke now all is well: yee  
consider no further, yee seeke not the bottome, yee see  
not the soze, that yee haue done it by no law, yee haue  
redressed it by no order, what then? If it be no other,  
wise searched than by you, it will not tarie long so:  
either it will be after continuallie as it was afore  
your coming, or else it must be (when all is done) a-  
mended by the king.

Thus haue yee both lacked in the time, and mist  
in the doing, and yet besides that yee haue done, which  
is by your doing to no purpose. Yee haue done the  
things with such inconueniences, as hath bene both  
before rehearsed, and shall be after declared; that bet-  
ter it had bene for you, neuer to haue enioied the  
commoditie, if there be anie, than to suffer the griefs  
that will insue, which be vertie manie. In euerie  
quarter some men (whom yee set by) will be lost, which  
euerie one of you (if yee haue loue in ye) would rather  
haue lacked the profit of your inclosures, than cause  
such destruction of them, as is like by reason & iudge-  
ment necessarilie to follow. What commonwealth  
is it then, to do such abhominable enterprises after  
so vile a sort, that yee hinder that god yee would do,  
and bring in that hurt yee would not, and so find that  
yee seeke not, and follow that yee lose, and desire  
your selues by follie; rather than yee would be orde-  
red by reason, and so haue not so much amended your  
old sores, as brought in new plagues, which yee your  
selues that deserue them will lament, and we which  
haue not deserued them may curse you for? For al-  
though the kings maiestie, as: intended for your pro-  
fits a reformation in his commonwealth: yet his  
pleasure was not, nor no reason gaue it, that euerie  
subiect should buillie intermeddle with it of their  
owne head, but onelie those whose his counsell  
thought most meet men for such an honest purpose.

The kings maiestie, as: hath goodlie reformed an  
uncleane part of religion, and hath brought it to the  
true forme of the first church that followed Christ,  
thinking that to be truest, not that later mens fan-  
cies haue of themselves deuised, but that the apo-  
stles and their felowes had at Christs hand receiued,  
and willeth the same to be knowne and set abroad to  
all his people. Shall euerie man now that listeth and  
fantiseth the same, take in hand vncalled, to be a mi-  
nister,

The benefit  
of rebellion in  
one respect.

Reformation  
intended by  
rebels, like  
sores cured by  
ill surgions.

Griefes insue-  
ing to the res-  
bels upon this  
rebellion.

Reformation  
ought to be  
no priuat  
mans but the  
princes action

what things  
in a well and  
justitie done  
matter ought  
well to be  
weighed.

niffer, and to set forth the same, having no authori-  
tie: & aie, though the thing were verie goodlie that  
were done, yet the person must needs do ill that en-  
terpriseth it, because he doth a god thing after an ill  
sort, and looketh but on a little part of dutie, consid-  
ring the thing, and leaveth a great part unadvised,  
not considering the person: when as in a well and  
justitie done matter, not onelie these two things  
ought well to be weighed, but also good occasion of  
time, and reasonable cause of the doing, ought also  
much to be set before everie doers eyes. Now in this  
your deed, the manner is ungodlie, the thing unfor-  
ferable, the cause wicked, the person seditious, the  
time traitorous: and can ye possiblie by anie honest  
defense of reason, or anie good conscience religious-  
lie grounded, denie that this malicious and horrible  
fault, so wickedlie set on, is not onelie sinfull afore  
God, and traitorous to the king, but also dradlie and  
pestilent to the whole common-wealth of our coun-  
trie, and so not onelie overthroweth vs with the mi-  
serie, but also overthroweth you with the rage  
thereof?

The poke  
that rebels  
willfullie  
bring upon  
themselves.

Yet further see and ye be not wearie with the  
multitude of miseries, which ye have marvellouslie  
moued, that a poke ye willfullie do bring on your  
selues, in stirring by this detestable sedition, and so  
bring your selues into a further slauerie, if ye vse  
your selues into a further slauerie, if ye vse your  
selues often thus inobedientlie. When common or-  
der of the law can take no place in unrulie and dis-  
obedient subiects, and all men will of willfullnesse re-  
sist with rage, and thinke their owne violence to be  
the best iustice; then be wise magistrats compelled  
by necessitie to seeke an extream remealie, where  
meane waies helpe not, and bring in the martiall  
law where none other law serueth. Then must ye be  
contented to bide punishment without processe, con-  
demnation without witness, suspicion is then ta-  
ken for iudgement, and displeasure may be iust cause  
of your execution, and so without fauor ye find stric-  
tnesse, which without rule seeke violence. Ye thinke it  
a hard law and unsufferable. It is so indeed, but yet  
good for a medicine.

Desperat re-  
medies for  
desperat di-  
seases.

Rebels who  
thie to suffer  
extremite of  
punishment.

Desperate sicknesses in physicke must haue desper-  
ate remedies, for meane medicines will neuer  
helpe great griefes. So if ye cast your selues into  
such sharpe diseases, ye must needs loke for sharpe  
medicines againe at your physicians hands. And  
woorthie ye be to suffer the extremite in a common-  
wealth, which seeke to do the extremite, and by rea-  
son must receiue the like ye offer, and so be conten-  
red to bide the end willinglie which set on the begin-  
ning willfullie. For no greater shame can come to a  
common-wealth, than that those subiects which should  
be obedient euen without a law, can not be conten-  
ted to be ordered by the law, and by no means kept  
within their dutie, which should euerie waie offend  
rather than in their dutie. It is a token that the sub-  
iects lacke reason, when they forsake law, and thinke  
either by their multitude to find pardon, which can-  
not iustlie stretch to all, or else by strength to beare  
the stroke, which cannot prosper against a king.

The greatest  
shame that can  
come to a com-  
mon-wealth.

They must needs little consider the miseries, who  
bring in this necessitie, rather to stand to the pleasure  
of a mans will, than to abide the reason of the law;  
and to be endangered more when an other man li-  
seth, than when himselfe offendeth. And this must  
necessarilie folow if your rebellion thus continue:  
and while ye seeke to throw downe the poke, which ye  
sanke your selues burdened withall, ye bring your  
selues in a greater bondage, leaning safetie and so-  
lowing danger, and putting your selues vnder the  
iustice of them whose fauour ye might easilie haue  
kept, if ye would willinglie and dutifullie haue ser-

ued. Now the gentlemen be more in trust, because  
the commons be untrustie, and they get by seruice,  
which ye lose by stubbornnesse, and therefore must  
needs, if ye thus continue, haue more authoritie from  
the king: because ye would be in lesse subiection to  
the king, and that as ye will not do of your selues,  
ye must be compelled to do by others, and that ye re-  
fuse to do willinglie, thinke ye must be dradlie to  
do the same constrainedlie. Which when it cometh  
to passe, as wisdometh seeth in your faults that it  
must needs, what gaine ye then, or what profit can a-  
rise to you by rising, which might haue found ease in  
sitting still? And what shall ye be at length the bet-  
ter for this turmoile, which beside diuers other in-  
commodities rehearsed, shall be thus clogged with  
the unsufferable burden of the martiall law.

Gentlemen  
more trustie  
because the  
commons be  
untrustie.

Marshall law  
a burden vpon  
sufferable.

Yet there is one thing behind, which me thinketh  
your selues should not forget, seeing that ye haue gi-  
uen the cause, ye should dulie loke for the effect. Ye  
haue spoiled, imprisoned, and threatened gentlemen  
to death, and that with such hatred of mind, as may  
not well be borne. The cause therof I speake not on,  
which tried, will happilie be not so great: but see the  
thing, set murder aside, it is the heinouest fault to a  
priuat man. What could more spitefullie haue bene  
done against them, than ye haue vied with crueltie?  
Can this do anie other but breed in their stomachs  
great grudge of displeasure toward you, and ingender  
such an hatred, as the weaker and the sufferer  
must needs beare the smart thereof.

Cruelty and  
extremity  
showed to the  
gentlemen by  
the rebels.

The kings  
best kind of  
government.

The kings best kind of government is so to rule  
his subiects, as a father ordereth his children, and best  
life of obedient subiects is one to behaue himselfe to  
an other, as though they were brethren vnder the  
king their father. For loue is not the knot onelie of  
the common-wealth, whereby diuerse parts be per-  
fectlie ioined together in one politike bodie, but also  
the strength and might of the same, gathering toge-  
ther into a small ronne with order, which scattered  
would else breed confusion and debate. Dissention  
we see in small houses, and thereby may take exam-  
ple to great common-wealths, how it not onelie de-  
caith them from wealth, but also abateth them from  
strength. Thinke small examples to take place in  
great matters, and the like though not so great to  
follow in the both, and there by learne to iudge of  
great things vnknowne, by small things perceiued.  
When brethren agree not in a house, goeth not the  
weakest to the walles; and with whom the father ta-  
keth part withall, is not he likeliest to preuaile: As it  
not wisdometh for the yonger brother, after the gods  
will of the parents, to seeke his eldres brothers fa-  
uour, who vnder them is most able to do for him: So  
seeke them both with honestie is wisdometh, to lose  
them both by fullennesse is madnesse.

The fruits of  
dissention.

Haue there not bene daile benefits from the gen-  
tlemen to you, in some more, and in some lesse, but  
in none considered, which they haue more friendlie  
offered, than you haue gentlie required? This must  
ye lose, when ye will not be thankfull, and learne to  
gaine new good will by desert, when ye forsake the  
old friendship vnproouoked. And ye must thinke that  
living in a common-wealth together, one kind hath  
need of an other: and yet a great sort of you more  
need of one gentleman, than one gentleman of a  
great sort of you. And though all be parts of one com-  
mon-wealth, yet all be not like woorthie parts, but  
all being vnder obedience, some kind in more subie-  
ction one waie, and some kind in more seruice an o-  
ther waie. And seeing ye be lesse able by monie and  
liberalitie to deserue good will than others be, and  
your onelie kind of desert is to shew good will, which  
honest men do well accept as much woorth as mo-  
nie, haue ye not much hindered & hurt your selues  
herein,

The rebels  
had cause to  
beare with  
the gentlemen  
and to haue  
used them.

All the parts  
of a common-  
wealth be not  
equall: but  
all be vnder  
the same obedi-  
ence: some  
gentlemen  
more able to  
than others.

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king con-  
tained.

Boles little  
thought.

Subiects dis-  
tributed.

The whole  
countrie ill  
spoken of.

Nothing re-  
spectable by  
desert  
thanable.

I haue enu-  
meration of  
the inconue-  
nience flow-  
ing from this  
rebellion.

m. 1549

Gentlemen  
more trouble  
because the  
country be  
vntuallie.

An. Reg. 3.

herein, losing that one kind of humanitie which ye haue onlie left, and turning it into crueltie, which ye ought most to abhor, not onlie because it is wicked of it selfe, but also most noisome to you.

I can therefore for my part thinke no lesse herein, if ye follow your stiffenesse still, & must needs iudge that ye haue wilfullie brought on your selues such plagues, as the like could not haue fallen on you, but by your selues. Seeing then thus manie waies ye haue hurt the common-welth of this whole countrie within, by destruction of shires, losing of haruest, wasting of vittels, decaying of manhood, vndermining of farmers, increasing of vagabonds, mainteining of disorders, hindring of redresses, bringing in of martiall law, and breeding continuall hatred among diuerse states: what thinke ye, I praise you? Judge ye not that ye haue committed an odious and detestable crime against the whole common-wealth, whose fartherance ye ought to haue tendered by dutie, and not to haue sought the hurt thereof with your owne damage?

Besides all these inward griefes, which enerie one seuerallie must needs feele with miserie, there happeneth so manie outward mishances among strangers to vs with vildaine; that if there were nothing ill within the realme which we should feele, yet the shame which doth touch vs from other countries, should not onlie moue, but also compell you hartlie to forsethinke this your rebellious sedition. For what shall strangers thinke, when they shall heare of the great misorder which is in this realme with such confusion, that no order of law can keepe you vnder, but must be faine to be beaten downe with a kings powder? Shall they not first thinke the kings maiestie, in whose mind God hath powred so much hope for a child, as we may looke for gifts in a man; either for his age to be little set by, or for lacke of qualities not to be regarded, or for default of loue to be resisted, and no notable grace of God in him considered, nor the worthinesse of his office looked vpon, nor naturall obedience due to him remembred?

Shall they not next suppose, small estimation to be giuen to the rulers, to whom vnder the king we owe due obedience, that can not in iust and lawfull matters be heard, nor men to haue that right iudgement of their wisdoms, as their iustice in rule, and foresight in counsell requireth: but rather prefer their owne fancies before others experience, and deeme their owne reason to be common-wealth, and other mens wisdoms to be but dreaming? Shall they not trulie saie the subjects to be more vnfaithfull in disobedience, than other subjects were ordeered be; and licence of libertie to make wild heads without order, and that they neither haue reason that vnderstand not the mischiefe of sedition, nor dutie which followeth their beaulinesse, nor loue in them which so little remember the common-wealth, nor naturall affection which will daile seeke their owne destruction?

Thus the whole countrie lacking the good opinion of other nations, is cast into great shame by your vnrulinesse, and the proceedings of the countrie, be they neuer so goodlie, shall be ill spoken of, as vnfit to be brought into life, and good things hereby that deserue praise, shall bide the rebuke of them that list to speake ill, and all things vntouched shall be boldlie maintained. Nothing may with praise be redressed, where things be measured by changeable disorder, rather than by necessarie life; and that is thought most politike, that men will be best contented to doe, and not that which men should be brought vnto by dutie. And with what dutie or vertue in ye, can ye quench out of memorie this foule enterpryse, or gather a good report againe to this realme, who haue so bilie with reproch slandered the same, and

discreetly discredited it among others, and abated the good opinion which was had of the iust gouernment and ruled order vnder heretofore in this noble realme, which is now most gricuous, because it is now most without cause.

If this outward opinion (without further inconvenience) were all, yet it might well be borne, and would with ease decaye as it grew: but it hath not onlie hurt vs with voice, but endangered vs in deed, and cast vs a great deale behind the hand, where else we might haue had a iollie forebode. For that oportunitie of time which seldome chanceth, and is alwaies to be taken, hath bene by your stoward meanes lost this yeare, and so vainlie spent at home for bringing downe of you, which should else profitable haue bene otherwise bestowed, that it hath bene almost as great a losse to vs abroad, to lacke that we might haue obtained, as it was combrance at home, to go about the ouerthrow of you, whose sedition is to be abhorred. And we might both conuenientlie haue inuaded some, if they would not reasonably haue growne to some kind of friendship, and also defended others which would beside promise for times sake vniuersally set vpon vs, and casilie haue made this stormie time a faire yeare vnto vs, if our men had bene so happy at home, as our likelihood abroad was fortunat.

But what is it (I praise you) either to let slip such an occasion by negligence, or to stop it by stubbornnesse, which once past awaie, can be by no means recovered; no not though with diligence ye go about to reinforce the same againe? If ye would with wickednes haue forsaken your faith to your naturall countrie, and haue sought craftie means to haue vtterlie betrayed it to our common enemies: could ye haue had anie other speedier waie than this is, both to make our strength weake, and their weakenesse strong? If ye would haue sought to haue spied your countrie, and to haue pleased your enemy, and sold low their counsell for our hinderance: could ye haue had deuised of them anie thing more shamefull for vs, and ioisfull to them? If they which lie like spiels, and hearken after likelihoods of things to come, because they declare oportunitie of times to the enemy, are to be iudged common enemies of the countrie; what shall we reasonable thinke of you, who doe not secretlie betwixt the counsels of other, but openlie betraie the common-wealth with your owne deeds, and haue as much as lieth in you, sought the ouerthrow of it at home: which if ye had obtained at Gods hand, as ye neuer alloweth so horrible an enterpryse, how could ye haue defended it from the ouerthrow of others abroad?

For is your vnderstanding of things so small, that although ye see your selues not vnfit to get the upper hand of a few gentlemen, that ye be able to beat downe afore the kings power: ye and by chance ye were able to doe that, would ye iudge your selues by strength mightie enough, to resist the power of outward nations, that for praise sake would inuade ye? I saie, thinke trulie with your selues, that if ye doe overcome, ye be vnafire both by strength abroad, and displeasure of honest men at home, and by the punishment of God above. And now ye haue not yet gotten in deed, that your vaine hope looketh for by fanste: thinke how certeinly ye haue wounded the common-wealth with a sore stroke, in piorcing our enemies by our weakenesse to seeke victorie, and by our outward miserie to seeke outward glorie with inward dishonour. Which howsoeuer they get, thinke it to be long of you, who haue offered them victorie before they began warre: because ye would declare to men hereafter (belike) how dangerous it is to make sturres at home, when they doe not onlie make our

Further one-ward hurt because voice in genders of rebellions.

He meaneth the Scots & French with whom we haue had alwaies incombrance.

Note in a few words of force the dangerous quality of rebellion.

A reason drawn from the lesse to the greater.

Rebellion maketh passage to foreign nation, & it easeneth our owne region.

These com-  
munion of  
common-  
wealths  
from this  
nation.

Wherewith  
a burden  
sufferable.

Cruelty and  
extremity  
showed to the  
gentlemen by  
the rebels.

The things  
best kind of  
gouernment.

The fruits of  
disobedience.

The rebels  
had cause to  
beare with  
the gentlemen  
and to haue  
used them.

All the parties  
of a common-  
wealth be not  
of the same  
thynke: & the  
gentlemen  
more so: he  
than yeomen,  
&c.

Wherewith  
a burden  
sufferable.

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used them.

All the parties  
of a common-  
wealth be not  
of the same  
thynke: & the  
gentlemen  
more so: he  
than yeomen,  
&c.

Rebellion am-  
mureth the  
papists, & each  
one beside that  
is offended at  
true religion.

selues weakie, but also our enemies strong.

Beside these, there is another sort of men desirous of advantage, and disdainfull of our wealth, whose greife is most our greatest hap, and be offend with religion, because they be drowned in superstition, men zealous toward God, but not fit to iudge, meaning better without knowledge, than they iudge by their meaning, wozthier whose ignorance should be taken awaie, than their will should be followed; whome we should more rebuke for their stubbornesse, than despise for their ignorance. These seeing superstition beaten downe, and religion set by, Gods word taking place, traditions kept in their kind, difference made betwene Gods commandements and mans learning, the truth of things sought out according to Christs institution, examples taken of the primitive churches vse, not at the bishop of Romes ordinance, and true wozship taught, and wil-wozship refused, do by blindness rebuke that as by truth they should follow, and by affection follow that as by knowledge they should abhorre, thinking vbiage to be truth, and scripture to be error, not weieing by the word, but misconstruing by custome.

Religion bea-  
reth the blame  
and is counted  
the cause of  
rebellion, but  
amisse.

And now things be changed to the better, and religion trulier appointed, they see matters go awrye, which hurteth the whole realme, and they reioise in this mischefe as a thing wozthilie happened, mistaking the cause, and slandering religion, as though there were no cause whie God might haue punished, if their vied profession might still haue taken place. They see not that where Gods glozie is truest set forth, there the diuell is most busie for his part, and labourerth to corrupt by lewdnesse, that as is gotten out by the truth, thinking that if it were not blemished at the first, the residue of his falsehood should after lesse preuaile. So he troubleth by bitwaies, that he cannot plainlie withstand, and vseth subtiltie of sophistrie, where plaine reason faileth, and persuadeth simple men that to be a cause, which in deed can not be tried and taken for a cause. So he causeth religion which teacheth obedience, to be iudged the cause of sedition; the doctrine of loue, the seed of dissention; mistaking the thing, but persuading mens minds, and abusing the plaine meaning of the honest to a wicked end of religions overthrow.

The diuels  
sophistrie.

Examples.

The Jewes  
ascribe their  
miserie to a  
false cause.

The heathens  
fond opinion  
of gods fauor-  
ing their cru-  
elty against  
christians.

The husbandman had not so sone thowne seed in his ground, but steppeth by the enemy, and hee soweth cockle too, and maketh men doubt whether the good husband had done well or no, and whether he had sowne there good seed or bad. The farsifull Jewes in Egypt would not beleue Jeremie, but thought their plague and their miserie to come by his means; and leaning of idolatrie to be the cause of penurie, wherefore by willfull aduise they intended to forsake the prophets counsell, and thought to serue God most trulie by their rooted & accustomed idolatrie. When the christian men were persecuted in the primitive church, & daillie suffered martyrdome for Christs profession, such faire season of weather was for thre or foure yeares together, that the heathen iudged thereupon God to be delighted with their cruelty, and so were persuaded that with the blood of the martyrs they pleased God highlie. Such fantasies light now in papists, and irreligious mens heads, and ioine things by chance happening together, and conclude the one to be the cause of the other, and then delight in true wozshippers hurt, because they iudge curfodie the good to be bad, and therefore reioise in the punishment of the goodie. For they being fleshlie, iudge by outward things, and perceiue not the inward, for that they lacke the spirit and so iudge amiss, not understanding God, what diuersitie he suffereth to blind still the willfull, and how thorough all dangers he saueh his chosen.

And thus haue ye giuen a large occasion to stubborne papists, both to iudge amisse, and also to reioise in this wicked chance, contented with our mischefe, not liking our religion, and thinking God doth punish for this better change, and haue thereby an euill opinion of Gods holic truth, confirmed in them by no sure scripture, but by following of mischance, which they ought to thinke to come for the pride and stubbornnesse of the people, who doth not accept Gods glozie in good part, nor giue no due praise to their Lord and maker. What should I saie more? Be hurt euerie waie, the dangers be so great, and the perils so manie, which do daillie follow poor diuillish enterpryse, that the more I seeke in the matter, the more I continually see to saie. And what words can wozthilie declare this miserable beastlines of poyres, which haue intended to diuide the realme, and drine the one part for the killing of the other? For euen as concord is not onelie the health, but also the strength of the realme; so is sedition not onelie the weaknesse, but also the apostume of the realme, which when it breaketh inwardlie, putteth the state in great danger of recouerie, and corrupteth the whole commonwealth with the rotten surie that it hath bene long putrified withall. For it is not in sedition as in other faults, which being mischefeous of themselves, haue some notable hurt alwaies fast adioined to them: but in this one is there a whole hell of faults, not seuerallie scattered, but clustered on a lump together, and coming on so thicke, that it is impossible for a region armed with all kinds of wisdom, and strength thereto, to auoid the dangers that issue out thereof.

When sedition once breaketh out, see ye not the lawes overthrowne, the magistrates despised, spoiling of houses, murthering of men, waisting of countries, increase of disorder, diminishing of the realms strength, swarming of vagabonds, scarcitie of laborers, and all those mischefeous plentifulie brought in, which God is wont to scourge scuerelie withall, warre, dearth, and pestilence? And seeing ye haue these & murther, plague & famine, confusion and solenelle linked together, can ye loke for anie more mischefe in one shamefull enterpryse, than ye euidentlie see to grow herein? As for warre, although it be miserable, yet the one part getteth somewhat, and reioiseth in the spoile, and so goeth lustier awaie: and either increaseth his countrie with riches, or inhabits himselfe with glozie: but in sedition both parts lose, the ouercommer cannot stie, the ouercommed cannot spoile; the more the winner winneth, the more he loseth; the more that escape, the more infamous men liue; all that is gained is scarcelie saved; the winning is losse, the losse is destruction, both waist themselves, and the whole most waisted; the strengthening of themselves, the decaye of the countrie; the striving for the victorie, is a pzele to the enemy: and thoztie to saie, the bellish turmoile of sedition so farre passeth the common miserie of warre, as to saie himselfe is more heinous, than to be slaine of another.

A noble peace, that wealth bringeth thou in, both do all things flourish in field and in towne, what for wardnesse of religion, what increase of learning, what grauitie in counsell, what deuise of wit, what order of manners, what obedience of laws, what reuerence of states, what safeguard of houses, what quietnesse of life, what honoz of countries, what friendship of minds, what honestie of pleasure hast thou alwaies mainteined, whose happinesse we knew not, while now we see thy lacke, and shall learne by miserie to understand plentie, and so to auoid mischefe by the hurt that it bringeth, and learne to serue better, where rebellion is once knowen; and so to lue

The peace  
and benefits  
of peace.

The rebels  
neglect the  
right meanes  
of correcting  
things, and  
follow  
their owne  
fancies.

The hurt  
done by  
the rebels  
is more  
than can  
be counted.

Concord  
is the  
strength  
of the  
realme.

The mischefe  
springing  
from  
sedition.

For  
warre  
is better  
than  
sedition  
at home.

Rebels  
turb  
the  
state  
from  
their  
enter-  
prises  
of rebel-  
lion, and  
trouble  
the  
coun-  
trie.

Concord  
is the  
strength  
of the  
realme.

As  
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of peace.

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**Conclusion**  
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against irre=  
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¶ Thus far this necessarie treatise touching rebellion, penned by sir John Cheke, a gentleman euerie waie in complet sort satisfiing the report blayed abroad of him. For if there were no more testimonies extant in the world, but this onelie treatise discoursing Betts rebellion; it were enough to warrant no lesse true, than in common speech and writing is left witnessed of him. And suerlie it appeareth, that as in this gentleman there was an extraordinary heape of laudable gifts; so was there also in him the right vse of them all. Wherby he grew in such fauor with king Henrie the eight, that partlie for his absolute knowledge in tongues, speciallie in Greeke and Latine, and also for his integritie of life and religion; he was chosen scholemaster to yong prince Edward, to traine him vp in the right vnderstanding, both of forren languages, & the purenes of Gods seruice. Inasmuch that by his industrie such effects followed (God aboue prospering his actions) that the yong prince, when he came to the kingdom was mindfull of him, and among other (I will not saie gratuitously) there cause of desert maketh chal

In this place he caused trenches to be cast about a plot of ground, after the manner of a fortress, within the which he left certaine bands of men of warre to be a safeguard unto such as should passe to or from with vittells to furnish his campe. He staid not there past a daie & a halfe, but remoued to Ardencroft

The French king persecuted him in his former purpose, and made him a martyr.



Charles  
Sturton, and  
George Wil-  
loughbie.  
The chroniques  
de Aquitaine.  
The fort cal-  
led Almaine  
campe mount.

a mile or little more beyond Margulsen; from thence  
he came with his armie, and lodged on a hill, some-  
what more than a mile & a halfe from Hambleteue.  
The French king hauing viewed the forts, caused  
fue and twentie peeces of artillerie to be planted a-  
gainst that fort, which was built in a place called the  
Almaine campe, but the Frenchmen named it *Le*  
*fort de Selague*, distant from Hambleteue about a  
quarter of a mile. The artillerie had not gone off lit-  
tle more than the space of two houres, but that  
Charles Sturton capteine of that pece, and George  
Willoughbie a gentleman associat with him, came  
forth to parke with the Constable, offering to  
yeld the fort into his hands, vpon condition they  
might depart with bag and baggage. But as they  
were thus in hand to make their composition, the  
Frenchmen thrust forward to the rampiers, and en-  
tered in plumps into the fortresse, due fourescore  
persons, & toke the rest prisoners. There might be  
in all within that pece two hundred and thirtie per-  
sons, men and women. This happened the foure  
and twentieth of August, being Bartholomew daie.

The lord  
Greie.

The castell of  
Hambleteue  
lost.

Hambleteue  
summoned.

Hambleteue  
rendered to  
the French  
king.

The French  
writers re-  
port of their  
owne coun-  
triemens cru-  
eltie and sa-  
uagenesse.

This done, the king caused part of the artillerie  
to be planted against the castell of Hambleteue,  
situated at the one end of the towne nere to the sea  
side. Towards night monsieur de Wandosme  
gaue an approach to the said castell, and they within  
by commandement of the lord Greie retired to the  
maine fort to helpe to furnish the same, wanting  
numbers sufficient to defend it. The next daie be-  
ing the five and twentieth of August, the king caused  
approches to be made vnto the great fort, and the  
morrow after the batterie began most furiously.  
The same daie after dinner, the king summoned  
them within to yeld; but the lord John Greie being  
generall (although he saw how weake the pece was  
of it selfe, & the lacke of sufficient numbers of men  
to resist such a puissant force, as the French king had  
there with him) would not yet hearken vnto anie  
talke, nor suffer the herald to come nere; for that he  
should not perceiue the weakenesse of the pece: and  
so he was commanded to get him thence with speed,  
or else they would cause him to be packing smallie  
to his ease. The French king soe offended here with,  
that his herald was so discourteouslie vfed, caused  
the batterie to be reinforced with great diligence,  
which dismounting their ordinaunce within, and bea-  
ting downe their rampiers, made such breaches, that  
my lord John and the capteins within perceiued  
they were not able by anie meanes to defend the  
place anie longer. Herevpon they offered to ren-  
der the fort to the king vpon composition: which  
in the end fell out to be thus, that the souldiers should  
depart with their liues saued, and that the generall  
(for honor sake) should haue one horse to ride on in  
his cosset, without sword or dagger, and likewise  
two other capteins with him: but as for the o-  
ther souldiers, with the women and children, should  
depart on foot in their shirts, leauing all their goods  
and substance behind them. After it was agreed that  
the fort should be thus surrendered, there entered  
monsieur de Chatillon that was after admerall of  
France, and monsieur de Delle, latellie returned  
out of Scotland. The French souldiers entring by  
f stealth into the fort by the breaches, committed foule  
disorders, not onelie in ransacking the houses, but  
also in spoiling the souldiers by force, intreating  
them in most rigorous manner.

The French writers confesse, that it was pittie to  
see the poore men and women so miserable handled  
and abused as they were by the outragious souldiers  
that thus entered the fort, and sacked all that they  
could laie hands vpon. Monsieur de Delle saued a  
great number of women and yong maidens from

the cruell hands of their aduersaries, causing them to  
passe forth by the breach, and presented them to the  
king, who appointed that they should be conueied in  
safetie, with all that they had about them, till they  
had gotten out of danger. Monsieur de Chatillon, by  
the kings commandement, caused all the rest within  
the fort to come forth, who passing thre and thre in a  
range came before the king, who stood there to behold  
them, with the whole armie placed so in order on ei-  
ther side the waie as they should come, that they  
might passe betwixt their ranks, as it were through  
a lane. They that came forth in this fort might be  
(as the French writers record) about seuen or eight  
hundred in all of men and women, wherof there were  
manie hurt and mained; some with halfe a shirt on  
to couer them, and diuerse stark naked. The lord  
John Greie being mounted on a curtaile, passing by  
the French king, and saluting him, was courteouslie  
of him embraced.

The morrow after was the fort of Blacknesse or  
Blaconnesse rendered to the French king, with like  
conditions as they of Hambleteue had rendered  
theirs. This was on the tuesday the seuen and twen-  
tith of August. The nine and twentieth of August sir  
Nicholas Arnault conueieng all the artillerie, mu-  
nition, vittels, and goods out of Bullongne berg,  
caused fire to be set on that fort, and retired with all  
his souldiers and other people vnto Bullongne. Where-  
vpon shortly after the Frenchmen seized vpon the  
said place of Bullongne berg, & kept it. The French  
king leauing monsieur de Chatillon within Ham-  
bleteue with the old hands of the French footmen,  
returned towards Bullongne, & approaching within  
a mile and a halfe of the old man, meant to build  
there a fort on the sea side: but what through such  
harpe skirmishes as the Englishmen continually  
were redie to make with his men, and what through  
the abundance of raine which fell in that season, he  
was constrained to breake by his campe, and lea-  
uing strong garrisons both of horsemen and foot-  
men in all those places, which he had in that season  
wonne out of the Englishmens hands, he returned  
himselfe with the princes of his blood into France.

In this meane time whilst the French king was  
thus occupied, to vse the oportunitie of time in reco-  
uering of those fortresses in Bullongnois out of the  
Englishmens hands, the kings maiestie and his  
councell were busie still in quieting his rebellious  
subiects here in England: and finally for meane of a  
full pacification, and to set all things in god frame  
and quiet rest, the king published his graces most  
generall and free pardon to all rebelles, so that they  
would forthwith (vpon publication of the same par-  
don) returne euerie man to his house and countrie;  
which they gladlie did: and so these seditious and most  
dangerous troubles were brought to end and paci-  
fied.

Also in this busie time Marie Steward queene  
of Scots was conueied by sea out of Scotland into  
France, and there on the nineteenth daie of April  
1549, was married in our ladie church in Pa-  
ris (with great triumph and solemnitie) to Francis  
the Dolphin, eldest sonne vnto king Henrie the se-  
cond of that name French king. This conueieng of  
the yong queene is reported by one to haue bene  
pittulie wrought, at such time as the councell of En-  
gland were in some expectation and hope to obtaine  
hir. Neuerthelesse the subtilt abuse of the French,  
and the trecherous forwardnesse of the Scots, oter-  
lie disappointed the honest and honorable purpose of  
the English. Now when the yong queene and hir  
traîne, with the gard of hir person (be they whom  
you will) were vnder saile, the English nauie was  
abroade, and lieng in wait to haue intercepted hir  
course,

The number  
that came  
forth of Ham-  
bleteue.

1549

The court  
withdrew  
themselves  
into Bullongne  
conference  
about the  
peace of  
displaciny

Confer that  
completed the  
French king  
to breake by  
his campe.

The kings  
generall par-  
don.

The yong  
remoued  
half way  
towards  
Paris.

Also the  
yong  
queene  
was  
married.

John Fe  
the 3rd  
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last pro  
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course, meant not onlie to skirmiſh, but alſo to recover the yong queene from the French in ſpite of their hearts, had not the king of England and the moſt of his counsell faſtly forbidden them to attempt anie warlike encounter, ſo; certeine iuſt and weightie cauſes to them knowne. But the Scots ſmarted ſo; for this their vaine lightneſſe, as in former times ſo; like practiſes of their vile lewdeſſe, as C.O. ſaith;

*Sic leniora leui pluma promissa Scotorum  
Infamem reddunt gentem, dant sanguine panem  
Perfidia quandòq; sua velut ante dederunt.*

In this trouble some yere also Edmund Bonner  
bishop of London preached a sermon at Paules  
crosse, for the which he was accus<sup>d</sup> unto the counsell  
by William Latimer parson of saint Laurence  
Pountneire, and John Hooper sometime a wylde  
monke, and so conuented before the archbishop of  
Santurburie, and other commissioners at Lambeth,  
on the twentieth daie of that same moneth, and sent  
to the sparchallase. On the first of October he was  
deprived of his bishoprike, for disobeying the kings  
order in religion.]

How after that these hurle burlies were through-  
lie quieted, manie of the lords of the realme, as well  
councelloes as other, milking the government of  
the protector, began to withdraw themselves from  
the court, and retreating to London, fell to secret con-  
sultation for redress of things, but namelie for the  
displacing of the lord protector. And suddenly upon  
what occasion manie marvelled, but few knew. Ce-  
verie lord and councello went through the citie  
weaponed, and had their servants likewise weapo-  
ned, attending upon them in new liveries, to the  
great wondering of manie. And at the last a great  
assemble of the said councelloes was made at the  
earle of Warwicks lodging, which was then at Cle  
place in Holborne, whither all the confederats in this  
matter came privilie armed; and finally concluded  
to possesse the towne of London, which by the policie  
of sir William Baulet lord treasure of England  
was peaceablie obtained, & who by order of the said  
confederats immediatlie removed sir John Spar-  
ham then lieutenant of the towne, and placed in that  
rowe sir Leonard Chamberleine. And after that  
the said councill was broken up at Cle place, the  
earle of Warwicke removed forthwith into the citie  
of London, and laie in the house of one John Pothe  
a citizen of London, who was then cheef master of  
the mint, kept at Suffolke place in Southwarke.  
The lord protector hearing of the manner of the as-  
semble of this councill, and of the taking of the  
towne, which seemed to him verie strange and doubt-  
full, did presentlie the said night remove frō Hamp-  
ton court, taking the king with him, unto the castell  
of Windsoze, and there began to fortifie the same,  
and withall wrote a letter to that noble gentleman  
the lord Russell lord privie seale remaining as yet in  
the west countie, aduertising him of these troubles  
as followeth.

A letter of the lord protectors <sup>to</sup> the  
lord Russell lord privie seale, concerning  
troubles working against him.

**A**fter our right hartie commendations  
to your good lordship. Here hath of late ri-  
sen such a conspiracie against the kings  
maiestie & vs, as neuer hath bene sene,  
the which they can not mainteine, with such vatne  
letters and false fales furnished, as was neuer ment  
no; intended on vs. They pretend and saie, that we  
haue sold Bullongne to the French, and that we do  
withhold wages from the soldiers, & other such fales  
and letters they doe spread abroad (of the which if anye

one thing were true, we would not looſly to liue) the matter now being brought to a maruellous certemittie, ſuch as we would neuer haue thought it could haue come vnto, eſpeciallye of thoſe men towards the kings maiestie and vs, of whome we haue deſerued no ſuch thing, but rather much fauour and loue. But the caſe being as it is, this is to require & praie you, to haſten you hither to the deſenſe of the kings maiestie, in ſuch force and poluer as you maie, to thew the part of a true gentleman, and of a verie friend : the which thing we truſt God ſhall reward, and the kings maiestie in time to come, and we ſhall neuer be vnmindfull of it too. We are ſure you ſhall haue other letters from them, but as ye tender your dutie to the kings maiestie, we require you to make no ſtaie, but immediatlie repaire wiſth ſuch force as ye haue to his highneſſe in his caſtell of Windſor, and cauſe the reſt of ſuch force as ye maie make to follow you. And ſo we bid you right hartilie farewell. From Hampton court the ſixt of October.

20 well, From Hampton court the first of October.  
*Your lordships assured loving friend*  
*Edward Summerse.*

An answer to the lord protectors  
letter.

**T**his letter of the lord protectors sent the first of October, the lord Russell returning answer againe vpon the eight of the said month, first lamented the beaute diffention fallen betwene the nobilitie and him, which he toke for such a plague, as a greater could not be sent of almighty God vpon this realme being the next waie (said he) to make vs of conquerors, flames; and like to induce vpon the whole realme an vniuersall thzaldome and calamitie, vnlesse the mercifull goodnesse of the Lord doe helpe, and some wise order be taken in staing these great extremities. And as touching the dukes request in his letters, for so much as he had heard before of the houle of the lords, and feared least some conspiracie had bene meant against the kings person, he hastid forward with such companie as he could make, for the suertie of the king as to him appertained. Now perceluing by the lords letters sent vnto him the same first date of October, these tumults to rise vpon priuat causes betwene him and them, he therefore thought it expedient, that a conuenient power should be leued, to be in a readinesse to withstand the twoway (what perils soeuer might insue) for the preservation both of the king and state of the realme from inuasion of forreyn enemies, and also for the staing of bloodshed, if anie such thing should be intended betwixt the parties in the heat of this faction. And this he thinking best for the discharge of his allegiance, humbly besought his grace to haue the same also in speciall regard and consideration; first, that the kings maiestie be put in no feare; and that if there be anie such thing, wherein he hath giuen iust cause to them thus to proceed, he would be conforme himselfe, as no such priuat quarrels doe rebound to the publike disturbance of the realme: certifieng moreouer the duke, that if it were true which he understood by the letters of the lords, that he should send about proclamations and letters for raising vp of the commons, he liked not the same. For withstanding he trusted well that his wisdom would take such a waie, as no effusion of blood should followe.

And thus much being conteined in his former letters the eight of October, in his next letters againe written the eleventh of October, the said lord Russell refusing to heare of the most reasonable offers of the lord protector made to the lords, wrote unto him and

The contents  
of the second  
answer of the  
lord Russell to  
the lord pro-  
tector.

The number  
that came  
forth of ramp  
bletune.

The council  
withdrew  
themselves  
from that  
conference  
about the lo-  
pate of  
placing.

Causes that  
compelled the  
French king  
to breake up  
his campe.

The kings  
generall par:  
don.

The protecto  
temerity in  
tact with the  
thing to wind  
up.

18 Abr. Fl. ex gus.  
19 rindam colle-  
20 Francis.

John Fox in  
the Bas and  
Monuments  
Bitter of the  
and protec-  
tion to the  
and prime  
will.

and promised to do, what in the uttermost power of him (and likewise of sir William Herbert joined together with him) did lie, to worke some honorable reconciliation betwene him & them: so as his said offers being accepted and satisfied, some good conclusion might insue, according to their god hope and expectation: signifieng moreover, that as touching the leueng of men, they had resolved to haue the same in readinesse for the benefit of the realme, to occurre all inconueniences whatsoever, that either by forren inuasion or otherwise might happen: & so hauing their power at hand to draw nere, whereby they might haue the better oportunitie to be solicitous and meanes for this reformation on both parts, &c. And thus much for the answer of the lord Russell to the lord protectors letters.

The good lord Russell a solicitor for peace betwene the lord protector and the lords.

The lords of the council assembled against the lord protector.

But now to proceed and go forward with the matter of the lords, who together with the earle of Warwike (upon what occasion God knoweth) were assembled at London (as ye haue heard) against the lord protector. When the king with his council at Hampton court heard thereof, first secretarie Peter with the kings message was sent vnto them, whome the lords notwithstanding deteined still with them, making as yet no answer to the message. Whereupon the lord protector wrote as followeth.

### A letter of the lord protectors to the council at London.

The protectors letter to the lords.

**M** Lords we commend vs heartlie vnto you. And whereas the kings maiestie was informed that you were assembled in such sort as you do, and now remaine, and was aduised by vs and such other of his council as were then here about his person, to send master secretarie Peter vnto you with such a message, as whereby might haue insued the suertie of his maiesties person, with the preservation of his realme and subiects, and the quiet both of vs and your selues, as master secretarie can well declare to you: his maiestie and we of his council here do not a little maruell, that you staie still with you the said master secretarie, & haue not as it were boughsated to send answer to his maiestie, neither by him nor yet by anie other. And for our selues we do much more maruell and are sorie, as both we and you haue good cause to be, to see the manner of your doings bent with force of violence, to bring the kings maiestie & vs to these extremities.

No word hitherto sent from the lords to the lord protector what they required of him to do.

Which as we intend, if you will take no other waie but violence, to defend (as nature and allegiance doth bind vs) to extremitie of death, and to put all to Gods hand, who giueth victorie as it pleaseth him: so if that anie reasonable conditions & offers would take place (as hitherto none hath bene signified vnto vs from you, nor we do not vnderstand, what you do require or seeke, or what you do meane) and that you do seeke no hurt to the kings maiesties person, as touching all other priuat matters, to auoid the effusion of christian blood, and to preserve the kings maiesties person, his realme and subiects, you shall find vs agreeable vnto anie reasonable conditions that you will require. For we do esteeme the kings wealth and tranquillitie of the realme more than all other worldly things, yea than our owne life. Thus praieing you to send vs your determinate answer herein by master secretarie Peter, or if you will not let him go, by this bearer, we beseech God to giue both you and vs grace to determinate this matter, as maie be to Gods honor, the preservation of the king, and the quiet of vs all: which maie be, if the fault be not in you. And so we bid you most hartlie

farewell. From the kings maiesties castell of Windsor the seuenth of October, 1549.

Your lordships loving friend  
Edward Sumner.

After the receipt of these letters, the lords seeming not greatlie to regard the offers contained therein, persisted in their intended purpose; and continuing still in London conferred with the maior of London and his brethren, first willing them to cause a good and substantiall watch by night, and a good ward by daie to be kept for the safeguard of the citie, and the ports and gates thereof: which was consented vnto, and the companies of London in their turnes warned to watch and ward accordingly. When the said lords and counsellors demanded of the lord maior and his brethren five hundred men to aid them, to fetch the lord protector out of Windsor from the king. But therevnto the maior answered, that he could grant no aid without the assent of the common council of the citie: whereupon the next daie a common council was summoned to the Guildhall in London. But in this meane time the said lords of the council assembled themselves at the lord maiors house in London, who was then sir Henrie Amcotes fishmonger, and John Poike and Richard Turke shiriffes of the said citie. And there the said council agreed and published forthwith a proclamation against the lord protector, the effect of which proclamation was as followeth.

The lords continue in their intended purpose against the lord protector.

The kings read to the lords.

The record of an enemy to the lord protector.

Some Statute of London made against the recorder of London because he was a papist and a traitor.

A proclamation on published against the lord protector.

- 1 That the lord protector, by his malicious and euill gouernement, was the occasion of all the sedition that of late hath happened within the realme.
- 2 The losse of the kings peaces in France.
- 3 That he was ambitious and sought his owne glorie, as appeared by his building of most sumptuous and costlie buildings, and speciallie in the time of the kings warres, and the kings soldiers vnpayed.
- 4 That he esteemed nothing the graue council of the counsellors.
- 5 That he sowed sedition betwene the nobles, the gentlemen, and commons.
- 6 That the nobles assembled themselves together at London, for none other purpose, but to haue caused the protector to haue liued within his limits, and to haue put such order for the kings maiestie as appertained, whatsoever the protectors doings were, which (as they said) were vnnaturall, ingrate, and traitorous.
- 7 That the protector flattered the council to the king, and did what in him lay to cause variance betwene the king and his nobles.

- 8 That he was a great traitor, and therefore the lords desired the citie and commons to aid them to take him from the king. And in witnesse and testimony of the contents of the said proclamation the lords subscribed their names and titles as followeth.

The lord Rich lord chancellor, the lord S. John lord great maister and president of the council, the lord re. Juelles of Northampton, the earle of Warwike lord great chamberleine, the earle of Arundell lord chamberleine, the earle of Shrewsburie, the earle of Southampton Marquisse, sir Thomas Cheinie knight treasurer of the kings house and lord warden of the cinque ports, sir John Cage knight constable of the tower, sir William Peter knight secretarie, sir Edward North knight, sir Edward Montague cheefe iustice of the common pleas, sir Rafe Sadler, sir John Baker, sir Edward Mottson, doctor Mottson deane of Canturburie, sir Richard Southwell.

After the foresaid proclamation was proclaimed, the lords of the most of them continuing and lieng in London, came the next daie to the Guildhall, during

What it is to be into the city and the palace of the pynce.

The admiral George Blount.

With the contents of the said proclamation.

The Philip de la sent the king by the lords.

The lords continue in their intended purpose against the lord protector.

The lords continue in their intended purpose against the lord protector.

The lords continue in their intended purpose against the lord protector.

The lords continue in their intended purpose against the lord protector.

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The lords continue in their intended purpose against the lord protector.

The lords continue in their intended purpose against the lord protector.

ring the time that the lord maior and his brethren sat in their court or inner chamber, and entered and continued a long while with them, and at the last the maior and his brethren came forth vnto the common counsell, where was read the kings letter sent vnto the maior and citizens, commanding them to aid him with a thousand men, as hath maister Fox, and to send the same to his castell at Windsoze: and to the same letter was adioined the kings hand, and the lord protectors. On the other side, by the mouth of the recorder it was requested, that the citizens would grant their aid rather vnto the lords: for that the protector had abused both the kings maiestie, and the whole realme, and without that he were taken from the king, made to vnderstand his follie, this realme was in a great hazard: and therefore required that the citizens would willingly assent to aid the lords with five hundred men: herevnto was none other answer made but silence. But the recorder (who at that time was a worthy gentleman called maister Wyke) still cried vpon them for answer.

At the last stepped by a wise and good citizen, named (as maister Fox saith) George Stablow, and said thus. In this case it is good for vs to thinke of things past to avoid the danger of things to come. I remember (saith he) in a storie written in Fabians chronicle, of the warre betwene the king and his barons, which was in the time of king Henrie the third, and the same time the barons (as our lords do now) commanded aid of the maior and citie of London, and that in a rightfull cause for the common weale, which was for the execution of diuerse good lawes, wherevnto the king before had given his consent, and after would not suffer them to take place, and the citie did aid the lords. Now it came to an open battell, wherein the lords prevailed, and took the king and his sonne prisoners, and vpon certaine conditions the lords restored againe the king and his sonne to their liberties. And among all other conditions, this was one, that the king should not onlie grant his pardon to the lords, but also to the citizens of London, which was granted, yea and the same ratified by act of parlement. But what followed?

Was it forgotten? No surely, nor yet forgotten during the kings life. The liberties of the citie were taken away, strangers appointed to be our heads and gouernours, the citizens given awaye bodie and goods, and from one persecution to another were most miserably afflicted: such it is to enter into the wrath of a prince, as Salomon saith; The wrath and indignation of a prince is death. Wherefore for so much as this aid is required of the kings maiestie, whose voice we ought to hearken vnto (for he is our high shepheard) rather than vnto the lords: and yet I would not wish the lords to be clearlie shaken off, but that they with vs, and we with them may loine in suite, and make our most humble petition to the kings maiestie, that it would please his highnesse, to heare such complaint against the gouernement of the lord protector as may be iustlie alledged and proved. And I doubt not but this matter will be so pacified, that neither shall the king nor yet the lords haue cause to seeke for further aid, neither we to offend any of them both. After this tale the commons staid, and the lord maior and his brethren for that time brake vp, and afterward communed with the lords.

The lords sat the next daie in counsell in the Star chamber, and from thence they sent sir Philip Hobbie with their letters of credence to the kings maiestie, beseeching his highnesse to giue credit to that which the said Philip should declare vnto his maiestie in their names: the king gaue him libertie to speake, and most gentlie heard all that he had to saie. And truly he did so wisely declare his message, and so

grauely told his tale in the name of the lords, yea therewithall so vehementlie and grauenously against the protector, who was also there present by the king, that in the end, the lord protector was commanded from the kings presence, and shortly was committed to ward in a tower within the castell of Windsoze called Beauchamps tower. And sone after were staied sir Thomas Smith, sir Michaell Stanhope, and sir John Thyn knights, maister Challeie, maister Fisher, Maister of the priuie chamber, Craie of Reading, and diuers other gentlemen that attended vpon the lord protector. And the same daie the lords of the counsell came to Windsoze to the king, and the next daie they brought from thence the lord protector, and the other that were there staied, and conueied them through the citie of London, with as much wonderment as might be, vnto the tower, where they remained prisoners.

Touching the manner of the dukes coming to the tower from Windsoze, I find that it was on the fourteenth of October in the after none, at which time he was brought on horsebacke through Holburne, in at Newgate, and so to the tower of London, accompanied with diuerse lords and gentlemen with three hundred horse: the lord maior, sir Raife Warren, sir John Gresham, maister recorder, sir William Locke, and both the shiriffes, and other knights sitting on their horses against Soper lane, with all the officers with halberds, and from Holburne bridge to the tower, certeine aldermen or their deputies on horsebacke in euerie street, with a number of householders standing with billes as he passed. Shortly after the lords restored to the tower, and there charged the protector with sundrie articles, as followeth.

### Articles objected against the lord protector.

**I**n primis, you took vpon you the office of a protector and gouernour, vpon condition, expresselie and speciallie, that you would do nothing in the kings affaires publicke or priuatlie, but by the assent of the late kings executors.

2 Also you, contrarie to the said condition, of your owne authoritie, did staie and let iustice, and subuerted the lawes, as well by your letters as by your commandements.

3 Also you caused diuerse persons, being arrested and imprisoned for treason, murder, manslaughter and felonie, to be discharged and set at large, against the kings lawes and statutes of this realme.

4 Also you haue made and ordeined lieutenants for the kings armies, and other weightie affaires vnder your owne writing and seale.

5 Also you haue communed with the ambassadors of other realmes, discourting alone with them in the weightie causes of this realme.

6 Also you haue sometime rebuked, checked and taunted, as well priuatlie as openlie, diuerse of the kings most honorable counsellors, for shewing and declaring their aduises and opinions against your purposes in the kings weightie affaires, sateing sometimes to them, that you need not to open matters vnto them, and would therefore be otherwise aduised: and that you would, if they were not agreeable to your opinion, put them out, and take other at your pleasure.

7 Also you had and held against the law in your owne house, a court of requests, and thereby did in force diuerse the kings subiects to answer for their free holds and goods, and determined the same to the subuer-

The lord protector committed to prison.

Abr. Fl. ex I. Stow, 1044.

The lord protector committed to the tower.

subuersion of the same lawes.

8 Also you being no officer, without the aduise of the counsell, or the more part of them, did dispose of the offices of the kings gift for monie, and granted leases and wards of the kings, and gaue presentations to the kings benefices and bishopricks, hauing no authoritie so to do. And further, you did meddle with the selling of the kings lands.

9 Also you commanded multiplication and alteration to be practised to abuse the kings coine.

10 Also you caused a proclamation to be made concerning inclosures, whereby the common people haue made diuerse insurrections, and leuied open war, and distressed and spoiled diuerse of the kings subiects, which proclamation went forth against the will of the whole counsell.

11 Also you haue caused a commission with certaine articles thereunto annexed, to be made out concerning inclosures of commons, high wales, decaying of cottages, and diuerse other things, giuing the commissioners authoritie to heare and determine the same causes, to the subuersion of the lawes and statutes of this realme: whereby much sedition, insurrection, and rebellion haue risen and growne among the kings subiects.

12 Also you haue suffered the rebels and traitors to assemble and to lie in campe and armoz against the king, his nobles, and gentlemen, without anie speedie subduing or repressing of them.

13 Also you did comfort and encourage diuerse of the said rebels, by giuing of them diuerse sums of your owne monie, and by promising to diuerse of them, fees, rewards, and seruices.

14 Also you in fauor of the said rebels did against the lawes cause a proclamation to be made, that none of the said rebels and traitors should be sued or vexed by anie person, for anie their offenses in the said rebellion, to the cleare subuersion of the same lawes.

15 Also you haue said in time of the rebellion, that you liked well the doings and proceedings of the said rebels and traitors, and said that the countenance of the gentlemen gaue occasion to the common people to rise: saying also, that better it is for the commons to die, than perish for lacke of liuing.

16 Also you said that the lords of the parlement were loth to incline themselves to reformation of inclosures and other things: therefore the people had good cause to reforme the things themselves.

17 Also you after the report and declaration of the defaults and lacks reported to you by such as did surueie Bullongne and the peeces there, would neuer amend the same defaults.

18 Also you would not suffer the peeces beyond the seas, called Pewbawen and Blacknesse, to be furnished with men and vittels; although you were aduertised of the defaults therein by the capitaine of the same peeces and others, and were thereto aduertised by the kings counsell: whereby the French king being the kings open enemy, was encouraged and comforted to win the said peeces, to the kings great losse, and dishonour of his realme.

19 Also you declared and published vnrulie, as well to the kings maiestie, as other the yong lords attendant vpon his graces person, that the lords of the counsell at London minded to destroye the king, and you required the king neuer to forget it, but to reuenge it: and likewise you required the yong lords to put the king in remembrance thereof, to the intent to make sedition & discord betwene the king and his lords.

20 Also where the kings maiestie plesed counsell, of their loue and zeale that they did beare vnto the

king and his realme, did consult at London to haue communed with you, to the intent to moue you charitable to amend your doings and misgouernment: you hearing of the said assemble, did cause to be declared by letters in diuerse places the said lords to be high traitors to the king, to the great disturbance of the realme.

And thus much for these troubles of the lord protector, and articles against him obiected; to the end (as was doubted) that the same should haue cost him his life. But such was the pleasure of almighty God, disposing mens hearts as seemeth to him best, that at length, to wit, the first of February next, he was deliuered; and that night he supped at sir John Poynt one of the shiriffes of London, also the proclamation before set forth against him was reuoked & called in. And thus being againe restored, though not to his former office, yet vnto libertie, he continued therein for the space of two yeares and two daies, till new troubles (as after shall appeare) chanced to him, which as they were too heauie for him either to cast off, or carrie awaie; so were his lovers more readie to aggravate his burthen, than willing to ease him anie waie of the weight. So that this his exaltation & raising to dignitie, in respect of the short continuance thereof, as also for the enuie wherewith it was assailed, had bene better not to haue happened, than with such infelicite in so short a time to haue ended. But this fall from honor & aduancement with losse of life (than the which nothing more precious, nothing more delicious) grieved him the lesse: because he might perceiue (as some suspected) that rather of enuie than otherwise (reseruing the course of Gods iudgement and vengeance to the secrecie of his owne counsels) the same was deuised, persecuted, & finallye practised;

*Nam quo quisque magis pium est, studiosior equi,  
Charior & regi, & quo quisque potentior extat,  
Sentiet a prauis se tanto odiosius iri  
Dente Theonino rosum, quod forte latenter  
Fiet & occulte, lingua ne sentiat ictum  
Lethalem, donec flamen trux Atropos occet,  
Et vi Parcarum centum voluatur in unum.]*

¶ The seventeenth of October, king Edward came from Hampton court to his place in Southwiche, and there dined, and after dinner he made maister Poynt one of the shiriffes knight, and then rode thorough the citie to Westminster. The lord maior of London for this yeare named sir Woland Hill, was a man of great charitie and compassion, euent and effectuell testimonies whereof he hath left in the world; some of whose good deeds partlie in his remembrance & partlie for others example are veredie recorded. This man caused to be made a causeie, commonlie called Duerlane pauement in the high waie from Storie to Pantwith, in length foure miles, for horse and man, with diuerse lanes on both sides the same causeie. He caused likewise a causeie to be made from Dunchurch to Branzen in Warwickshire, more than two miles of length, and gaue twentie pounds in monie towards the making of Hopton bridge, three miles from Countreie. He made the high waie to Kilborne nere to London. He made foure bridges, two of them of stone, containing eightene arches in them both, the one ouer the riuer of Senerne, called Achamburidge; the other Ternebridge, for that the water of Terne runneth vnder it; the other two of timber at Stoke, and built a good part of Stoke church. He builded one notable free schole at Wraiton in Shropshire, with maister and other, and sufficient stipends for them both, besides convenient lodgings for the same. He also purchased a free faire to the said towne, with a free market weeklie, & also a free market for cattell euerie

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Mr. Fl. ex  
Snow, 1045.

ates crea-

Mr. Gambo  
and another  
pope in mae-  
fired.

Guero and  
changed.

Charitable  
was of the  
Rowland  
Hill.

1550  
Anno Reg. 4.



Dom. 1549

1549. Reg. 3. 4.

fourteen daies. He gaue to the hospitall of Christ church in London in his life time five hundred pounds in readie monie, and a hundred pounds at his decesse.]

But now to returne to other doings. Whilste these huris and tumults were in hand, to the danger of the whole state, the wars against the Scots were nothing followed, according to the former purposed meaning of the counsell: so that it seemed necessarie to giue ouer the keeping of Haddington, the same being in deed more chargeable (as was thought) than profitable, sith the garrison there could not be bitted but with a great power to conduct the cariages in safetie, the enimies being still readie to take their advantage to distresse them upon anie opportunitie offered. It was therefore resolved, that the earle of Rutland should go thither to see the fortifications raised, and to conduct from thence the men & ordinance in safetie home into England. Whereupon the said earle with the Almans, and other souldiours then remaining on the borders, marched thither, and caused the bulwarks, rampiers, and trenches to be raised and filled flat with the ground, and bringing from thence all the men, artillerie and munition, bag and baggage returned vnto Barwicke without encounter, in peaceable and quiet maner.

Shortlie after this, the kings maiestie called his high court of parlement, which began at Westminster, the foure and twentieth daie of Nouember in this third yeare of his reigne, and there continued the same vntill the first daie of Februarie next following, which was in the beginning of the fourth yeare of his reigne. And among other things there enacted and concluded, one statute was made for the punishment of rebels, and vnlawfull assemblies: the which law was made by occasion of the late rebellion that happened in manner through the realme the yeare passed, & was not thought nor meant to haue touched anie noble man, speciallie such as the duke of Summerset was, which after (as it shall appeare) it did, and by that statute he was condemned within two yeares next after.

The nineteenth of Januarie, sir John Russell lord priue seale, was created earle of Bedford: and lord saint John lord great maister, was created earle of Wilshire: and sir William Paget, comptroller of the kings house, was made lord Paget. On the same daie at night, were murdered by saint Pauls church against the kings head without Petergate of London two capteins, that had serued the king of Bullongne and else-where, the one was sir Peter Gambo, the other Filicirga. Which murder was committed by Charles Canaro a Flemming, who came poss from Barwicke to do that act. On the morrow, he with three of his companie was taken in Smithfield by the lord Paget, and sent to Petergate, and the foure and twentieth of Januarie they were all foure, Charles Canaro, Balthasar Canaro, Nicholas Wisalneron, and Francis Deualasco, had in a cart to Smithfield. And by the waie at the place where the murder was done, Charles Canaro had his right hand striken off on the cart wheele, and then all hanged in Smithfield; who being exhorted to reconcile himselfe to God and the world by confessing his fault, by repenting himselfe of the offense, and asking forgiveness, that he might with a disburthened conscience resigne his soule into the hands of God, obstinatie and desperatie answered, that he would neuer repent him of the deed.]

About the same time, monsieur de Thermes that succeeded monsieur de Wesse in gouernement as general of the French forces in Scotland, came before Broughthcrag, where he did so much by batterie & other kinds of inforcement, that giuing an assault

both with his Frenchmen and certaine Scots joined with him, the twentieth of Februarie, the fort was entered by fire force, and all within it either taken or slaine. Sir John Lutterell gouernour of that peece remained prisoner amongst the Frenchmen. Moreover, now after the end of the parlement, the earle of Marlowe, hauing then highest authoritie, and the rest of the lords of the counsell, calling to remembrance how the last yeare in the time of rebellion, the French king had entered Bullongnois, and wonne diuerse of the English forts there, being of great importance for defense of the towne and countrie, the default whereof was imputed to the negligent gouernment of the lord protector: and for so much as they well vnderstood that the French king vpon further practise had placed a capteine called the Reingraue, with diuerse regiments of Almaine lancequenets, and certaine ensignes also of Frenchmen, to the number of foure or five thousand at the towne of Hoguison, being the midwaie betwene Bullongne and Calis, to the great perill and danger as well of the countie of Bullongnois, as also of Calis, Gulesnes, and all the low countrie.

The king therefore for the defense of the said frontiers, caused all the strangers which had serued that yeare against the rebels, being to the number of two thousand, to be transported ouer the sea to the marches of Calis. And now at Christmas last past, by order of the said earle, and of the counsellors aforesaid, Francis earle of Huntington, and sir Edward Hastings his brother, sir James Croft, sir Leonard Chamberleine, and diuerse other capteins and souldiers, to the number of three thousand, were set ouer to the marches of Calis, to ioine with the said strangers, minding with as conuenient speed as they might, to remoue the campe, and otherwile to annoie the French. But in the meane time through the diligent trauell of certaine persons, speciallie of one Guidotti an Italian, and a Florentine borne, there was a motion made for a treatie to be had by certaine commissioners, appointed betwixt the kings of England and France, for the conclusion of some peace, vpon such reasonable conditions and articles as might be thought expedient for the present time; and to stand with the honor and commoditie of both the princes.

This motion toke such effect, that about the seventh daie of Februarie, certaine commissioners, appointed for this treatie, that is to wit, John the earle of Bedford, the lord Paget, sir William Peter the kings chiefe secretarie, and sir John Mason, arrived at Calis: by reason of whose coming, the earle of Huntington, and the armie sent ouer before for the defense of the frontiers were countermanded from anie attempt, so that little or nothing was done in that voyage, sauing certaine skirmishes at diuerse times, not much materiall to be witten of. These commissioners being thus arrived, passed from Calis to Bullongne, there to meet with the commissioners appointed for the French king, where as a certaine house was newlie erected for the said treatie to be had, which was vpon the side of Bullongne haueu next to France, where after diuerse meetings & conferences of the commissioners of either partie, a finall peace was at last concluded betwixt both the realmes. But the chief among other things, for the restitution of Bullongne and Bullongnois to the Frenchmen, which were vpon certaine conditions following.

First, that the French king should yeeld and paie to the king of England a certaine summe of monie, and the same to be paid at two payments, as it was then agreed: and for the same summe the king of England should render the towne of Bullongne,

Sir John Lutterell prisoner.

Erle of warwick in high-est authoritie.

Hoguison the midwaie between Bullen and Calis.

It is agreed among the lords to ink it and annoie the French.

Commissioners sent to treat of peace.

A peace concluded with France vpon certaine conditions.

and

Bullongne  
given by to  
the French.

He entereth.

Abr. Fl. ex  
L.S. pag. 1046.  
How officers  
created of the  
nobilitie.

The libertie  
of South-  
wiche pur-  
chased.

The duke of  
Summerfet  
delivered out  
of the tower.

A marriage to  
compose strife  
and establish  
amitie.

Rich. Grafton.  
Rebellion in  
Kent execu-  
ted.

Priests chil-  
dren legiti-  
mate.  
Curie for-  
bidden.

Abr. Fl. ex L.S.  
pag. 1047, 1048  
Alderman of  
Southwiche.

and all the forts thereto adjoining, which he then in-  
toied, with all such artillerie and munition as was  
there found at the taking of the same to the French  
king. And for the sure payment of the said sum, the  
French king sent into England for hostages and  
pledges, the counte de Anguien, Lewis the duke of  
Clansome his brother, the Viscount of Chartres, and  
the duke de Anmale and others. And on S. Parkes  
daie next following, being the five and twentieth daie  
of Aprill, about eight of the clocke in the morning,  
the Englishmen did deliver to the Frenchmen the  
possession of Bullongne, and the castles and forts in  
the countie of Bullognois, according to the agree-  
ments and articles of peace afore mentioned. And  
the fifteenth daie next following the French king en-  
tered into the said towne of Bullongne with trum-  
pets blowne, & with all the roiall triumph that might  
be, where he offered one great image of silver of our  
ladie in the church there, which was called our ladie  
church: the which image he had caused speciallie to  
be made in the honoz of the said ladie, and caused the  
same to be set up in the place where the like image  
before did stand, the which before was taken awaie  
by the Englishmen at the winning of the towne.

¶ On Candlemasse daie, William lord S. John  
earle of Wiltshire, lord great maister, and president  
of the counsell, was made lord treasurer. John Dud-  
leie earle of Warwicke, lord great chamberleine,  
was made lord great maister. William Parre mar-  
quess of Dorhampton, was made lord great cham-  
berleine. Lord Wentworth was made lord cham-  
berleine of the household. Sir Anthoine Wingfield  
capitaine of the gard, was made comptrollor of the  
kings house. And sir Thomas Warcie knight, was  
made vicechamberleine & capitaine of the gard. And  
the earle of Southhampton were put off the counsell,  
and commanded to keepe their houses in London.  
¶ On the 10 of Februarie, one Will a Suffolke man  
was hanged and quartered at Tyburne, for moving  
a new rebellion in Suffolke and Essex. This time,  
the lord maioz of London and the aldermen purcha-  
sed all the liberties of Southwiche, which were in  
the kings hands.]

¶ Some after the aforesaid agreement betwene  
England and France was concluded, upon the fore  
remembered capitulations, because of suspicion of  
displeasure and hatred that was thought to remaine  
betwene the earle of Warwicke and the duke of  
Summerfet, latelie before delivered out of the  
tower, a meane was found that their friendship  
should be renewed through alliance, and a marriage  
was concluded betwene the earle of Warwicks  
eldest sonne, and the duke of Summerfets eldest  
daughter: the which marriage was solemnized at  
Shene, the king being then present. After the sole-  
mnitie of this marriage, there appeared outwardlie to  
the world great love and friendship betwene the  
duke and the earle, but by reason of carietales and  
flatterers, the love continued not long, howbeit ma-  
nie did verie earnestlie wish love and amitie to con-  
tinue betwene them. ¶ About this time was a  
new rebellion in Kent, but it was soon suppressed,  
and certeine of the chiefe were apprehended and put  
to death, namelie Richard Lion, Goddard Cozrain,  
and Richard Ireland. This yeare was a parlement  
holden at Westminster, where among other things  
by the authoritie of the said parlement, priests chil-  
dren were made legitimate, and blurie for the loane  
of monie forbidden.]

¶ On wednesdaie in Whitsuneweke, at a court of  
aldermen kept at the Guildhall, sir John Alisse  
knight, and maister of Blackwell hall, was sworn  
alderman of the Bridge ward without, to have iuris-

diction of the borough of Southwiche, and this was  
he the first alderman that ever was there, who made  
up the number of six and twentie aldermen of Lon-  
don, whereas before that time had bene but five and  
twentie. Trinitie tearme was adourned till spi-  
chaelmasse, for that the gentlemen should keepe the  
commons from commotion. The cleventh of June  
being S. Barnabies daie, was kept hollidaie all  
London over: and the same daie at night, the high  
altar in Paules church was pulled downe, and a  
table set where the altar stood, with a velle drowne  
beneath the steps; and on the sondaie next a commu-  
nion was song at the same table; and shortly after  
all the altars in London were taken downe, and  
tables placed in their rooms. This yeare was no  
such watch at Whitsunmas as had bene accustomed.

The thirtieth of Julie Thomas lord Wriothesleie  
erle of Southampton, knight of the garter, and one  
of the executors to king Henrie the eight, deceased  
at Lincolne place in Holborne, and was buried in  
S. Andrewes church there. Sir Andrew Jude for  
this yeare maioz of London, and Skinner, erected one  
notable scholshole at Tunbridge in Kent, wherein he  
brought up and nourished in learning great store of  
youth, as well bred in that shire, as brought from o-  
ther countries adjoining. A noble act and correspon-  
dent to those that have bene done by like worthi-  
full men, and other in old time within the same cite  
of London. He also builded almshouse for six  
poore almshouse people, nigh to the parish church of saint  
Helens within Bishopsgate of London, & gave land  
to the companie of the skinners in the same cite, a-  
mounting to the value of threescore pounds three shil-  
lings eight pence the yeare: for the which they be  
bound to paie twentie pounds to the scholemaister,  
and eight pounds to the vther of his scholshole at  
Tunbridge yearelie for ever, and foure shillings the  
weeke to the six poore almshouse people at S. Helens  
aforesaid, eight pence the pace wekelie, and five and  
twentie shillings foure pence the yeare in coles a-  
mongst them for ever.]

About this time there was at Feuerham in Kent  
a gentleman named Arden, most cruellie murde-  
red and slaine by the procurement of his owne wife.  
The which murder, for the horriblenesse thereof, al-  
though otherwise it may seeme to be but a private  
matter, and therefore as it were impertinent to this  
historie, I have thought good to set it forth somewhat  
at large, having the instructions delivered to me by  
them, that have used some diligence to gather the  
true understanding of the circumstances. This Ar-  
den was a man of a tall and comelie personage, and  
matched in marriage with a gentlewoman, young,  
tall, and well favoured of shape and countenance,  
who chancing to fall in familiaritie with one apostle  
a tailor by occupation, a blacke swart man, servant  
to the lord Poorth, it happened this apostle upon some  
mislaking to fall out with hir: but the being desirous  
to be in favour with him againe, sent him a paire of  
silver dice by one Adam Foule dwelling at the  
fleure de lice in Feuerham.

After which he resorted to hir againe, and often-  
times laie in Ardens house: in somuch that within  
two yeares after, he obtained such favour at hir  
hands, that he laie with hir, or (as the y terme it) kept  
hir, in abusing hir bodie. And although (as it was  
said) Arden perceived right well their mutuall fa-  
miliaritie to be much greater than their honestie, yet  
because he would not offend hir, and so lose the bene-  
fit which he hoped to gaine at some of hir kents  
hands in bearing with hir lewenesse, which he might  
have lost if he should have fallen out with hir: he  
was contented to wink at hir filthie disorder, and  
both permitted, and also invited apostle verie often

Termes  
journe.

S. Barnabie  
kept hollid.  
high altar  
Paules pul-  
led downe.

No watch  
at Whitsunmas

Earle of  
Southampton  
deceased

Cherrie  
houses of  
Dewon Jure,  
Freschville  
Tunbridge.

Times  
houses.

1551  
Anno Reg.  
Arden was  
murdered.

Arden de-  
scribed.

One and  
half.

A paire of  
silver dice  
was sent  
much.

Arden was  
killed at his  
house in  
Kent, a tale

Ardens wife  
attempteth  
to make awaie  
her husband.

Ardens pos-  
session  
was but reco-  
vered.

She desired  
another woman  
to dispatch her  
husband Ar-  
den.

A notorious  
murdering  
cathol.

Marke how  
the devil will  
not let his o-  
rgans or in-  
struments let  
him either oc-  
casion or oppor-  
tunitie to com-  
mit most he-  
nous wicked-  
nesse.

A desperate  
bulaine.



The fourth  
attempt to  
make Arden  
awake disap-  
pointed.

will shew you the cause. My maister yesternight did  
that he neuer did before: for after I was in bed, he  
rose up and shut the doores, and in the morning rated  
me for leauing them vnshut. And herewith Greene &  
blacke Will were pacified. Arden being redie to go  
home wards, his maid came to Greene & said; This  
night will my maister go downe. Whereupon it was  
agreed that blacke Will should kill him on Keinam  
downe. When maister Arden came to Rochester, his  
man still fearing that blacke Will would kill him  
with his maister, picked his horse of purpose, and  
made him to halt, to the end he might protrae the  
time, and tarie behind. His maister asked him why  
his horse halted, he said, I know not. Well (quoth  
his maister) when ye come at the smith here before  
(betwene Rochester and the hill fot ouer against  
Chetam) remove his shoe, and search him, and then  
come after me. So maister Arden rode on: and per  
he came at the place where blacke Will laie in wait  
for him, there ouertoke him diuerse gentlemen of  
his acquaintance, who kept him companie: so that  
blacke Will mist here also of his purpose.

Blacke will  
misteth his  
purpose.

After that maister Arden was come home, he  
sent (as he vsuallie did) his man to Sheppee to sir Tho-  
mas Cheinie, then lord warden of the cinque ports,  
about certeine businesse, and at his comming awaie,  
he had a letter deliuered sent by sir Thomas Cheinie  
to his maister. When he came home, his miste  
take the letter and kept it, willing his man to tell his  
maister, that he had a letter deliuered him by sir  
Thomas Cheinie, and that he had lost it; adding that  
he thought it best that his maister should go the next  
morning to sir Thomas, because he knew not the  
matter: he said he would, and therefore he willed his  
man to be stirring betimes. In this meane while,  
blacke Will, and one George Shakesbag his compa-  
nion, were kept in a storehouse of sir Anthoine A-  
gers at Dzeffon, by Greenes appointment: and thi-  
ther came mistresse Arden to see him, bringing and  
sending him meat and drinke manie times. He ther-  
fore lurking there, and watching some opportunitie  
for his purpose, was willed in anie wise to be vp  
earlie in the morning, to lie in wait for maister Ar-  
den in a certeine brome close, betwixt Feuertham &  
the ferrie (which close he must needs passe) there to do  
his feat. Now blacke Will stirred in the morning be-  
times, but mist the waie, & taried in a wrong place.

Ardens wife  
disteth, suc-  
coureth, em-  
boldeneth, and  
directeth black  
will as: how  
to accomplish  
his bloody  
purpose.

Note here the  
force of feare  
and a troubled  
conscience.

Maister Arden & his man comming on their waie  
earlie in the morning towards Honnelan, where sir  
Thomas Cheinie laie: as they were almost come to  
the brome close, his man alwaies fearing that  
blacke Will would kill him with his maister, feined  
that he had lost his purse; Why said his maister, thou  
folly knave, couldst thou not looke to thy purse but  
lose it? What was in it? Whye pounds said he. Why  
then go thy waies backe againe like a knave (said  
his maister) and seeke it, for being so earlie as it is,  
there is no man stirring, and therefore thou maist be  
sure to find it, and then conie and ouertake me at the  
ferrie. But neuerthelesse, by reason that blacke Will  
lost his waie, maister Arden escaped yet once againe.  
At that time, blacke Will yet thought he should  
haue bene sure to haue met him homeward: but  
whether that some of the lord wardens men accom-  
panied him backe to Feuertham, or that being in  
doubt, for that it was late to go through the brome  
close, and therefore toke another waie, blacke Will  
was disappointed then also.

Blacke will  
yet againe  
disappointed.

Arden's wife  
quarrell against  
Arden by the  
conspirators.

But now saint Valentines faire being at hand,  
the conspirators thought to dispatch their diuclish in-  
tention at that time. Posbie minded to picke some  
quarrell to maister Arden at the faire to fight with  
him; for he said he could not find in his heart to mur-  
ther a gentleman in that soft as his wife wished: al-

though he had made a solemne promise to him, and  
he againe to him, to be in all points as man and wife  
together, and thereupon they both receiued the sacra-  
ment on a sundaie at London, openlie in a church  
there. But this deuise to fight with him would not  
serue, for maister Arden both then and at other times  
had bene greatlie prouoked by Posbie to fight with  
him, but he would not. Now Posbie had a sister that  
dwelt in a tenement of maister Ardens nere to his  
house in Feuertham: and on the faire euen, blacke  
Will was sent for to come thither, and Greene bring-  
ing him thither, met there with mistresse Arden, ac-  
companied with Michaelel her man, and one of her  
maids. There were also Posbie and George Shakes-  
bag, and there they deuised to haue killed him in ma-  
ner as after wards he was. But yet Posbie at the  
first would not agree to that cowardlie murdering  
of him, but in a furie frowning awaie, and went by the  
abbie street toward the holwer be lice, the house of  
the aforesaid Adam Foule, where he did often  
hoel. But before he came thither now at this time, a  
messenger ouertoke him, that was sent from mi-  
stres Arden, desiring him of all lones to come backe  
againe to helpe to accomplish the mater he knew of.  
Whereupon he returned to his againe, and at his com-  
ming backe, he fell downe upon his knees to him,  
and besought him to go through with the matter, as  
if he loved him he would be content to do, sith as he  
had diuerse times told him, he needed not to doubt,  
for there was not anie that would care for his death,  
nor make anie great inquirie for them that should  
dispatch him.

Ardens wife,  
blacke will,  
the knor of  
bilans man  
and conclude  
upon their  
murderous  
mispract.

Posbie  
note a bla-  
die minded  
drumpe!

Posbie what  
a countenance  
of innocencie  
and ignorance  
he bore after  
the murder-  
ing of his  
husband.

Thus the being earnest with him, at length he  
was contented to agree vnto that horrible deuise,  
and thereupon they conueied blacke Will into mai-  
ster Ardens house, putting him into a closet at the  
end of his parlour. Before this, they had sent out of  
the house all the seruants, those excepted which were  
pruiue to the deuised murder. Then went Posbie to  
the doze, and there stood in a night gowne of silke gir-  
ded about him, and this was betwixt six and seven of  
the clocke at night. Maister Arden hauing bene at a  
neighbors house of his, named Dumphin, & hauing  
cleared certeine reckonings betwixt them, came  
home: and finding Posbie standing at the doze, as-  
ked him if it were supper time: I thinke not (quoth  
Posbie) it is not yet readie. Then let vs go and plaie  
a game at the tables in the meane season, said mai-  
ster Arden. And so they went straight into the parlor:  
and as they came by through the hall, his wife was  
walking there, and maister Arden said; How now  
mistresse Ales? But she made small answer to him.  
In the meane time one cheined the tickert doze of the  
entrie. When they came into the parlor, Posbie sat  
downe on the bench, hauing his face toward the  
place where blacke Will stood. When Michaelel mai-  
ster Ardens man stood at his masters backe, holding  
a candle in his hand, to shadow blacke Will, that  
Arden might by no meanes perceiue him comming  
forth. In their plate Posbie said thus (which seemed  
to be the watchword for blacke Wills comming  
forth) Now mate I take you sir if I will. Take me  
(quoth maister Arden) which waie? With that blacke  
Will stepped forth, and cast a towell about his necke,  
so to stop his breath and strangle him. Then Posbie  
hauing at his girdle a pressing iron of fourteen  
pounds weight, stroke him on the hed with the same,  
so that he fell downe, and gaue a great grone, insa-  
much that they thought he had bene killed.

The posbie  
to kill Arden  
is now let  
abrook.

Here the con-  
spirators were  
their granicle

The watch-  
word to the  
principal  
murderer.

The workers  
of this mis-  
chiefe carie  
on Arden  
downe into the  
kild.

Thus he did  
to colour his  
backe on the  
bench by no  
meanes was  
applicable.

Arden's con-  
science man and  
a referer of  
his priuat  
posse: whose  
common  
faine.

Then they bare him awaie, to laie him in the coun-  
ting house, & as they were about to laie him downe, Arden saie  
the pangs of death comming on him, he gaue a  
great grone, and stretched himselfe, and then blacke  
Will gaue him a great gash in the face, and so kil-  
led

Ardens wife, blacke will, & the knot of dulans meet and conclude upon their former preceptio mischief.

Dispossessionate & bloudie minded strumpet!

The parricide to kill Arden is now set abroch.

Here the confederates come their practices

The watchword to the principall murderers.

Arden slain outright.

Arden's wife, blacke will, & the knot of dulans meet and conclude upon their former preceptio mischief.

Dispossessionate & bloudie minded strumpet!

The parricide to kill Arden is now set abroch.

The watchword to the principall murderers.

Arden slain outright.

led him out of his hand, laid him along, toke the monie out of his purse, and the rings from his fingers, and then comming out of the counting house, said; Now the feat is done, give me my monie. So mistres Arden gaue him ten pounds: and he comming to Greene, had a horse of him, and so rode his waies. After that blacke Will was gone, mistres Arden came into the counting house, and with a knife gaue him seven or eight picks into the brest. Then they made cleane the parlor, toke a clout, and wiped where it was bloudie, and strewed againe the rushes that were thuffed with strugling, and cast the clout with which they wiped the blood, and the knife that was bloudie, wherewith she had wounded hir husband, into a tub by the wel side; where afterwards both the same clout and knife were found. Thus this wicked woman, with hir complices, most shamefullie murdered hir owne husband, who most entirly loved hir all his life time. When she sent for two Londoners to supper, the one named Dune, and the other Cole, that were grocers, which before the murder was committed, were bidden to supper. When they came, she said: I maruell where maister Arden is; he will not tarie for him, come ye and sit downe, for he will not be long. Then Possibies sister was sent for, she came and sat downe, and so they were merie.

After supper, mistres Arden caused hir daughter to plaie on the virginals, and they danc'd, and she with them, and so seemed to protract time as it were, till maister Arden should come, and she said, I maruell where he is so long; well, he will come anon I am sure, I praie you in the meane while let vs plaie a game at the tables. But the Londoners said, they must go to their holls house, or else they should be shut out at doores, and so taking their leave, departed. When they were gone, the seruants that were not yssue to the murder, were sent abroad into the towne, some to seeke their maister, and some of other errands, all fauing Michaell and a maid, Possibies sister, and one of mistres Ardens owne daughters. Then they toke the dead bodie, and caried it out, to laie it in a field next to the church-yard, and soing to his garden wall, through the which he went to the church. In the meane time it began to snow, and when they came to the garden gate, they remembred that they had forgotten the keye, and one went in for it, and finding it, at length brought it, opened the gate, and caried the corps into the same field, as if were ten paces from the garden gate, and laid him downe on his backe streight in his night gowne, with his slippers on: and betwene one of his slippers and his foot, a long rush or two remained. When they had thus laid him downe, they returned the same way they came through the garden into the house.

They being returned thus backe againe into the house, the doores were opened, and the seruants returned home that had bene sent abroad: and being now verie late, she sent forth hir folks againe to make inqurie for him in diuerse places; namely, among the best in the towne where he was wont to be, who made answer, that they could tell nothing of him. When she began to make an outcrie, and said; Fewer woman had such neighbors as I haue, and herewith wept: in somuch that hir neighbors came in, and found hir making great lamentation, pretending to maruell what was become of hir husband. Whereupon, the maior and others came to make search for him. The satire was wont to be kept partie in the towne, and partie in the abbey; but Arden for his owne priuat lucre & couetous gaine had this present yeare procured it to be wholy kept within the abbey ground which he had purchased; &

so reaping all the gaines to himselfe, and bereauing the towne of that portion which was wont to come to the inhabitants, got manie a bitter curse. The maior going about the satire in this search, at length came to the ground where Arden laie: and as it happened, Dune the groser getting sight of him, first said; Staie, for me thinke I see one lie here. And so they looking and beholding the bodie, found that it was maister Arden, lieng there throughlie dead, and viewing diligentlie the maner of his bodie & hurts, found the rushes sticking in his slippers, and marking further, espied certeine footsteps, by reason of the snow, betwixt the place where he laie, and the garden doze.

Then the maior commanded euerie man to staie, and herewith appointed some to go about, & to come in at the inner side of the house through the garden as the waie laie, to the place where maister Ardens dead bodie did lie; who all the waie as they came, perceived footings still before them in the snow: and so it appeared plainlie that he was brought along that waie from the house through the garden, and so into the field where he laie. Then the maior and his companie that were with him went into the house, and knowing hir euill demeanour in times past, examined hir of the matter: but she desired them and said, I would you should know I am no such woman. Then they examined hir seruants, and in the examination, by reason of a peece of his heare and blood found nere to the house in the waie, by the which they caried him forth, and likewise by the knife with which she had thrust him into the brest, and the clout wherewith they wiped the blood awaie which they found in the tub, into the which the same were thrown; they all confessed the matter, and hir selfe beholding hir husbands blood, said; Oh the blood of God helpe, for this blood haue I shed.

Then were they all attached, and committed to prison, and the maior with others went presentlie to the flower de lice, where they found Possibie in bed: and as they came towards him, they espied his hose and purse stained with some of maister Ardens blood. And when he asked what they meant by their comming in such sort, they said; See, here ye may vnderstand wherefore, by these tokens, shewing him the blood on his hose and purse. Then he confessed the deed, and so he and all the other that had conspired the murder, were apprehended and laid in prison, except Greene, blacke Will, and the painter, which painter and George Shakebag, that was also fled before, were neuer heard of. Whortlie were the sessions kept at Feuerham, where all the prisoners were acceigned and condemned. And thereupon being examined whether they had anie other complices, mistres Arden accused Bradshaw, upon occasion of the letter sent by Greene from Graues end, (as before ye haue heard) which words had none other meaning, but onelie by Bradshaws describing of blacke Wills qualities; Greene iudged him a mate instrument for the erection of their pretended murder. Whereto notwithstanding (as Greene confessed at his death certeine yeares after) this Bradshaw was neuer made priuie; howbeit he was vpon this accusation of mistres Arden, immediately sent for to the sessions, and indicted, and declaration made against him, as a procurer of blacke Will to kill maister Arden, which proceeded wholy by misunderstanding of the words contained in the letter which he brought from Greene.

Then he desired to talke with the persons condemned, and his request was granted. He therefore demanded of them if they knew him, or ever had anie conuersation with him, & they all said no. When the letter being shewed and read, he declared the bo-

Ardens dead bodie is described by one of his acquaintances.

Footsteps did alongt from the dead bodie of Arden to his dwelling house.

A peece of Ardens heare and his blood spilt in the heule espied, as also a bloudie knife and a clout found.

Some of Ardens blood vpon Possibies purse.

The principals of this murder fled awaie.

Bradshaw as vniuoluntarie accused, as his simplicity was shamefullie abused.



Innocencie  
no barre a-  
gainst specu-  
latoz.

Note how  
these malefac-  
toz suffered  
punishment.

Blacke Will  
burnt at  
flashing.

I wonder tou-  
ching the  
print of Ar-  
dens dead bo-  
die two yeares  
after he was  
slaine.

God heareth  
the teares of  
the oppressed  
and taketh  
vengeance:  
note an exam-  
ple in Arden.

¶ parliament.

¶ booke of  
common pra-  
ctice confirmed.

Abt. Fl. ex  
I.S. pag. 1049.  
Sweating  
sickness.

rie truth of the matter, and vpon what occasion he told Cræne of blacke Will: neuerthelesse, he was condemned, and suffered. These condemned per- sons were diuerlie executed in sundrie places, for Michaell maister Ardens man was hanged in chaines at Feuertham, and one of the maids was burnt there, pitifullie bewailing hir case, and cried out on hir mistres that had brought hir to this end, for the which she would neuer forgive hir. Posbie & his sister were hanged in Smithfield at London; mistres Arden was burned at Canturburie the foure and twentieth of March. Cræne came againe certeine yeares after, was apprehended, condem- ned, & hanged in chaines in the high waie betwixt Wppring & Boughton against Feuertham; blacke Will was burnt on a scaffold at flashing in Ze- land. Adam Foule that dwelt at the house de lice in Feuertham was brought into trouble about this matter, and caried vpon to London, with his legs bound vnder the horse bellie, and committed to pri- son in the Sparthallie: for that Posbie was heard to saie; Had it not bene for Adam Foule, I had not come to this trouble: meaning that the bringing of the siluer dice for a token to him from mistres Ar- den, as ye haue heard, occasioned him to renew fa- miliaritie with hir againe. But when the matter was thoughtlie ripped vp, & that Posbie had cleared him, protesting that he was neuer of knowledge in anie behalfe to the murder, the mans innocencie preferred him.

This one thing seemeth verie strange and nota- ble, touching maister Arden, that in the place where he was laid, being dead, all the propoition of his bo- die might be seene two yeares after and more, so plaine as could be, for the grasse did not grow where his bodie had touched: but betwene his legs, be- twene his armes, and about the hollownesse of his necke, and round about his bodie, and where his legs, armes, head, or anie other part of his bodie had touched, no grasse growed at all of all that time. So that manie strangers came in that meane time, be- side the towne men, to see the print of his bodie there on the ground in that field. Which field he had (as some haue reported) most cruellie taken from a woman, that had bene a widow to one Cooke, and after married to one Richard Kead a mariner, to the great hinderance of hir and hir husband the said Kead: for they had long inioied it by a lease, which they had of it for manie yeares, not then expired: neuerthelesse, he got it from them. For the which, the said Keads wife not onelie exclaimed against him, in sheading manie a salt teare, but also cursed him most bitterlie euen to his face, wishing manie a vengeance to light vpon him, and that all the world might wonder on him. Which was thought then to come to passe, when he was thus murdered, and laie in that field from midnight till the morning: and so all that daie, being the faire daie till night, all the which daie there were manie hundreds of people came wondering about him. And thus far touching this horrible and heinous murder of maister Arden. To returne then where we left.

About this time the kings maiestie calling his high court of parliament, held the same at West- minster the three and twentieth daie of Januarie, in this fift yeare of his reigne, and there continued it, untill the fiftenth daie of Aprill in the first yeare of his said reigne. In this parlement the booke of com- mon praier, which in some part had bene corrected and amended, was newlie confirmed & established. ¶ In the end of this parlement, namelie the fiftenth of Aprill the infectious sweating sickness began at Shrewesburie, which ended not in the north part of England untill the end of September. In this space

what number died, it cannot be well accounted: but certeine it is, that in London in few daies nine hundred and sixtie gaue vp the ghost. It began in London the ninth of Iulie, and the twelfth of Iulie it was most vehement: which was so terrible, that people being in best helth, were suddentlie taken, and dead in foure and twentieth houres, and twelue, or lesse, for lacke of skill in guiding them in their sweat. And it is to be noted, that this mortalitie fell chiefly: 10 or rather vpon men, and those also of the best age, as betwene thirtie & forty yeares. The speedie riddance of life procured by this sickness, did so terrifie people of all sorts, that such as could make thist, either with monie or frendship, changed their soile, and leauing places of concourse, betoke them (for the time) to a- bodes, though not altogether solitarie, yet lesse frequented: to conclude, manifold meanes were made for safetie of life. The first weeke died in Lon- don eight hundred persons.

The manner of this sweat was such, that if men did take anie cold outwardlie, it stroke the sweat in, and immediatlie killed them. If they were suffered to sleepe, commonlie they swoned in their sleepe and departed, or else died immediat- lie vpon their waking. But the waie to escape dan- ger was close keeping moderatlie with some ale and a little drinke, and the same to be possed ale, and so to keepe them thirtie houres, & then was the dan- ger past; but beware of sudden cold. Before men had learned the manner of keeping, an infinit num- ber perished. This disease at that time followed 20 Englishmen & none other nation; for in Antwerpe and other countries, our Englishmen being there a- mongst diuerse other nations, onelie our English- men were sicke thereof, and none other persons. The consideration of which thing made this nation much afraid thereof, who for the time began to repent and giue almes, and to remember God from whom that plague might well seme to be sent among vs. But as the disease in time ceased, so our deuotion in that time decayed. At this time also the king with the ad- 40 uise of his priuite counsell, and hauing also great conference with merchants and others, perceiuing that by such coins and copper monies, as had bene coined in the time of the king his father, and now were commonlie currant in the realme; and in deed a great number of them not worth halfe the value that they were currant at, to the great dishonor of the kings maiestie & the realme, and to the deceit & 50 no little hinderance of all the kings maiesties good subiects, did now purpose not onelie the abasing of the said copper monies, but also meant wholie to re- duce them into bullion, to the intent to deliuer fine and good monies for them. And therefore in the mo- neth of Iulie by his graces proclamation, he abased the peece of twelue pence, commonlie called a tes- ton vnto nine pence, and the peece of foure pence vnto thre pence. And in August next following, the peece of nine pence was abased to six pence, and the peece of thre pence vnto two pence, and the pennie 60 to an halfe pennie.

On the eleuenth daie of October, there was a great creation of dukes and earles, as the lord mar- quesse Dorset was created duke of Suffolke, the earle of Warwicke made duke of Northumberland, and the earle of Wiltshire made marquesse of Wilt- chester, & sir William Herbert maister of the hoise; he also made William Cicill his secretarie knight, 70 maister John Cheke one of his scholemaisters knight, maister Henrie Dudlie knight, & maister Henrie Heuill knight. The sixteenth daie of the said moneth being fridaie, the duke of Summerlet was againe apprehended, & his wife also, & committed to the tower; with him also were committed sir Michaele Stanhope,

John Case.

Of this time  
died Henry  
Charles  
of Charles  
Bampton, the  
elder first, and  
the younger  
after: for he  
they both had  
tokens of  
Suffolke.

Rich. Græne.

Went to  
guard the  
danger of the  
sweating  
sickness.

The imbe-  
ling of the  
count.

Two shill-  
of monie.

Creation of  
honorable  
estates.

I.S. pag. 1049.

The duke of  
Summerlet  
againe app-  
hended, and  
committed to  
the tower.

The duke ar-  
rigned both  
of treason and  
felonie.

The people  
supplie the  
duke to be  
surre, gaue a  
great shout  
for iue.

The duke  
condemned to  
die for felonie.

The duke of  
Summerlet  
condemned  
returneth to  
the tower.

The people  
mourne at  
the dukes  
condemnation.

Police.

George Her-  
rard maister  
of the kings  
chamber.

Dom. 1551

An. Reg. 5.

John Caus.

Of this first  
died Henrie  
Charles son  
of Charles  
Brandon, the  
elder first, and  
the younger  
after: so that  
they both died  
dukes of  
Suffolke.

Rich. Grafton.

Remedie  
against the  
danger of the  
sweating  
sickness.

The imbe-  
ling of the  
cane.

Two felles  
of monic.

Creation of  
honorable  
estates,

I. S. pag. 1090.

The duke of  
Sommerfet  
againe appe-  
bended, and  
committed to  
the tower.

The duke ar-  
rived both  
at the tower  
and  
home.

The people  
hoping the  
duke to be  
come, gave a  
great shout  
to him.

The duke  
commanded to  
bury felonies.

The duke of  
Sommerfet  
condemned  
merely to  
be hanged.

The people  
mourne at  
the dukes  
condemnation.

Private.

George Ferrers  
appointed to that  
office.

Stanhope, Sir Thomas Arundell, Sir Kase Wane, Sir  
Spiles Partridge & other for suspicion of treason and  
felonie, whereof they were all thought after indicted.  
And so standing indicted, the second daie of Decem-  
ber next following, the said duke was brought out  
of the tower of London with the ar of the tower  
borne before him, with a great number of billes,  
gleaves, halberds & pollaxes attending upon him, &  
so came into Westminster hall, where was made in  
the middle of the hall a new scaffold, where all the  
lords of the kings counsell sate as his iudges: and  
there was he arraigned and charged with manie ar-  
ticles both of felonie and treason. And when after  
much mild speech he had answered not guiltie, he in  
all humble manner put himselfe to be tried by his  
peeres: who after long consultation among them-  
selves, gave their verdit that he was not guiltie of  
the treason, but of the felonie. The people there pre-  
sent (which was a great number) hearing the lords  
saie not guiltie, which was to the treason, thinking  
most certeinlie that he was cleerlie acquitted; and  
chiefly for that immediatlie upon the pronouncing  
of those words, he that carried the ar of the tower  
departed with the ar, they made such an outcrie and  
ioie, as the like hath not bene heard. Which was an  
evident declaration of their good willes and hartie fa-  
vors unto him, whose life they greatlie desired to  
have saved, for that he had deserved right well of  
most (though the good gentleman had some privat e-  
nities) and had bene as a man maie iustlie saie:

*Solamen magnum patrie, solamen amicis.*

But neuertheless, he was condemned to the  
death, whereof shortly after he taised. The felonie  
that he was condemned of, was upon the statute  
made the last yeare against rebelles, and unlawfull  
assemblies, wherein amongst other things is one  
branch, that whosoever shall procure the death of anie  
counsellor, that euerie such attempt or procurement  
shall be felonie. And by force of that statute, the  
duke of Sommerfet, being accompanied with cer-  
teine others, was charged that he purposed and at-  
tempted the death of the duke of Northumberland,  
the lord marquisse, the lord of Denbroke, and others  
of the priue counsell, which by statute was felonie.

After the duke was thus condemned, he was a-  
gaine returned to the tower, and landed at the crane  
of the vinetree, and so passed through London, where  
were both exclamations: the one cried for ioie that  
he was acquitted, the other cried out that he was  
condemned. But howsoever they cried, he was con-  
victed to the tower of London, where he remained  
until the two and twentieth daie of Januarie next fol-  
lowing. The duke being condemned (as is afore-  
said) the people spake diuerslie, and murmured a-  
gainst the duke of Northumberland, and against  
some other of the lords, for the condemnation of the  
said duke: and also (as the common fame went) the  
kings maiestie toke it not in good part. Wherefore  
as well to remove fond talke out of mens mouths,  
as also to recreate and refresh the troubled spirits of  
the young king; who (as saith Grafton) seemed to  
take the trouble of his uncle somewhat heavilie: it  
was devised, that the feast of Christs nativitie, com-  
monlie called Christmasse then at hand, should be so-  
lemnlie kept at Greenwich with open household, and  
franke resort to court (which is called keeping of the  
hall) what time of old ordinarie course there is al-  
waies one appointed to make sport in the office, cal-  
led commonlie lord of misrule: whose office is not  
unknowne to such as haue bene brought up in no-  
ble mens houses, and among great house-keepers,  
which be liberall feasting in that season. There was  
therefore by order of the counsell, a wise gentleman &  
learned named George Ferrers, appointed to that

office for this yeare; who being of better credit & esti-  
mation than commonlie his predecessors had bene be-  
fore, received all his commissions and warrants  
by the name of the maister of the kings pastimes:  
Which gentleman so well supplied his office, both in  
the way of sundrie sights and deuises of rare inuenti-  
ons, and in act of diuerse interludes, and matters of  
pastime played by persons, as not onelie satisfied the  
common sort, but also were verie well liked and al-  
lowed by the counsell, and other of skill in the like  
pastimes: but best of all by the young king himselfe,  
as appeared by his princelie liberalitie in rewarding  
that seruice.

On mondaie the fourth of Januarie, the said  
lord of merie disposits came by water to London,  
and landed at the tower wharffe, entered the tower,  
and then rode through tower street, where he was  
received by Maule lord of misrule to John Pattard  
one of the shiriffes of London, and so conducted  
through the citie with a great compaign of young  
lords & gentlemen to the house of Sir George Warne  
lord maior, where he with the chefe of his companie  
dined, and after had a great banquet: and at his de-  
parture, the lord maior gaue him a standing cup  
with a couer of silver and guilt of the value of ten  
pounds for a reward, and also set a hogstied of wine,  
and a barrell of beere at his gate, for his traine that  
followed him. The residue of his gentlemen & ser-  
uants dined at other aldermens houses, and with the  
shiriffes, and then departed to the tower wharffe a-  
gaine, & so to the court by water, to the great com-  
mendation of the maior and aldermen, and highlie  
accepted of the king and counsell.]

This Christmas being thus passed and spent with  
much mirth and pastime, wherewith the minds and  
eares of murmurers were metlie well appeased, ac-  
cording to a former determination as the sequele  
shewed: it was thought now good to proceed to the  
execution of the iudgement given against the duke  
of Sommerfet, touching his consulation & atteindoz  
of the felonie before mentioned. Whereupon, the  
two and twentieth daie of Januarie, then next fol-  
lowing being fridaie, he was brought out of the  
tower, and according to the manner, deliuered to  
the shiriffes of London; and so with a great compa-  
nie of the gard & others with weapons, was brought  
to the scaffold where he should suffer, without chan-  
ging either voice or countenance, other than he was  
accustomed to use at other times.

The same morning earelie, the constables of e-  
uerie ward in London (according to a precept direc-  
ted from the counsell to the maior) stricke charged  
euerie household of the same citie, not to depart anie  
of them out of their houses, before ten of the clocke  
of that daie: meaning thereby to restraine the great  
number of people that otherwise were like to haue  
ben at the said execution. Notwithstanding, by sea-  
uen of the clocke, the tower hill was covered with  
a great multitude, repairing from all parts of the ci-  
tie, as well as out of the suburbs. And before eight of  
the clocke, the duke was brought to the scaffold, in-  
closed with the kings gard, the shiriffes officers, the  
warders of the tower, & other with halberds: where  
as he nothing changing neither voice or counte-  
nance, but in a manner with the same gesture which  
he commonlie used at home, kneeling downe upon  
both his knees, and lifting up his hands, commended  
himselfe unto God. After he had ended a few short  
prayers, standing up againe, and turning himselfe  
toward the east side of the scaffold, nothing at all a-  
bash'd (as it seemed vnto those that stood by) heisset  
with the sight of the ar, neither yet of the hangman,  
nor of present death, but with the like alacritie and  
cheerfulness of mind and countenance as before  
times

Abr. F. ex  
I. Stow 1055.

The shiriffes  
lord of mis-  
rule.

1552

The executi-  
on of the duke of  
Sommerfet.

Meanes to  
restraine the  
multitude  
from the  
dukes ex-  
ecution.

John Fox.  
The dukes  
behaviour at  
his death.

times he was accustomed to heare the causes & supplications of other, & speciallie of the poore (towards whome as it were with a certeine fatherlie loue to his children he alwaies shewed himselfe most attentive) he uttered these wordes to the people.

The words of the duke of Summerfet  
at his death.

**D**erelie beloued friends, I am brought hither to suffer death, albeit I neuer offended against the king, neither by word nor deed, and haue bene alwaies as faithfull and true vnto this realme, as anie man hath bene. But forsomuch as I am by law condemned to die, I do acknowledge my selfe as well as others, to be subiect thereto. Wherefore to testifie mine obedience which I owe vnto the lawes, I am come hither to suffer death, wherevnto I willingly offer my selfe with most hartie thanks vnto God, that hath given me this time of repentance, who might thorough sudden death haue taken awaie my life, that I neither should haue acknowledged him nor my selfe.

Whereouer (derelie beloued friends) there is yet somewhat that I must put you in mind of, as touching christian religion, which so long as I was in authoritie, I alwaies diligentlie set forth, and furthered to my power. Neither do I repent me of my doings, but reioise therein, sith now the state of christian religion cometh most nere vnto the forme and order of the primitive church. Which thing I esteeme as a great benefit giuen of God, both to you and me, most hartlie exhorting you all, that this which is most purelie set forth vnto you, you will with like thankfulness accept and embrace, and set out the same in your living: which thing if you do not, without doubt, greater mischief and calamitie will follow.

When he had spoken these wordes, suddenlie there was a great noise heard, whereupon the people were straight dviuen into a great feare, few or none knowing the cause. Wherefore I thinke it good to write what I saw (saith John Stow) concerning that matter. The people of a certeine hamlet which were warned to be there by sauen of the clocke to giue their attendance on the lieutenant, now came thorough the posterne, and perceiving the duke to be already on the scaffold, the foremost began to run, crying to their fellows to follow fast after. Which suddenness of these men, being weaponed with bills and halberds, & this running caused the people which first saw them, to thinke some power had come to haue rescued the duke from execution, and therefore cried Awaie awaie. Whereupon the people ran, some one waie, some an other, manie fell into the tower ditch, and they which tarried, thought some pardon had bene brought: some said it thundered, some that the ground moued, but there was no such matter.

This amazement of the people is in other wordes recorded by John Fox in the storie of this dukes troubles & death: which because they be effectually I thinke good to interlace. When the duke had ended his speech (saith he) suddenlie there was a terrible noise heard:

whereupon there came a great feare on all men. This noise was as it had bene the noise of a great storme or tempest, which to some seemed to be heard from a boue: like as if a great deale of gunpowder being inclosed in an armorie, and hauing caught fire, had violently broken out. But to some againe it seemed as though it had bene a great multitude of hostes men running together, or comming vpon them; such a noise was then in the eares of all men, albeit they saw nothing. Whereby it happened, that all the people being amazed without any evident cause, and without any violence or stroke stricken, they ran awaie, some into the ditches and puddles, they ran into the houses thereabout. Other some being affraid with the horrour and noise, fell downe groveling vnto the ground with their pollaxes & halberds, and most part of them cried out: Iesus saue vs, Iesus saue vs. Those which tarried still in their places, for feare knew not where they were. And I myselfe which was there present among the rest, being also affraid in this hurle burle, stood still altogether amazed, looking when anie man would knocke me on the head. It happened here, as the euangelists write, it did to Christ, when the officers of the high priests & Phariseis comming with weapons to take him, being astonished ran backe, & fell to the ground.

In the meane time, whilst these things were thus in doing, the people by chance spied one sir Anthoie Wotton riding vnto the scaffold: which was the occasion of a new noise. For when they saw him comming, they coniectured that which was not true, but notwithstanding which they all wished for, that the king by that messenger had sent his uncle pardon: and therefore with great reioicing and casting by the caps, they cried out; Pardon, pardon is come: God saue the king. Thus this good duke, although he was destitute of all mans helpe, yet he saw before his departure, in how great loue and fauour he was with all men. And trulie I do not thinke, that in so great slaughter of dukes as hath bene in England within this few peares, there was so manie weeping eyes at one time: and not without cause. For all men did see in the decaye of this duke, the publike ruine of all England, except such as indeed perceiued nothing. The duke in the meane time standing still, both in the same place and mind wherein he was before, taking his cap which he held in his hand, made a signe vnto the people that they should keepe themselves quiet: which thing being done, & silence obtained, he spake to them the second time in this maner.

The second speech of the duke of  
Summerfet to the people.

**D**erelie beloued friends, there is no such matter in hand, as you bainlie hope or beleue. It sameth thus good to almighty God, whose ordinance it is meet & necessarie that we be all obedient vnto. Wherefore I praie you all to be quiet, and without tumult: for I am euen now quiet, and let vs loine in praier vnto the Lord, for the preservation of our noble king, vnto whose maiestie I wish continually health, with all felicitie and abundance & all manner of prosperous successe: wherevnto the people cried out, Amen. Whereouer, I wish vnto all his counsellors the grace and fauour of God, whereby they may rule althings bprightlie with iustice, vnto whome I exhort you all in the Lord to shew your selues obedient, the which is also

Great feare among the people assembled on the tower hill. Rich. Grafton. John Stow.

Abr. Fl. ex lo. Foxi martyrologio.

Penitus John Fox the brother of this report.

The like do rie you shall read of Camus Spang in Valerius Maximus the second booke and fifth chapter.

The great sorrow of the people to the duke: Shew me that.

Doctor Cor the dukes godlie father.

Abr. Fl. out John Fox in the Tars and Monument The godlie end of the duke of Summerfet.

10m. 1552

Reg. 5.

A sudden  
noise & feare  
of the people  
at the death  
of the duke of  
Summerſet.

also verie necessarie for you, vnder the paine of condemnation, and also most profitable for the preferuation and safegard of the kings maiestie. And forſomuch as heretofore I haue had oftentimes affaires with diuers men: that it is hard to please euerie man that hath bene offended or injured by me, I most humbly require and aske them forgiuenesse: but especiallie almightie God, whome thoroughout all my life I haue most grauously offended. And vnto all other, whatſoever they be that haue offended me, I doe with my whole heart forgiue them.

And once againe (dearely beloued in the Lord) I require that you will keepe your selues quiet and still, least thorough your tumult you might cause me to haue some trouble, which in this case would nothing at all profit me, neither be anie pleasure vnto you. For albeit the spirit be willing and readie, the flesh is fraile and wauering, and thorough your quietnesse I shall be much more the quieter: but if that you fall vnto tumult, it will be great trouble & no gaine at all vnto you. Whereouer, I desire you to beare me witnesse, that I die here in the faith of Iesus Christ, desiring you to helpe me with your prayers, that I maie perseuere constant in the same vnto my liues end.

When he turning himselfe about knéled downe vpon his knees, vnto whome doctor Cox, which was there present, to counsell and aduertise him, deliuered a certaine scroll into his hand, wherein was contained a briefe confession to God. Which being read, he stood vp againe on his feet, without anie trouble of mind as it appeared, and first had the thriffes farewell, then the lieutenant of the tower, & certaine other that were on the scaffold, taking them all by the hands. Then he gaue the executioner monie, which done, he put off his gowne, and kneeling downe againe in the strab, untied his shirt strings: and then the executioner comming to him, turned downe his collar round about his necke, and all other things which did let and hinder him. Then he couering his face with his owne handkerchiefe, lifting vp his eyes vnto heauen, where his onely hope remained, laid himselfe downe along, shewing no manner of trouble or feare; neither did his countenance change, but that before his eyes were couered there began to appeare a red colour of his cheeks.

Thus this most meke and gentle duke lieng along and looking for the stroke, because his doublet couered his necke he was commanded to rise vp and put it off: & then laieng himselfe downe againe vpon the blocke, and calling thise vpon the name of Iesus, saing: Lord Iesu saue me, as he was the third time repeating the same, euen as the name of Iesu was in uttering, in a moment he was bereft both of head and life; and slept in the Lord Iesus, being taken awaie from all the dangers and euils of this life, and resting now in the peace of God: in the preferment of whose truth and gospell he alwaies shewed himselfe an excellent instrument and member, and therefore hath receiued the reward of his labours. Thus gentle reader thou hast the true historie of this worthie and noble duke, and if anie man report it otherwise, let it be counted as a lie.]

This duke was in high fauour and estimation with king Henrie the eight, of whome he receiued

suche high & great preferments, by reason that he the said king had married ladie Jane his sister, by whome he had issue king Edward the first. He was not onely courtous, wise and gentle, being daily attendant at the court; but forward and fortunate in seruice abroad, as may well appeare in his sundrie volages, both into France and Scotland. He was of nature verie gentle and pitifull, not blemished by any thing so much, as by the death of the admerall his naturall brother, which could not haue bene brought to passe in that sort, without his consent. But of this good duke (to let passe multitude of wordes) maister Fox hath written no lesse trulie than commendable, & no lesse commendable than deserueble, and no lesse deserueble than profitablie in his historie, whereto I refer the reader for further knowledge. Neuerthelesse of this vertuous duke by waie of application I saie as sometime one said (verie aptlie as some thinke) of the gracions ladie 'An Bullen,

*Discite vos viui, quid dira calumnia possit,  
Invidia alterius vita comes arcta beatae,  
Et falsis lingua commissa venena suffurrit.*

The duke of  
Summerſet  
described.

\*who as it is  
supposed and  
proued since  
(saith Sleidan)  
was  
vnmultie  
condemned.

### The protectors of England collected

out of the ancient and moderne chronicles,  
wherin is set downe the yeare of Christ,  
and of the king in which they executed  
that function.

**V**pon the death of this duke of Summerſet protector of England, it shall not be vnfitting in this place to set downe all the protectors (whereof I can as yet haue intelligence) and who haue bene gouernors, regents, gardians, or deputies of the realme, and of the kings person during his minoirtie and time of his insufficiencie of gouernement; or else of his absence being out of the realme: wherof I haue made an especiall title in my Pantographie of England, in which this my collection of the protectors, although perhaps I shall not set downe all (for *Barnardus non videt omnia*) yet it is better to haue halfe a loose than no head, knowledge of some than of none at all. Thus therefore I begin.

Guendoline the daughter of Cozinens duke of Cornetwall (after the procurement of warre against hir husband wherein he was slaine) was by common consent (for that hir sonne Madzane which she had by Aocrine was insufficient by reason of his minoirtie to gouerne the kingdome) made by the Britons ruler of the Ile, in the yeare of the world 2894, and so continued the same by the space of fiftene yeares, vntill hir sonne came to lawfull age.

Martha (the widow of Guenteline the king) by reason that Sicilius hir sonne was not of age convenient to wield the scepter (as one being but seven yeares old) obtained the gouernement both of the realme and of hir sonnes person, which she most worthily deserued, being a woman of rare vertue and iudgement.

Elozed, Ethelred, or Edzed (for all these diuersities are found in authors) brother to Edmund king of England, while the sonnes of Edmund (Edwine and Edgar) were for their minoirties insufficient to dispose the kingdome, was appointed protector to his nephews, in the yeare of Christ 940, who about six or seven yeares after his protectorship toke on him the kingdome at Kingstone on Easter daie, in the yeare of Christ, as hath John Stow 946, as others haue nine hundred fortie seven.

Emma the queene of England, the widow of king Ethelred, and of Canutus, both kings of England iointlie, with Godwine earle of Kent had the gouernement of the realme vnder Hardiknute king

The collectio  
of Francis Thin  
in the yeare  
1585.

Guendoline.

Martha.

Edzed.

Emma.

Demetrio  
John Fox the  
supper of that  
report.

The like doe  
rie you shall  
read of Cauius  
Marinus in  
Valerius Ma-  
ximus the sa-  
cond booke  
and six chap-  
ter.

Doctor Cox  
to whome  
pauline la-  
ze.

The great fa-  
uour of the  
people to the  
duke of Sum-  
merſet.

Dr. Pl. out of  
Fox in  
his Rap and  
Arguments.  
Eugenie  
and the  
duke of Sum-  
merſet.

Harold.

king of England, who began his reigne in the yeare  
of Christ 1041.

Harold the sonne of Godwine at the death of king Edward the Confessor (which fell in the yeare of Christ 1066, and the thir and twentieth yeare of the same king) was by the testament of the said king Edward appointed regent of the yong Edgar Atthe king (named heire in the life of the said Edward) and of the kingdome, after the death of king Edward, during the minozittle of the said Edgar. Beside which the like commending of the kingdome to this Harold, in respect of the queenes honour, as that before of the successors right, is set downe by one that liued at that time, and wrote the life of king Edward, of erle Godwine, and of his children, in these words. *Porreclaq manu* (meaning king Edward lieng on his death bed, and speaking in the behalfe of Githa the queene, sister to this Harold) *ad predictum nutricium suum fratrem Haroldum; Hanc inquit cum omni regno tutandum tibi commendo, ut pro domina et sorore ut est fideli serues et honores obsequio, ut quoad vixerit a me adepto non priuetur honore debito. Commendo pariter etiam eos, qui nationem terram suam reliquerunt causa amoris mei, mihi que haec non solum sint obsequuti: ut si super ab eis sita volunt fidelitatis eos tuearis et retineas, aut tua defensione conductos cum omnibus que sub me acquisiuerunt cum salute ad propria transferari facias, &c.* But he, when king Edward was dead, vsurped the crowne to himselfe, and shortly after lost both his life and his kingdome.

Odo bishop of  
Baieux, and  
william fitz-  
osborne earle  
of Hereford.

Edo bishop of Baien, and William Fitzpohne the first, being earle of Kent, and chiefe iustice of England, and the second being earle of Hereford, were gouernours of the realme, in the yeare of our Lord 1067, and the first yeare of William the Conquerour, when he went into Normandie after the conquest and indifferēt quiting of the realme.

Lanfranke  
archbishop of  
Cantuarburie.

Linfrañte archbishop of Cantorburie, as appears by Matthew Parker, Writing in this sort in the life of the said Linfrañke: *Absente Gulielmo omnino Linfranco mandauit, qui summa prudentia cuncta moderatus, proceres & plebem in officio tranquille sine ulla motus atque tumultu continebat, adeo ut si quæ defectionis suspicio nascebatur, ad eam illius compescendam maximus & potentissimus quisque opem & adiumentum illi imperanti præstitit.*

Sir Richard  
Lucie chiefe  
iustice of  
England.

Sir Richard Lucie knight, chiefe iustice of Eng-  
land was protector of the realme in the twelwe yeare  
of the reigne of king Henrie the second, being the  
yeare of our Lord 1166, in the absence of the king  
when he was in Normandie, and in the parts be-  
yond the seas. Which Lucie in the thirtenth yeare of  
the same king, being the yeare of our redemption  
1167, did valiantlie resist, and politikelie vntwische  
the earle of Bullongne inuading the realme. He  
built the abbete of Leofnes or Westwood in the pa-  
rish of Crith in Kent (as not in Southssex as some  
haue written) in the yeare of Christ 1178, being a-  
bout the foure and twentieth yeare of king Henrie  
the second; and further built the castell of Angier in  
Essex, in the diocesse of the bishop of London. He  
had issue Godfreie bishop of Winchester, and three  
daughters, who after the deathe of Godfreie their bro-  
ther were his heires: the eldest daughter of which Sir  
Richard Lucie, was married to Robert the first cal-  
led Fitzwater: the second daughter Auelina, was  
married to Riuers, of whome issued John de Riuers:  
the third daughter Rose, was married to Richard  
Warratine, son to king John, as appeareth by a deed  
(belonging to my selfe, who had the reuerie of Leof-  
nes) beginning thus: *Rosa de Doster quondam uxor ve-  
nerabilis viri Richardi filij regis de Chiltun.*

Hugh Huddle  
bishop of  
Durham.

Richard the first, upon his departure forth of the realme to take his iourne into the holie land. For in his absence he appointed this Hugh to haue the rule of the north parts, as chiefe iustice & warden of the realme from Yumber to Scotland, deliuering to him also the keeping of the castell of Winchester, the other parts of the realme, with the custodie of the tower, he assigned to the gouernement of William Longchampe bishop of Elic, whome he made chiefe iustice and warden of those east, south and west parts, making him also his chancellour: who being a man of great diligence and knowledge in the administration of things, was yet verie factious and desirous of rule, honour and riches, farre aboue all measure. And with these two bishops he linked in authoritie by commission Hugh lord War-dolph, William sparthall the great, earle of Here-ford, Strigull or Penbroke, Geoffrey Fitzpeter, and William Brewter, barons, men of great honor, wisdom & discretion. This the king did in the yeare of Christ 1190, and the first yeare of his reigne.

Walter de Conſtantis ſometimes chancellor of England, biſhop of Lincoln, and now archbiſhop of Roane, upon theſe miſdemours; of the proud biſhop of Elie William Longchamp, about the yeare 1192, had the cuſtodie and gouvernement of the realme committed unto him, whileſt king Richard the firſt remained ſtill in the holie warres: who being called from that place in the yeare of Chriſt 1193 (with Cleane: mother to the king) to come to king Richard then impriſoned in Auſtria, the archbiſhop of Canturburie Hubert ſucceeded him in the yeare 1194, whome the ſaid archbiſhop of Roane procured to be inſtalled in the ſee of Canturburie, which Walter de Conſtantis (as hath Euereſden) was made biſhop of Lincoln in the yeare 1183, and the next yeare after biſhop of Roane.

Hubert Walter, or Walter Hubert (for such a transmutation of the name is viced amongst historians) was made (upon the discharge and going of Walter archbishop of Roane beyond the seas to king Richard) gouernor and protector of the realme, before the returne of Richard the first into England after the said kings imprisonment (by the duke of Austria and the emperour) procured by Suanicus bishop of Glasterburie and Welles, a kinsman to the emperour, wherof our moderne printed chronicles nor our ancient writers, except one, make any mention. This Hubert died at his manor of Tenham, and was buried at Cantarburie in the fourth wall, in the yeare of our redemption 1205, the third ides of Iulie being the seventh yeare of king John.

50 Cleane widow to Henrie the second, and mo-  
ther to Richard the first, was made protectresse of  
England, after the departure of hir son into France,  
when he had bene deliuered out of prison : in which  
office she continued during the life of hir sonne, which  
he ended in Poitiers in those French warres, by a  
hurt receiued from one that discharged a crossbow  
against him, on a fridaie as he besieged Chalons.  
Touching whose death (sith I am now in hand with  
the same) it shall not be amisse to set before such fe-  
uerall verses composed by seuerall men in seuerall  
soyts, as I haue read, and are not yet made common  
to the world, which verses be these, concerning his  
death and place of buriall, as hereafter followeth:

*Picturas exta claudis, tellusque Chalucis  
Corpus dat dandi sub marmore fontis Ebraudi,  
Nenstria tuq. tegit cor inexpugnabile regis,  
Sic loca per trina se sparsit tanta ruina,  
Nec fuit hoc funus cui sufficeret locus unus.*

Whercof also another composed these following  
 verses somewhat eloquentlie, as saith Matthew Pa-  
 ris (and so in truth they were, considering that age)

Walter de  
Constantia  
archbishop  
of Roane.

Herbert arch-  
bishop of Can-  
terbury.

1, Eleanor, the  
f widow of  
2, Henry the  
second.

Geffrey Fitz-  
peter carle of  
Essex.

W. H. H. H.  
H. H. H. H.



om. 1552.

Reg. 5.

which mostlie used a rinting kind of Latine verses, induced into the west part of the world by the barbarous Gothes) in his greater historie of the life of king Richard in manner and forme following:

*Ad Chalm cecidit rex regni cardo Richardus,  
His ferus, his humilis, his agnus, his leopardus,  
Cafus erat lucis, Chalmus per secula nomen  
Non intellectum fuerat, sed nominis omen  
Non patuit, res clausa fuit, sed duce cadente  
Prodiit in lucem, pro casu lucis adeptus.*

Besides which verses of two severall men, it pleaseth my pen to ad also the third mans dowing, as well for that the number of thre is the holie number, as for that there is nothing so sweet, but that varietie doth refresh it: yet especiallie sith it is delightfull to see the severall inventions of manie wits, this third poet therefore, exclaiming against the daie in which the said king Richard the first receiued his death wound (being on a fridaie) doth thus write:

*O veneris damnoſa dies! o ſidus amarum!  
Ille dies tua nox fuit, & Venus illa venenum,  
Ille dedit lathum, ſed peſsum ille dierum,  
Primus ab undecimo, quo vita victicum ipſum  
Clauſe utrag die; homicida tyrannide mira  
Traſſigitur, clauſus excluſum, teſtis opertum,  
Prouidus incautum, miles inimicus inermem.*

This queene Cleanoꝝ the protectresse died in the yere of Christ 1205, being the seuenth of king John.

Ceſſerie Fitzpeter lord Ludgershall, who was by Richard the first made chiefe iustice of England, after the remouing of Hubert the archbishop of Canturburie, and was in the first yere of king John girded by him with the sword of the earldome of Cefſer, was also protector of the realme. Who being a man of great power and authoritie, was by nature gentle, by birth noble, in the lawes cunning, in reuenues great, and to all a good iusticer. This man was a hyde to king John, to reſtreine his insolencie; since he was confederat and alied in friendship & blood with all the nobilitie of England: & for that cause was greatlie feared of the k. who said of him, as he did before of the archbishop Hubert, that he then did fullie reigne, when they two were dead. For turning to those which stood by him, when news was brought vnto him of the death of Fitz Ceſſerie, he sware by Gods feet, that he was then king & lord of England, and not before. Which words he would not vse, when the archbishop Hubert died; because this man was yet liuing, whome the king (as is alreadie said) greatlie feared. And therefore vpon the death of the archbishop, he did onclie saie that he began to reigne; but not vpon this mans departure out of the world, he said he was become a full lord & absolute king of England. This Ceſſerie Fitzpeter died in the yere of our redemption 1212, being about the fourteenth yere of the reigne of the said miserablie afflicted king John, who died in the yere of Christ 1216; whose death I haue bene the willinger here to mention; because I would set downe his epitaph (not else before set downe in our English chronicles) as I find the same of ancient report:

*Hoc in ſarcophago ſepelitur regi imago,  
Qui moriens multum ſedauit in orbe tumultum,  
Et cui connexa dum vixit probra manebant,  
Hunc mala poſt mortem timor eſt ne ſata ſequantur.  
Qui legiſ hac metuens dum cernis te morituum,  
Diſcito quid rerum pariat tibi meta diurnum.*

This Ceſſerie Fitzpeter married Beatrice, daughter and heire of William lord Saie, by whom he had issue, Ceſſerie Hardentle earle of Cefſer, & Matw married to Humfreie de Bohuns, by whome the Bohunes became earles of Cefſer.

William Parthall ſurnamed the great, being erle of Penbroke, was made protector of the realme,

a person of the king, after that the king (being nine yeres of age) was crowned in the yere of our Lord 1216. Which office this William (being also marſhall of England) used so honorable, that he recovered a great part of the nobilitie (which toke part with Lewes son of the French king against king John father to this Henrie) to assist the young king Henrie against the said Lewes: who in the time of the said John had obtained a great part of the kingdome of England. By which means the said Lewes was expelled, and the kingdome whole recovered to the vse of the said young king Henrie the third.

This William Parthall married Isabell daughter and heire to Richard Strangbow earle of Penbroke, who made him a happy father in the multitude of his children. For by hir he had five sonnes, all which were in succession marſhals of England, and earles of Penbroke; and five daughters. The sonnes were William, Richard, Gilbert, Walter, and Anselme; who all dieng without issue, the inheritance was deuolued to the five sisters, which were, Matw the eldest, married to Hugh Bigod, in hir right earle marſhall; Jone the second, married to Maraine Pontenſie, in hir right also earle of Penbroke, as hath Nicholas Trivet; Isabell the third, married to Gilbert de Clare earle of Glouceſter; Sibill the fourth, married to William Ferrers erle of Warbie; & Que the fifth daughter, married to William de Berehuse, or de Baulie. This William the great died in the yere of our redemption 1219, being the third (as hath Nicholas Trivet) or the fourth (as hath Matthew Westminster) yere of the reigne of the said king Henrie the third, and was buried at the new temple, on Ascension daie, being the seuenteenth calends of Aprill: of whome was made this epitaph by Geruafius Melkeleie, taking vpon him the person of the earle marſhall:

*Sum quem Saturnum ſibi ſentit Hibernia, Solem  
Anglia, Mercurium Normannia, Gallia Martem.*

Which signifieth that he was a sharpe corrector and ruler of the Irish, an honor & glorie to the English, a counsellor and dispatcher of the affaires of Normandie, a warlike knight and invincible captain against the Frenchmen.

Petrus derupibus, or Peter of the Roch, being bishop of Winchester, was after the death of William Parthall earle of Penbroke advanced to the protectorship of the king; because that the young king was almost destitute of any of his owne kindred that might worthilie haue the rule of his person. For his mother queene Isabell was newlie married to Hugh Bune earle of March in France. This bishop of Winchester (who was both a wise and a stout prelat) being now in possession of the king, and mistrusting that he had entred into a more weightie office than he might well discharge, if all things were not done according to the fauor of the nobilitie, procured diuerſe graue and honorable men to be preferred to the kings counsell, as to be associats to him in the administration of the weale publike; and so entred into the administration of his new atchliued honor. Which yet he did not long intole.

But as the bishop was at the first careful to plant such of the nobilitie about the king, for the support of the realme; so yet himſelfe being a Calcoine, did after in the riper yeres of the king prefer to offices about the king such Calcoins as both were of his owne blood and kindred; and by these extrordinarie dealing procured the nobilitie with an hard and vndutifull course to oppose themſelues against the king. This Peter was advanced to the seat of Winchester, in the yere of our redemption 1204, being about the first yere of king John. After which

earle of Penbroke.

Peter de la Roches.

Walter de  
Constantin  
archbishop  
of Rouen.

John Fitzpeter  
earle of  
Essex.

Hubert arch-  
bishop of Can-  
turburie.

Cleane the  
widow of  
Henrie the  
second.

ing  
Pa-  
age  
pity

he went to Rome, and being a prelat more fit to fight than to preach, for Mars than for the muses; did returne from Rome in the yeare of Christ 1205, being about the seventh yeare of king John. He remained bishop about two and thirtie yeares, and died at his manour house of Fernham, on the fift ides of June, in the yeare of our Lord (as haue Matthew Paris and Matthew Westminster) 1238, being the two & twentieth yeare of Henrie the third. Who somewhat before his death, about the one and thirtieth yeare of his bishoprike, went into the holie land with the bishop of Excester. He builded, and indued with possessions manie religious houses: amongst which he founded Nitchfield in Hampshire; of which Peter de la Roches, of the rocks, Matthew Paris maketh a more large discourse.

Hubert de Burow  
earle of Kent  
of Kent.

Hubert de Burow, constable of Dover castle, earle of Kent, and chiefe iustice of England, being of great account in the realme for his probitie and goodnesse, was made protector of the king and kingdom, in the yeare of our redemption 1221, being the fift yeare of king Henrie the third. This man in the yeare of Christ 1221 (being the same yeare in the which he was made protector) married at Poike, Margaret, sister to Alexander king of Scots. And here I thinke it not amisse to saie somewhat touching the issue of this Hubert of Burow, who in a certene namelesse booke (caried about in the hands of all men) treating of the nobilitie (created since the invasion of William Conqueror) is said to die without issue: which cannot possible be so, if that be true which I haue seene: which I am led by manie reasons to beleue to be most true.

For I haue read of two children which this Hubert had, whereof the one being a sonne, was called Richard de Burow, who was knighted by Henrie the third (as it seemeth to me) after the death of his father: if this Richard be not the same John, of whose Matthew Paris writeth, that in the yeare of Christ 1229, *Rex Anglorum Henricus, in die Pentecostes Iohannem filium Huberti Anglie iusticiary cingulo militari donauit tertio nonas Iuny.* The other child was a daughter called Margaret, married to Richard heire to the earldome of Glocester, as noteth Iohn Beuer in these words: *Richardus heres comitis Glouernie Margaretam filiam Huberti de Burgo comitis Cantie in uxorem accepit.* This Hubert of Burow was a verie old man, who after manie persecutions by the king, and after so manie chances of both fortunes, departed this world on the fourth ides of Maie, in the yeare of our redemption 1243, being the seuen and twentieth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third at his manour of Wansford, or Wansford. Whose bodie was honozable caried to London, and there buried in the church of the frier preachers, to whom in his life he had giuen great gifts; and amongst other things, his goodlie place which stood not far from the palace of earle Richard of Cornwall (as I with some probable reasons coniecture) nere vnto Westminster, which afterward the archbishop of Poike did procure. His wife the countesse of Kent, being likewise verie old, a woman that kept verie great hospitalitie, and that was well beloued, died in the yeare of Christ 1259, being the thre and fortieth yeare of Henrie the third, about sixtene yeares after the death of the earle his husband.

Walter Greie  
archbishop of  
Poike.

Walter Greie archbishop of Poike was made protector of the realme in this sort. The French king hauing vnjustlie giuen the earldome of Poitiers to his brother Adolphus; Hugh Bume earle of March (the greatest of the nobilitie in that prouince) would not do homage vnto Adolphus; but wrote his letters to his son in law king Henrie the third. (whose mother Eleanor he had married) that if he would

come into those parts, he should haue both aid of men, and furniture of war for the perfect restoring of those dominions to the crowne of England. For which cause Henrie the third assembling his power, did with his brother Richard (then lately returned fro Jerusalem) depart the realme in the yeare of our redemption 1242, being the six & twentieth yeare of his gouernment into Poitiers, & left the administration of the kingdom to Walter Greie archbishop of Poike, whilst he should remaine in those parts. Which office the said archbishop held also in the yeare of Christ 1243, being the seauen and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the third. Of this man is more mention made in my collection of the chancellors of England; in this place onelle further setting downe, that this Walter died in the yeare of Christ 1255, being about the nine and thirtieth yeare of this Henrie the third, as hath Anonymus M. S.

Eleanor daughter to Keimond earle of Poince, wife to king Henrie the third and quene of England, with Richard earle of Cornwall the kings brother (to whose custodie was committed Edward Longshanks, being after king of England by the name of Edward the first, son to the said king Henrie) were (in the yeare of our redemption 1253, being the seuen and thirtieth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third) appointed gouernors and protectors of the realme in the kings absence, whilst he went into Gascoine, whither he went to pacifie the nobilitie, and to keepe the same in safetie from the French. And because my pen hath here fallen vpon Richard earle of Cornwall, I determine to say somewhat of him in this place, not hauing other occasion offered to me therfore. This Richard the son of king John was borne in the yeare of Christ 1208, being the tenth yeare of the reigne king John. He was made (and so called) earle of Poitiers by Henrie the third, about the ninth yeare of his reigne, in the yeare of Christ 1225, who also that yeare with his vncle William earle of Sarisburie went into Poitiers, where he was iustlie receiued: he putteth the earle of March to flight, he recovereth that which was lost in Gascoine, he went into the holie land, refuseth the kingdom of Apulia offered vnto him, he is chosen empero, and receiueth that honoz at Colen, being there crowned king of the Romans: he subdued Alfonso competitor with him for the empire, he after returneth into England: he is an enemy to Simon Montfort and the barons rebelling against his brother king Henrie the third; he is taken prisoner by the barons, and is afterward deliuered: he was created knight and earle of Cornwall in the yeare of our redemption 1225, as hath Matthew Westminster, but as saith William Packington, he was created earle of Cornwall in the yeare of Christ 1227. He married foure wiues, if that Elizabeth his first wife and Isabell the widow of Gilbert de Clare were not all one woman. But leauing that to further knowledge, I do for this time make them but one person; for so in truth it must be, whatsoeuer other wise shall be shewed in mistaking their names. Elizabeth that was his first wife, as noteth Leland, was buried in the quere of Welsland, being that woman which is called Isabell, and was the daughter of William Sparshall earle of Denbroke surnamed the great: and the widow of Gilbert de Clare earle of Glocester was married to this erle of Cornwall, in the yeare of our Lord 1231 being the sixteenth yeare of king Henrie the third.

This Isabell died in the yeare of our redemption 1240, being the foure and twentieth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third, after this manner. For the being great with child, and nere to the time of hir deliuerance, fell into *Acetum inferum*, or the picket,

William Longshanks  
in Hampshire, as  
by some  
supposed.

Eleanor wife  
to king Henrie  
the third.

hickect, and deliuering a child into the world, which had life, and was baptised by the name of Nicholas, they both presentlie died thereupon. Which thing when the earle vnderstood being then on his iourneie into Cornwall, he burst out in teares, and greatlie lamented that losse. Wherefore hastily returning, and leauing his former iourneie, he honorablie buried his wife at \* Welland or Beauleu, an house of religion builded by king John from the foundation, and replenished with Charterhouse monks.

His second wife was Sinthia or Sanctia, daughter to Richmond earle of Province, and sister to the queene of England, wife to king Henrie the third, brother to the said Richard earle of Cornwall, who married the said Sinthia in the yeare of our redemption 1243, being the seuen and twentieth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third. Leland also appointeth to him the third wife, which was Beatrix de Hammas, whom he calleth queene of Almaine, & wife to king Richard, brother to Henrie the third. Which ladie died in the yeare of our redemption 1277, being the first yeare of Edward the first, and was buried at the friers minors in Drford. This noble Richard erle of Cornwall died in Februarye at Berkhamsted, in the yeare of Christ 1271, in the five and fiftith yeare of king Henrie the third, as saie Matthew Paris and Marchew Westminster: but Nicholas Triuer referreth his death to the yeare 1270, being the foure and fiftith yeare of Henrie the third: and the chronicle belonging to Guesham to the yeare 1272, being the six and fiftith yeare of Henrie the third. After whose death his hart was buried in the friers minors of Drford, and his bodie committed to the earth in the monasterie of Hales (being Charterhouse monks) which he had builded at his charge of 10000 marks, which at this daie at five shillings the ounce of silver amounteth to the summe of twentie thousand pounds. He had two sonnes, the one called Henrie by his first wife Isabell; the other called Edmund de Almaine by his second wife Sinthia. Henrie was slaine by Simon and Guic of Pontfort sonnes of the last Simon Pontfort earle of Leicester, in the life of his father Richard in Italie at Aiterbo, in the yeare of our redemption 1270. Which fact being done in saint Splucsters church as he was at masse, occasioned the townesmen to paint the manner of his death on the wall of the church: and that picture being beheld by a certeine versifier, he was baged thereupon to compose these following verses:

*Regis Theutonici Richardi clara propago,  
Sternitur Henricus, velut hac designat imago,  
Dum redit à Tripoli, regum fulvus comitus,  
In crucis obsequio patitur sub gente nociva,  
Irruit in templum, post missam, stirps Guenelonis  
Perfodit gladium hunc Simonis atque Guidonis,  
Disposuit Deus ut per eos vir tantum obiret,  
Ne renouatis his, gens Anglica tota periret,  
Anno milleno Domini cum septuagena,  
Atque duceno, Carolo sub rege sereno,  
Urbe Viterbina sit in eius carne ruina,  
Celi regina precor ut sit ei medicina.*

His bones were brought into England, and buried in the monasterie of Hales, where his father was after also buried: but his hart was bestowed in a gilt cup, and placed beside the chaine of saint Edward the Confessor in Westminster abbeye. The other sonne to this Richard earle of Cornwall was Edmund of Almaine, who after the death of his father was inuested with the honor of the earldome of Cornwall, being borne at Berkhamsted in the yeare of our redemption 1250, being the foure and thirtieth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third, to whom his uncle Bonifacius bishop of Canturburie was godfather, and called him Edmund in the

honor of saint Edmund archbishop of Canturburie and Confessor. This Edmund earle of Cornwall married the daughter of Richard earle of Clare, of whome shall be moze spoken when we come to treat of him as protector of England.

Bonifacius the archbishop of Canturburie, with others which follow, were protectors of the realme after this maner, as I haue gathered. It was ordeined in the parlement at Drford called *Parlementum infanum*, that the king should chuse forth twelue persons of the realme, and the communalitie of the land other twelue, the which hauing regall authoritie in their hands, might as gardians of the kingdome take in charge vpon them the gouernment of the realme, & should from yeare to yeare ppointe for the due election of iustices, chancellors, treasurers, and other officers, and further ppointe to see to the safe keeping of the castels belonging to the crowne.

These foure and twentie persons appointed to that function, began to order all things at their owne pleasure: in the meane time not forgetting to vse things chieflie to their owne aduantage, as well in prouiding excheats and wards for their children and kinfolks, as also in bestowing of patronages of churches belonging to the kings gift, vnto their owne liking. So that these prouiders which should haue made careful and beneficiall prouisions for the realme, made speedie and plentifull prouision for them and theirs, in somuch that neither king nor Christ could get anie thing from these protectors. Where be that write, how that there were but twelue or thirtene chosen to be gouernors at this time (which for this present I demie to be the truer opinion) whose names are as follow: Bonifacius archbishop of Canturburie, the bishop of Worcester, Roger Wigod earle of Hereford, and marshall of England, Simon de Pontfort earle of Leicester, Richard de Clare earle of Gloucester, Humfreie Bobune earle of Hereford, Richard Fitzalane earle of Arundell, sir John Danfell chiefe iustice of England, sir Roger lord Spertimer, sir Hugh Wigod, sir Peter de Saunoe, sir James Audleie, & sir Peter de Pontfort. To these (as some saie) was authoritie onlie giuen to punish all such as trespassed in the breach of anie of the constitutions of the parlement of Drford. Others say that they were made rulers & protectors of the realme, and to dispose thereof, because the king was much misleied in the gouernment of the kingdome by the peruerse counsell of his flatterers. Which twelue gouernors I suppose did not long continue: for being euerie one priuatlie for himselfe, and so not iointlie for the common-wealth, they grew diuided, and that the one labored to set vp, the other sought to pull downe.

Bonifacius archbishop of Canturburie the second time, & the bishop of Worcester, with sir Phillip Basset, or rather sir Hugh Wigod made chiefe iustice of England by the barons, were appointed in the yeare of our redemption 1260, being the fortie and fourth of king Henrie the third, to haue the gouernment of the realme in the absence of the king, whilst he remained in France at Paris about the affaires of Normandie: at that time a peace was made betwene the kings of England and France.

Gilbert de Clare the second of that name that was earle of Gloucester and Hertford, was the sonne of Richard de Clare erle of Gloucester and Hertford, which died in the yeare of our redemption 1262, being the fortie & first yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third, and was buried at Tewkesburie, with a great image of silver and gilt vpon his tome, and the same sword and spures which he did weare in his life time. Of which Richard these verses were composed for his probitie and rarenesse of vertuous manners

Bonifacius  
archbishop of  
Canturburie.

Bonifacius  
archbishop of  
Canturburie.

Gilbert de  
Clare.

maners and conditions, and set vpon his tome:

*Ere pudor Hyppoliti, Paridis genas, sensus Physis,  
Aeneas pietas, Hectoris iracundia.*

This Gilbert (I saie) the sonne of the said Richard was after the death of Henrie the third (which happened in the yeare of our Lord 1277, & in the seuen & fiftith yeare of the reigne of the said king Henrie) in the absence of king Edward the first in the holie warres made gouernour of the realme, vntill the returne of the said king Edward into England, to which function he was appointed by king Henrie the third, lieng on his death-bed: who caused the said Gilbert to sweare to keepe the peace of the land to the behoefe of Edward his sonne. Which he did most faithfully, vntill the second daie of August, in the second yeare of the said king, in which the said king Edward landed in England, being in the yeare of our redemption 1274, at what time the king was honorablie interteined of the said Gilbert, and John earle of Murraine (a supporter to him in the charge of the kingdome) at the castell of Tunbridge in Kent, and Wigate in Shurre, which Gilbert with the other piers of the land, immediatlie after the death of king Henrie the third, assembling at the new temple bake the old seale of king Henrie, made a new seale in the name of king Edward, and appointed faithfull officers for the sure keeping and obseruing of the treasure, the riches, the peace, and the lawes of the kingdoms.

This Gilbert had two wiues, his first wife was Alice the daughter of Hugh le Bzane erle of March, by whom he had issue a daughter, that was countesse of Fife in Scotland: his second wife was Ione the daughter of king Edward the first, called Ione of Acres, by whom he had one sonne, called Gilbert the third, earle of Gloucester and Hertford, who married Maud the daughter of Richard earle of Ulster in the yeare of Christ 1308 at Waltham, by whom he had issue a sonne, John bozne in the yeare of Christ 1312, being in the first yeare of Edward the second, that died without issue; after the death of which Gilbert the third, his lands and earldomes of Gloucester and Hertford came to the sister of the said Gilbert the third, who was slaine in the battell of Striueling against the Scots in the seuenth (or as others haue the eight) yeare of king Edward the second, whom the Scots would gladlie haue kept for rancome if they had knowne him: but he had forgotten to put on his cote of armes to shew what he was, after which he was brought into England and was buried at Tewkesburie, vpon whose death the two earldomes of Gloucester and Hertford were so dispersed, that there was neuer anie to this daie, that iointlie succeeded or possessed them both. Thus hauing digressed from Gilbert the second, in treating of his sonne Gilbert the third, let vs againe returns to him. He besides his sonne Gilbert the third, had by his wife Ione three daughters; Celenor, first married to Hugh Spenser, second sonne to Hugh Spenser earle of Gloucester, and after his death to William Zouch; Margaret married to Piers de Caueston earle of Cornewall, and after to Hugh Audelcie; and Elizabeth or Isabell married in the yeare of our Lord 1308, being the first yeare of Edward the second, to John the sonne of Richard earle of Ulster. This Gilbert the second, before the marriage of his second wife, was on the fiftenth kalends of August diuorced from Alice his first wife, in the yeare of our redemption 1271, being the six and fiftith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third; and after in Westminster church the last of Aprill married his second wife, about the eighteenth yeare of Edward the first being the yeare of Christ 1290, which Gilbert the second, being taken atwaie by vntimelie death, departed this world in the yeare of our redemption

1195 (being the thre and twentieth of the reigne of the said Edward the first) who was in word & deed, in commandement and authoritie the greatest person of the kingdome, next to king Edward the first: for which cause he well deserued to haue his sepulture among his worthe ancestors.

Edmund earle of Cornewall, of whom there is somewhat spoken before, being the sonne of Richard king of Almaine, and earle of Cornewall brother to Henrie the third, married Margaret the daughter of Richard de Clare erle of Gloucester, he was made protektor of the Realme by Edward the first in the fourteenth yeare (as some saie) or in the fiftenth, as others saie (for there is so much disagreement amongst authozs for the accounts of yeares, as it passeth anie one man to reconcile them in all points) when the said king went into Aragon to reconcile the two kings of Arragon & Naples. He continued in this office in the yeare of Christ 1287, or 1228, as hath Treuet, being the sixteenth yeare of Edward the first, in which he subdued Rife ap Iwerdach the Welsh prince, rebelling against Edward the first, and ouerthrew the castell of Dyffillane (as hath the said Nicholas Treuet) he was lord of Wallingford, did much cost therevpon, and died without issue, as hath Matthew Westminster, in the yeare of Christ 1300: but as hath Thomas Walsingham 1301, leauing the king of England his heire. Yet are there some pedegrees and other authozs, and those not the meanest, which saie that he had a daughter, Isabell married to Rojice Fitz Harding lord Barkleic: so that these authozs, which saie that he died without issue, are to be vnderstood of the issue male, & not of the heire generall: for they account him to die without issue, which leaueth no posteritie to continue his title of honor. The which thei meaning they make more plaine, in that they saie that after his islesse death, the earledome came to the crowne. And here bicause there is mention made of Wallingford, I will set downe what Leland hath written touching the same, bicause I desire to make common, and to preserve all whatsoeuer monuments of Leland that come vnto my hands: thus therefore he writeth of Wallingford in his commentaries of England, written in the yeare of our redemption 1542, being the foure and thirtith yeare of king Henrie the eight in these wordes.

The towne of Wallingford hath bene a verie notable thing and well walled. The ditch of the towne, and the cress wherevpon the wals stand, be yet manifestlie perceived, and begin from the castell, going in compasse a good mile and more, and so continueth to Wallingford bridge, a large thing of stone ouer the Thames. There remaine yet the names of these streets amongst others. Thamesstreet, Fishstreet, Woodstreet, Goldsmiths row. And by the patents and donation of Edmund earle of Cornewall and lord of the honour of Wallingford, it appereth that there were fourtene parish churches in Wallingford: and there be men yet alieue that can shew the places and churchyards where they stood, at this time there are but thre parish churches. The towne and the castell was soze defaced by the Danes warres, yet they maeklie florished in the time of Richard king of the Romans earle of Cornewall, and brother to Henrie the third, he did much cost vpon the castell which ioineth to the north gate of the towne, and hath thre ditches (as vpon the cress of the same may appere) large and deepe, about each of the two first ditches (on the cress of the ground cast out) runneth an embatteled wall now soze in ruine, and for the most part defaced. All the goodlie buildings, with the tower and dungeon, be within the third ditch. There

Edward  
prince of  
Wales.

Piers de  
Caueston  
earle of Cornewall.

John de Wyos  
Wallingford.

Henrie Lucie  
earle of Lincolne.

Edmund earle  
of Cornewall.

is also a collegiat chapell amongst the buildings within the third ditch. Edmund earle of Cornewall son to Richard king of Romans was the first founder and indower of this college. Prince Edward the blacke (as one told me) augmented this college. There is a deane, foure priests, six clerkes, and foure choristers. The late deane before doctoz London that now is, builded a faire steeple of stone at the west end of the collegiat chapell, to the making whereof he defaced (as it is said without licence) a pace of the kings lodging on the east end of the chapell. The deane hath a faire lodging of timber within the castle, and to it is ioined a place for the ministers of the chapell. Thus much Leland for Wallingford, & thus much I for Edmund earle of Cornewall and lord of Wallingford.

Edward of Carnaruan prince of Wales, sonne to Edward the first, was in the yeare of our redemption 1295, being the five and twentieth yeare of Edward the first, protector of England, in the absence of his father in Flanders, who because he was of tender yeares, had as tutors and governours appointed unto him Richard bishop of Durham (Eulogium hath the bishop of London) William Montacute, with diuerse other knights, as Reigbold Greie, John Giffard, & Alan Plunket, being wise, discret and expert soldiers.

Piers or Peter de Cauesfone a Gascoine bozne, whome king Edward the second so tenderlie loued as that he preferred him before all men, was appointed gardian of the realme in the first yeare of the said king Edward the second, being the yeare of our redemption 1308, when the king went into France and there abroad to marrie Isabell daughter to Philip king of France, before that the said Edward was crowned king of England, as hath Radulphus Higden. Of this Piers I will here saie little, because I haue spoken more largelie of him in my panto-graphie of England.

John de Droghensford bishop of Bath and Wells, was in the yeare of our redemption 1313, being the first yeare of king Edward the second, made protector of the realme in the absence of the said king Edward the second, and his wife quene Isabell, who went into France to solemnize the coronation of Philip (sonne to Philip king of France) who was at that instant created king of Navarre. This Droghensford was the fourteenth bishop of Bath & Wells. Great contention was there betwene him and the deane and priests of that church. He succeeded in the bishoprike Walter Houelshab. This Droghensford held the bishoprike about nineteene yeares, he beautified the same with manie goodlie buildings, procured manie priuileges vnto it, and greatlie cralted his kindred. He was buried at Welles before the high altar of saint John Baptist.

Henrie Lacie or Lacie earle of Lincoln, and of Salisburie, baron of Halton and of Pontfract, corruptlie called Pomestret, and constable of Chester, was made protector of the realme in the first yeare of Edward the second, being the yeare of our redemption 1310, whilst the king remained in the warres of Scotland. Which Henrie died shortly after in the same yeare, and was buried in the new worke of Paules, who carried for his armes the purple lion contrary to the cote his ancestors had borne before. This man had done great seruice in the warres in the time of Edward the first, he married Margaret the daughter and heire of William Longespée earle of Salisburie, and had by hir a daughter named Alice, married to Thomas Plantagenet earle of Lancaster, Leicester, and Darbie. This Henrie (as I haue learned of other and read in Leland) had issue a bastard sonne, and hauing amongst manie other

lordships the manour of Grantchester besides Cambridge, he gaue the same with other lands vnto that bastard, and commanded that the same Lacie so set by in Grantchester, should for himselfe and his successors euer name their sonnes and heires by the names of Henrie, which hitherto hath bene religiouslie obserued amongst them. And this was the originall of the houses of the Lacies in Grantchester, as Leland learned of him which was then heire of those lands.

Gilbert de Clare the third earle of Gloucester of that name, after the death of Henrie Lacie, was chosen gouernour of the realme (the king being still in Scotland) during the time that the king should make his abode in that countrie. Of this man see before in the discourse of his father Gilbert the second earle of Gloucester and Hertford, and protector of the realme.

Edward prince of Wales and duke of Aquitaine, coming out of France with Isabell in the second yeare of Edward the second, his father was after his landing in England and the taking of his father made gardian of England vnder his father, which office he did not long continue: for deposing his father from the kingdome in the yeare of Christ 1326 he assumed the crowne himselfe in his fathers life.

Walter Keinolds archbishop of Canturburie was with others appointed gardian of England on this sort. Edward the third as before attending to the crowne in the yeare of our redemption 1327, or as some others more trulie saie 1326, being fourtene yeares of age did then begin his reigne. But because he was so young (not being of power or policie to welde so great a charge) it was decreed in this first yeare of his reigne, that twelue gouernours of the greatest lords within the realme should possesse the gouernement, untill he came to riper yeares, whose names were as insuech: Walter archbishop of Canturburie, the archbishop of Poike, the bishop of Winchester, the bishop of Hereford, Henrie earle of Lancaster, Thomas Brotherton earle marshall, Edmund of Woodstocke earle of Kent, John earle of Warren, the lord Thomas Wake, the lord Henrie Percy, the lord Oliver de Ingham, and the lord John Rothe, who were sworn of the kings counsell and charged with the gouernement of the kingdome as they would answer for the same. But this ordinance continued not long, for in the second yeare of this king, Isabell the kings mother and the lord Roger Mortimer took the whole rule into their hands, in such sort that the king and his counsellors were in all affaires of state, and otherwise, onelie gouerned by their direction. Of this Walter Keinolds the archbishop, because he was sometime chancellor, and sometime treasurer, is more mention made in the large volume of the liues of the chancellors.

John of Eltham earle of Cornewall sonne to Edward the second, had in the fourth yeare of king Edward the third being the yeare of our redemption 1330 the gouernement of the realme committed vnto him, whilst king Edward the third had passed the seas onelie fiftene houres in his companie, apparelled in clothes like vnto merchants, which office the said John of Eltham executed untill the returne of the said king, and before that also when the said Edward the third, in the second yeare of his reigne, did before this time go into France to do his homage. He was made earle of Cornewall in the second yeare of king Edward the third, being the yeare of Christ 1328, and died at Barwik, others saie at S. Johns towne in Scotland, in the month of October 1336, being the tenth yeare of Edward the third, and was honorable buried at Westminister, for the solemnization of whose buriall the king came

Gilbert de  
Clare earle  
of Gloucester.Edward  
prince of  
Wales.Walter Kei-  
nolds archb-  
shop of Can-  
turburie.John of El-  
tham earle of  
Cornewall.



Edward the  
Blacke  
prince.

John Strat-  
ford.

Lionell duke  
of Clarence.

Henrie lord  
Perfie.

Thomas of  
Woodstocke.

John of Gaunt  
duke of Lan-  
caster.

came out of Scotland about the feast of the Epi-  
phanie.

Edward the Blacke prince, eldest sonne to Ed-  
ward the third, being about the age of nine yeares,  
was in the twelfth yeare of his father, being the yeare  
of our redemption 1338, or as saith Matthew Par-  
ker 1337, made gardian of England in the ab-  
sence of his father being as then sailed into Flan-  
ders to procure the Flemmings to aid him against  
the French king. Under which prince as some write  
(or rather as I for the time take it) equall in commis-  
sion to him it seemeth that John archbishop of Can-  
turburie had the cheefest rule of the land, because that  
king Edward after his returne into England, which  
was about the fourteenth or the fifteenth of his  
reigne, charged the said bishop with certeine negli-  
gences which he used in collections of monie, whilest  
he had the chiefe rule of the land, when he was in the  
warres of France. Wherefore the words of Matthew  
Parker in the life of the said John Stratford (saieing  
that the king held a parlement, in which *Omnem regni  
curam & gubernationem archiepiscopo commisit*) must needs  
be intended that he had that charge under or equallie  
with the said Blacke prince, as chiefeest counsellor to  
support the tender yeares of his sonne.

After which also in the yeare of our redemption, as  
hath the same Matthew Parker 1342, being about  
the fiftenth of the said Edward the third, the king  
committed the care & gouvernement of the kingdome  
to the said archbishop, whilest the king was beyond  
the seas in the warres: for thus writeth the said Par-  
ker, fol. 257. *Ac paulo post nulla purgatione indicata*  
(speaking of the said bishop vniuersitie accused to the  
king) *aut recepta, omnibus pene parlamentis ordinibus pro ar-  
chiepiscopo deprecantibus, rex eum sua sponte legitime purga-  
tum & excusatum pronuntiavit, eumque multo magis charum  
quam ante habuit, omnibusque gerendis in Angliarebus se in  
militia absente prefecit.* Of which archbishop being some-  
time chancelor, and treasurer of England shall be set  
downe a more large discourse in my large booke of  
the liues of the chancelors.

Lionell third sonne to Edward the third, was in  
the ninth yere of the reigne of the said king Edward  
the third, being the yeare in which the word became  
fleshy 1345, made gardian of England, in the absence  
of his father, who as then was sailed into the parts  
(beyond the seas) of Flanders. Of this man there is  
more spoken in my following treatise of the dukes  
of England.

Henrie lord Persie, & Rafe lord Beuill, when Ed-  
ward the third was sailed into Normandie, were in  
the twentieth yere of the reigne of the said Edward  
the third, being the yeare of our redemption 1346,  
appointed to be gardians of the realme in his absence  
with the archbishop of Doke, the bishop of Lincoln,  
and Thomas Hatfield bishop of Durham.

Thomas of Woodstocke being verie yong was  
made custos or gardian of England, in the yere that  
God toke on him the forme of a seruant 1359, being  
the thre & thirtieth of the reigne of the said king Ed-  
ward the third, when he sailed into France with a  
1100 ships. Of this man is more spoken in my dis-  
course of the dukes of England, set downe in the time  
of queene Elizabeth: and in my treatise of the  
conestables of England, set downe in the time of  
Henrie the eight pag. 867.

John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster, fourth sonne  
of Edward the third, because the king his father was  
feeble and sicklie (being now about thre score & five  
yeares of age, though Bodinus in his *Methodo historiae*  
saie that he died in his climactericall yeare of thre  
score and thre: for the truth is, that the said Edward  
the third was fourtene yeares old when he began to  
reigne, and he reigned about one and fiftie yeares,

which make of his age thre score and five yeares) but  
especiallie for the sorow which the king inwardlie  
conceiued for the death of that worthy prince his son,  
commonlie surnamed the Blacke prince. This John  
of Gaunt (after the death of the said Blacke prince,  
which died in the yeare of Christ 1376, being the fiftith  
yeare of the reigne of Edward the third, whose death  
was deemed to be hastned by the said John of Gaunt  
aspiring to the crowne, the plat whereof though it  
toke not effect in the life of the said John, yet it was  
performed in his sonne Henrie of Bullingbrooke,  
who deposed Richard the second) was appointed by  
his father Edward the third to haue the rule of the  
realme vnder him, the which he continued during  
his fathers life, which was not a full yeare after that  
he had made the said John of Gaunt gouernour of  
England. After which death of king Edward the  
third, when Richard the second, a child of eleuen  
yeares of age began his reigne, in the yeare of our  
redemption 1377, in the first yeare of the said Ri-  
chard the second, after his coronation, the said John  
of Gaunt duke of Lancaster, & Edmund of Lang-  
leie earle of Cambridge brother to the said John of  
Gaunt, were appointed to haue the gouernement of  
the kings person, and the administration of the com-  
mon-wealth. But shortly after, in the same yere of  
the king, in the yeare of our redemption 1378, the  
said John of Gaunt gaue vp the same office. Of this  
man is more said in my treatise of the dukes of  
England.

William Courtnie bishop of London (but short-  
lie after his protectorship advanced vnto the see of  
Canturburie, in the yeare of Christ 1381, about the  
ninth of Januarie, being about the fourth of Richard  
the second, was made gouernor of the realme in this  
maner. After (as is before said) that the duke of Lan-  
caster had wiselie weied the sickle estate of the  
realme, and considered that by the euill gouernment  
of the nobilitie, and inconstant mind of the yong  
king, there must needs fall a change of the estate, &  
doubting that if any thing succeeded otherwile than  
the nobles liked, the cause and negligence might be  
imputed to him, as one who chiefe had the govern-  
ment in his hands (and thanks howsoeuer the state  
was ruled he looked for none) did in the end after a  
few months authoritie (wholie mistaking the maners  
of the court, which commonlie are not of the best in  
the minority of princes) surrender his protectorship,  
and obtained licence of the king to depart, and so  
got him quietlie to his castell of Kenelworth, permit-  
ting others to haue the whole swaie of the king-  
dome.

Notwithstanding all which, in the second yeare of  
Richard the second, about the yeare of Christ 1379  
being not altogether carelesse of the kings well do-  
ing; this duke before his departing to Kenelworth,  
caused certeine graue persons with his full consent,  
to be ordeined, which should haue the gouernement  
of the kings person, and administration of the com-  
mon-wealth. The names of whome were, William  
Courtnie before mentioned, Edmund Mortimer  
earle of March, Rafe Ergumne bishop of Salisburie,  
and William lord Latimer, with others, of whome  
for the most part the people had conceiued a good o-  
pinion: yet because the said bishop of Salisburie, and  
the lord Latimer were associat to the rest, and of e-  
quall authoritie with them, the commons murmured  
greatlie against them. The cause for which they so  
mistaked the lord Latimer, was for that he had some-  
times bin too much fauouring to dame Alice Piers,  
concubine to king Edward the third, to whome the  
said lord Latimer was chiefe chamberleine, & there-  
fore was of him best beloued, which two persons, the  
lord Latimer, and dame Alice, were by parliament in

William  
Courtnie  
bishop of  
London.

in the fifth yeare of Edward the thirde removed from the king, for that they miscounselled him, but expectallie sith much mischief grew in the realme by the same Alice Piers. For she being now exalted in pride by overmuch love of Edward the thirde, would beyond the modestie and maner of women, sit in indgement with the kings iustices, he with the doctors in the consistorie, turne sentences to what she the would, and require manie things dishonest in themselves, and dishonourable to the king. Which woman, an old written chronicle belonging to the house of Cuesham, hath delivered to me these words: *Alicia Piers regis concubina supra modum mulierum nimis supergressa sui etiam sexus & fragilitatis feminine immemor, nunc iuxta iusticiarios regis nunc in foro ecclesiastico iuxta doctores sedendo, & pro defensione causarum suaderet, & etiam contra iura postulare minime verebatur, unde propter scandalum perierunt ab illo (which was the king) penitus amoveri in parlamento tento anno Domini 1376 & 50 Ed. 3.* Thus that autho.

And here before I go any further with my protectors, because some curious heads that find not all these matters in the records of the tower, which they daile turne with a churlish hand, or else thinke that nothing may be knowne out of the walles of their office, will seeme to seeke a knot in a rush, and saie that I in compasse of some few lines have written a contrarietie, in saieing that John of Gaunt thirdest after the kingdome, and for that cause hastened the death of his elder brother prince Edward the blacke as Richard the thirde did the death of his brother George duke of Clarence, which intent could not possible be in John of Gaunt, as appeareth by my olone following words: where I saie that he gaue over the protectorship of his nephue, because he would avoid all suspicion of euill gouernement: which he would neuer haue done if he had so intent, that place being so apt for the execution of his purpose, and might giue occasion to him that netier ment any such matter before, to attempt it being in that place, as Richard duke of Yorke did attempt, but not perfoyme it, in the time of Henrie the first; and as Richard duke of Gloucester, being in the same office of protectorship, did not onelie attempt it, but brought to perfection. Whereunto I answer, that all this is no contrarietie, but onelie a manifest shew and confirmation, the one part of my words to the other. For sith he could not in the life of his father Edward the thirde before the crowning of king Richard the second (as Richard the thirde did) attaine the crowne, he would not now attempt it (the king being once crowned, and in full possession of the kingdome) so rashly and vnadvisedly (as did Richard duke of Yorke against Henrie, for which he was in the end haine) least that thereby his part might seeme to carie the face of a rebellion, as in truth it should haue done. For whosoeuer either for colour of God, bene- fit to their countrie, or for whatsoeuer cause, lift up the sword against a crowned king, sitting at the sterne of gouernement, being one of the gods of the earth, the same must needs tend vnto a rebellion, which John of Gaunt would not seeme to execute, & for that cause leauing off his purpose at that time, he did in the end also leaue the whole matter to his son to perfoyme, especiallie sith he afterward perceived Richard the second so much to fauor, and further him with monie, munition, and men, to recouer the kingdome of Castile & Arragon in Spaine, in the right of the wife of the said John of Gaunt. To whom and to his wife (as hath Henrie Knighton) king Richard the second gaue a severall crowne of gold to honour them withall, & to shew how interlie he loued them when they both went into Spaine. And for these causes the said John of Gaunt refused the oportunitie

of time & place in the king his nephues minority to execute it. But did he cease it for so. For that sparke although it were a little cooled, was not utterlie quenched, because he hastened the same in his son, whom he not onelie persuaded, but furthered (after the banishment of his said sonne Henrie of Bullingbroke by Richard the second in the life of the said John of Gaunt) to returne into England, and after his death to chalenge by sword the earldome of Lancaster his right inheritance, and vnder the same to reuenge the death of the duke of Gloucester and others: and by that means, when Richard the second was out of the realme of England in Ireland, the said Henrie Bullingbroke sonne of John of Gaunt entered the realme, put downe the king, and got the crowne which his father sought. Thus this much digressing from the protectors, and to returne to that course which I haue in hand, I will leaue the discourse of policies to obtaine kingdoms, because they be no balles for me to bandie, and follow on my former intent as ineter for my simplicitie.

Thomas Beauchampe earle of Warwick was in the thirde yeare of Richard the second, being the yeare of our redemption 1380, made protector in this sort. In the parlament holden the same yeare, at the speciall sute of the lords, and of the commons, the bishops and barons chosen (as you haue heard) before by John of Gaunt to be protectors of the realme, were removed, and the earle of Warwick especiallie elected to that function, to remaine continuallie with the king as cheefe gouernor of his roiall person; & one that should giue answer to all foreigners repairing thither, vpon what cause soeuer their coming were; hauing further as ample gouernment of the kingdome giuen vnto him, as the other removed gouernors had. Being placed in that office by the duke of Lancaster, he died the first ides of Aprill, in the yeare of Christ 1401, being the thirde yeare of Henrie the fourth. He married Margaret, the daughter of William lord Ferrers of Grobie; by whome he had issue, Richard earle of Warwick.

Thomas Fitzalane otherwile called Arundell bishop of Elie, the two and twentieth that inioind that seat, being two and twentie yeares of age, and the son of Richard Fitzalane earle of Arundell & Warren, was with others made protector of England in this sort. At a parlament holden at London in the tenth yeare of Richard the second, being the yeare of Christ 1386, were certeine gouernors of the kingdome elected, because the treasure of the realme had bene imbeilled & lewde wasted, nothing to the profit of the king and kingdome, by the couetous and euill gouernment of the deposed officers, which were Michaell de la Pole earle of Suffolke lord chancellor, John Fitzham bishop of Durham lord treasurer, & diuerse other persons that ruled about the king.

Now the gouernors elected by this parlament were in number thirtene; and by name Thomas Arundell bishop of Elie, then made lord chancellor; John Gilbert bishop of Hereford made lord treasurer; and Nicholas abbat of Waltham at that time made keeper of the priuie seale; William Courtenie archbishop of Canturburie, Alexander Bevil archbishop of Yorke, Edmund Langley duke of Yorke, Thomas of Woodstocke duke of Gloucester, William bishop of Winchester, Thomas bishop of Excester, Richard Fitzalane erle of Arundell, John lord Deuereur, and Reinold lord Cobham of Starbozow. These were thus by parlament chosen to haue vnder the king the whole oversight and gouernment of the realme, as by their commission in the statutes of the tenth yeare of the said Richard the second it doth in the printed booke appeare.

Al III. iij. Edmund

Thomas Beauchampe earle of warre wike.

Thomas Arundell bishop of Elie.

William Court new bishop of London.

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Edmund Langley duke of York, uncle unto Richard the second, was in the eighteenth yeare of the said Richard, being about the yeare of our redemption 1395, ordeined lord gardian of England, in the kings absence in the realme of Ireland. This protector caused a parlement to be assembled at Westminster: where he dealt so effectualie, notwithstanding the untowardnesse of the burgeses, that a tenth was granted by the cleargie, and a fiftenth by the tempoꝛaltie; but not without protestation, that those payments were granted of a mere freewill, for the loue they bare to the king, and to haue the affaires in Ireland to succeed the better. After this, about foure yeares; king Richard the second in the two and twentieth yeare of his reigne, in the yeare of Christ 1399, making another viage into Ireland (being the last and most unhaple that euer was to him, for before his returne he had in effect lost his realme, which after his coming he lost in deed) did againe in his absence substitute this Edmund duke of York as chiefe gouernor of England. Who in the absence of the king, assembled a power of men against Henrie of Bulkingbroke, now entered into the land to challenge the dukedome of Lancaster after the death of his father John of Gaunt, and vnder that colour to vsurpe the crowne. Which Edmund passing into Wales in the three and twentieth yeare of Richard the second, was receiued into the castell of Barking, where remained untill the coming of Henrie of Bulkingbroke. Whom when he perceiued (for the power which the said duke of Lancaster had assembled from all parts of the realme) that he was not of sufficiencie to resist; he came forth into the church that stood without the castell, and there fell to parley with the duke of Lancaster; after which he did neuer forsake the duke of Lancaster, untill he came to the crowne. Whp, if he had faithfullie stood vnto his nephew, might perhaps haue saued vnto him both his crowne and life. Of this man is moꝛe said in my treatise of the dukes of England.

Jone de Barmures sometime  
widow to Henrie  
the fourth.

Jone de Barmures sometime duchesse of Britaine, (widow to Philip Montfort, as saith Hypodigma; but Walsingham in his historie calleth him John duke of Britaine; being also the widow of king Henrie the fourth) was substitute gouernor of the realme by his son in law king Henrie the first, king of England, in the third yeare of his reigne, being the yeare from the birth of the Medias 1415, when the said Henrie the first toke his iourne into France to conquer the same. This woman in the seuenth yeare of Henrie the first, which was in the yeare of Christ 1419, being suspected (as saith John Stow) to practise withcraft against the king, was committed to the custodie of John Willeam, or rather John Welham, who appointed nine seruants to attend vpon hir, and brought hir to Beuenfete castell to be gouerned vnder his prouidence. But shortly after clearing hir selfe, she was deliuered. This ladie died at Hauering at the bolwe in Essex the ninth of Iulie in the seuenth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the first, being the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred thirtie and seuen, and was buried at Canturburie with hir husband king Henrie the fourth.

John de  
Plantagenet  
duke of Bed-  
ford.

John duke of Bedford son to Henrie the fourth, & brother to h. Henrie the first, was in the fourth yeare of the reigne of the said Henrie, being the yeare of our redemption 1416, by parlement appointed regent of the realme, to inioie the same office so long as the king was imployed in the French wars. Which place he possessed accordinglie; and in the ninth yeare of the victorious prince, king Henrie the first, being gardian of England, he, with Henrie

Beauford bishop of Winchester uncle to Henrie the first, and Jaqueline duchesse of Holland remaining then in England, were godfathers, and godmother to Henrie, after king by the name of Henrie the first, the son of Henrie the first; Henrie Chichele archbishop of Canturburie baptizing the child. In the tenth and last yeare of Henrie the first, this John with a strong power conueied quene Katharine wife to Henrie the first, from Southampton into France. This man being duke of Bedford, earle of Armon and of Bendall, constable of England, and warden of the marches of Scotland, died the fourteenth daie of September at Rome in 30. maner, who (having also bene regent of France, a most valiant gentleman, and one that kept the parts beyond the seas in great obedience to the crowne of England) had for his yearelie pension 20000 crownes at the least. After whose death all things went backward, and the English lost all that they had beyond the seas, Calis, & those dominions onlie excepted.

This man (I saie) died in the yeare of our redemption 1435, being the thirteenth yeare of the unfortunate government of the deposed king Henrie the first, and was honorablie buried at Rome in our ladie church there. Touching whome it shall not grue me to set downe the answer of a French king lately in our age made to one of his nobilitie, saing vnto the king (then being in the said ladie church of Rome, and beholding the tome of this John of Bedford) that it were conuenient that the same tome were defaced and pulled downe; since he was the onelie man that brought the greatest damage that euer happened vnto France. To whom the king said; Hold thy peace loke, God forbid that euer we should do such reproch to him being dead; whome the proudest of our nation durst not looke in the face when he was liuing. This duke John married the second yeare of Henrie the first, in the yeare of Christ 1423, Anne the daughter of John duke of Burgogne, who died in the tenth yeare of Henrie the first, in the yeare of Christ 1433, after which he married Jaques daughter to Peter earle of S. Paule in the same yeare, and yet died without issue. Of this man is mention made in my former discourse of the constables of England, pag. 868.

Humfreie duke of Gloucester brother to Henrie the first, and uncle to Henrie the first, was in the tenth and last yeare of Henrie the first, being the yeare of our Lord 1422, made regent of England, vpon the removing and departure of John duke of Bedford with quene Katharine, wife to Henrie the first into France. In which yeare (happening the lamentable death of that worthy prince king Henrie the first) the said Henrie vpon his death-bed appointed this Humfreie to be protector of the realme; which he did exercise in the time of the minority of Henrie the first, from the time of his first enterance into the kingdome. Who at that time taking vpon him that function, called vnto him graue and wise counsellors; with whose support he might with better honor to the realme, and benefit to the subjects, rule the ship of this kingdome, sailing in the dangerous waues of the kings infancie. By which means holding the sterne thereof, directed by the course of iustice, he did most honorablie during his life discharge the dutie of so weightie an office. Who in the fourteenth yeare of Henrie the first, being the yeare of our Lord 1439, did with five hundred saile land at Calis, and for eleven daies spoiled the lott countries and so by Calis returned againe into England. This man in the five & twentieth yeare of king Henrie first, being the yeare of Christ 1447, was in his castell of Ales in Millhoire, & coming from thence

Humfreie  
duke of Gloucester.

to the parlement was lodged in the hospitall, and arrested by John lord Beaumont high constable of England. But on the foure and twentieth daie of February he died for sorow as some said, and as John Stow hath noted, because he might not come to his answer. Other write that he was murdered in the night by the queens procurement, to the great griefe of the commons, and in time following to the bitter destruction of the king and the queene. He was duke of Gloucester, and also in the right of his wife duke of Holland and Zeland, earle of Penbroke, lord chamberleine of England, and protector of the realme, being highly esteemed of learned men, himselfe also not meanlie furnished with knowledge, having rare skill in astrologie, wherof beside manie other things he compiled a singular treatise, obtaining the name of *Tabula directionum*, touching whose death I have read these verses following in John Whethamsted:

*Aemula fors varijs signanter honoribus altis  
Causavit misere mala multos flere ruinae,  
Latus erat Iulius, undus meus Ptolomeus,  
Fulsus Tarquinius, exul factusque Tydens,  
Dux nimis prope iam dictus tempora vita  
Complevit tristis, heu indignatio regis  
Causa fuit magna, maior detractio falsi,  
Plebs et inuncta fallaci et insidiosa,  
Nam regis patris, quamvis et proximus haeres,  
Tunc fueratque sum consulor in ordine primus,  
Vir prudensque pius, vir doctus et ingeniosus,  
Non tamen erubuit, nec pertimuit, ne pepercit  
Hunc accusare falsè de prodicione,  
Discre quodque suam clam vellet tollere vitam  
Et sibi surripere violenter iura corona.  
Dixit argentum, proprium qui capiat in usum,  
Desiderat medium quo vindicet aptius ipsum,  
Sic regem plures comitantes collaterales  
Se tantum praedonem, mediat frans, dat dolum ipsum,  
Fidior in regno regi duce non fuit isto,  
Plisus fide stabili aut maior amator honoris,  
Et tamen et pro dolo voto potiretur iniquo,  
Fraudem consiluit, cum fraude dolum sociavit,  
Sicque ducem falsi maculans cum prodicione  
Obtinuit votum, praedator eratque bonorum  
Illius, et tristis obijt dux criminis expertus.*

Which duke Humfrie was buried at saint Albons, being without issue, after he had married two wives; whereof the first wife was Jacoba or Jaqueline (daughter and sole heire of William of Bauler) being then the lawfull wife to John duke of Habant then living, which wife this Humfrie married in England in the yere of our redemption 1424 being the third yere of king Henrie the first, upon which grew great warres, and Humfrie duke of Gloucester challenged the combat of the duke of Burgognie, taking part with his cousine John duke of Habant. But in the end the duke of Gloucester left his wife at Mons & returned into England, and shæ into Gaunt, and so into Holland, & the combat staied by means of the duke of Bedford brother to the duke of Gloucester. But after (as it seemeth) the duke of Gloucester was divorced from this dutchesse, and then married Cleano: Cobham (whome he had tenderlie loved as his paramour before that) in the yere of our redemption 1428, being the first yere of the reigne of king Henrie the first. This woman in the nineteenth yere of the said Henrie the first (upon the taking of Henrie Bullingbroke for practising necromancie, thereby to consume the king) fled in the night to Westminster for sanctuarie, which caused hir to be suspected of treason. Whereupon Bullingbroke confessing that he wrought the same at the procurement of the said Cleano:, desirous to know to what estate she should come unto, the said dame Cleano: did oftentimes for the same fact appeare be-

fore the bishop, and in the end was consulted. After which in the twentieth of Henrie the first she did great penance therfore, and so escaped with hir life. And here because I have said somewhat of Jaqueline dutchesse of Holland, I thinke it not amisse to adde a little more of hir, being a woman of great beautie, and desire of change in performing the pleasures of the flesh: therfore I will set downe what I have seene written under the pictures of hir and hir husband Francis in this sort.

The subscription vnder the pictures of  
the ladie Jaqueline, and of Francis  
hir husband.

*I Acoba Dei gratia comitissa Hannonia, Hollandia, & Zelandia, domina Frisia, Zutbuerlandia, terre Brilenfis, Forensis, & Gulielmi Bauariensis ducis filia & heres unica, quæ primo desponsata fuit Philippo Burgundiorum duci: postea Delphino Francorum regis filio: tertio Iohanni duci Brabantia Antony filio: deinde Humfrido Glocestria duci Henrici quarti Anglia regis filio: & postremo Franconi Burghensi comiti Osteruandia matrimonio copulatur. Quæ obiit absque liberis 8 Idus Octobris, anno Domini 1463 sepulta apud Hagam comitis in Hollandia.*

Beside which was this written in Dutch:  
Vrouen Iacoba van Byeren Grauenne van  
Hollant starfe Anno Domini 1463.

The subscription vnder the picture  
of hir husband Francone or Francis  
was in this sort.

*Franciscus Dei gratia comes de Osteruant (erfginocht) in comitatibus Hollandia, Hannonia, Zelandia, & Friselandia, dominus de Boursalia de Viorne, Zuylen, Hochstatten, Kortene, de la Peer, Flushing, Zandenburge, terre Brilenfis, Sentmartinsdike, quo loco fundavit canobium canonicorum, &c: & regi Edwardo quarto fideliter assistebat, necnon equestrii ordinis duci Antony.*

Beside which also was this written in the Dutch tongue. Here vranck van Boselen graue van Osteruant starfe Anno Domini 1470.

Thomas Beaufort duke of Excester (appointed to that office by Henrie the first on his death-bed) was with Henrie Beaufort bishop of Winchester great uncle to king Henrie the first in the yere of our redemption 1422, being the first yere of the reigne of king Henrie the first (then but nine months old) made protector and gardian of the person of the yong king, to see him tenderlie and carefulle brought up and instructed in all such parts as were to be required in the person of a monarch. Which office he left about the fourth yere of king Henrie the first, and died on feluyeres daie at his manor of Crantwich in the said first yere of Henrie the first, being the yere of our redemption 1446: he married Margaret the daughter of Thomas Beuill of Hornesbie.

Richard Beauchampe earle of Warwicke son of the former Thomas Beauchampe, being beyond the seas, and there deputie for John duke of Bedford (being regent of France) did (whilest the said regent was come ouer into England) obtaine manie castels in his deputiethip; who being thus imploied in the foren warres, was in his absence out of his countrie (for his singular wisdom and valor) ordered by the three estates of the realme of England in open parlement, to be gouernor of the person of the yong king Henrie the first, in the place of Thomas Beaufort duke of Excester lately deceased: which Richard did not yet forthwith hasten his returne into England, but remained in France for a season, enlarging

Thomas Beaufort  
duke of Excester.

Richard Beauchampe  
earle of warwicke.

inlarging the same of his martial exploits. This his election to the protectorship of the kings person, was in the first yere of Henrie the first, being the yere of our redemption 1426. He died in the yere of our Lord 1439, being the seuententh yere of the deposed king Henrie the first, at Rome in porman die the last date of Maie, as hath John Stow; and the fourth of October next following his corps was honozable conueied, as well by land as by water from Rome to Warwicke, and there honozable buried in the college of our ladie church founded by his noble ancestors. He married two wiues, the first Elisabeth daughter and heire of Thomas lord Barbleie; by whome he had three daughters, Margaret married to John lord Talbot earle of Shrewesburie, Cleane married to Thomas lord Kose, and Elisabeth married to George Peuill lord Latimer. His second wife was Isabell the daughter and heire of Richard lord Spenser, by whome he had issue Henrie duke of Warwicke, and Anne married to Richard Peuill earle of Salisburie.

Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke.

Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke, sonne to Richard earle of Cambridge, and father to Edward the fourth king of England, notwithstanding that he made challenge to the crowne against Henrie the first, then in possession thereof, as heire to the house of Yorke, and was to be preferred before the house of Lancaster; and notwithstanding that he was by parliament appointed to weare the crowne after the death of Henrie the first: yet after all this, in the three and thirtieth yere of the same king, being the yere of our redemption 1455 (such was the imperfection of the king to gouerne) he was appointed protector of the realme, ruling the same at his owne disposition. Which office he did not long inioie, and that most worthilie: for the next yere after being the foure and thirtieth of king Henrie the first, and the yere of our redemption 1456, he was depriued from the same, and quene Margaret wiue to Henrie the first toke againe the absolute regiment into his hands: which duke after in the nine and thirtieth of king Henrie the first, being the yere of our redemption 1460, the thirtieth date of December, being lord of Wakefield, was there with his sonne the earle of Rutland slaine at the battell commonlie called the battell of Wakefield; of which I haue read these verses in Whethamsted once abbat of saint Albons:

Anno milleno centum quater quoque sena,  
Terdenoque die, duodeno mense Decembre,  
Infra Eboracensem iuxta Wakefield comitatum  
Dux dominus Wilhelms pugnans habuisse  
Constitutum grandem contra gentem borealem,  
Ac praeceps plures praerant quae gentibus ipsi,  
Quod docuit, quia fors quod res fortuna secundas,  
Fuit habere moras, cecidit dux natus eius,  
Ac comes insignis fors belli, fors fuit ipsi  
Obiit, sicque satis regni fuerat brevis haeres  
Omen et illatum, ualerat mutamine maestum  
Desendum multis, in regni, in fuit eius.

He married Cicilie daughter to Kase Peuill first earle of Westmerland, by whome he had issue Edward duke of Yorke, earle of March, and after king of England by the name of Edward the fourth: George Plantagenet duke of Clarence, Richard Plantagenet duke of Gloucester, after king of England by the name of Richard the third: three daughters, Anne married to Henrie Holland duke of Excester, Elisabeth married to John de la Pole duke of Suffolke, and Margaret married to Charles duke of Burgognie.

George Plantagenet duke of Clarence.

George Plantagenet duke of Clarence, and constable of England, sonne of the foresaid duke of Yorke, and brother to king Edward the fourth, with Richard Peuill earle of Warwicke (who set by and

pulled downe kings at his pleasure) were after the flight of Edward the fourth out of England into Burgognie to his brother in law (in the tenth yere of the reigne of the said king Edward, being the yere of our redemption 1470, when Henrie the first had by their means readepted the kingdome) made gouernors of the land, which office they inioied not long. For the said Edward the fourth returning into England, in the eleuenth yere of his reigne, being the yere of our redemption 1471, reconciled to him the duke of Clarence, did againe put downe king Henrie the first, and due the said earle of Warwicke (sitting awaite) at Barnet field (on Easter day) by one of the men of his campe. After this, on the fifteenth date of Januarie began a parliament; in the eighteenth yere of the reigne of king Edward the fourth, being the yere of our redemption 1478, where this duke of Clarence was attainted of treason, and the eleuenth of March following he ended his life in a but of malineise, and was buried at Ekelesburie beside his wife, who being with child died by poison a little before him. Of this man see more in my discourse of the constables of England pag. 869.

Richard Plantagenet third sonne to Richard duke of Yorke, was constable of England and gouernour of the person of the king, of whome is more spoken in my discourse of the constables of England pag. 869. But here mentioning the constables of England, I thinke it better now than not at all, to mention also some imperfection and default in my former discourse of the said constables, let downe by me before in pag. 865. Which default of mine in that place grew by reason of ouermuch hast, which I used in sudden seeking for the same, whereby (according to the old prouerbe) I brought forth a blind whelp. For in the former description I haue omitted diuerse the which were constables of England, the names of which were Henrie the first in the life of his father, Sigellus, and Robert de Dilie, with others of that line in descent, which Sigellus I can not as yet learne to be anie other but Sigellus de Dilie, brother to Robert de Dilie that came in with the Conqueror, who gaue Wrothshire vnto the said Robert.

Besides which, if it shall seeme to anie that I haue in my former treatise rashlie written I know not what, & that here I make Henrie the first constable in his father the Conquerors time, & by contrarietie thereto did before make Walter constable also in the Conquerors and William Rufus his time: let them know that there is no contrarietie herein. For Walter might first be constable, & then Henrie the first, and both they in the Conquerors time, this office being taken from the first, and given to the latter by the Conqueror. After whose death William Rufus might take it from his brother Henrie, because he would not make him too great in England, for doubt least he might hereby put the crowne in hazard, being fauoured of the people as one borne in England, and for that cause might restore that office to Walter. Againe it maie be, that some men reading that I haue before set downe, that Matw the emperesse gaue the constableship to Spilo the son of Walter in the first of king Stephan, and that king Stephan toke that office from Spilo in the first yere of his reigne, and gaue it to Walter Beauchampe, will condemne me therefore of like vnadvised writing: because it seemeth thereby that Stephan toke it from Spilo before that Spilo had it. Which is not so, for I can proue with some reason and authoritie, that Spilo had it a little before the death of king Henrie the first, and also after his death in part of the first yere of king Stephan, being witness to a deed by king Stephan, made and dated the first of his reigne, to

This was done 1561, counting the yere to begin at Christmas as some doe, or at Januarie as others doe.

Sigellus de Dilie constable of England.

The foundation of the hospital of St. Mary.



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to which he subscribed his name *Milo Constabularius*, after which king Stephan might in that yeare take that office from him, and so he did. Which Pawd the emperesse understanding, and finding Aplo (now fallen from king Stephan) one which assisted hir, the better to confront Stephan, gaue the constestable ship to Aplo (accounting hir selfe as quene) in the first of Stephan.

This being thus spoken in defense of that which before I haue written pag. 866. let vs go to our other matter concerning the constestables not mentioned before in the said discourse, wherein I find my selfe in a marvellous laberinth (out of which I doubt that the best antiquaries cannot lose themselves, no not he which thinketh and saith that he can controll all men, for I suppose he will be lame in this matter) how all these could be constestables, vnlesse that in the time of Henrie the first, and of king Stephan, as it is most likelie, there was chopping & changing, putting in and taking out, setting vp and pulling downe one man in diuerse yeares of one and the selfe same king: for king Stephan was sometime a king, and sometime as no king, and then againe a king. And so likewise was it with Pawd the emperesse at the same time, bearing hir selfe sometime as quene, and then dejected as no quene. But be it as it will be, I will here set downe what I find in ancient charters and pedegrees touching the constestables of England not before mentioned, leauing the same to others (either to order for succession of time, or to amend for truth of matter) who peraduenture reading these things, which I haue scene and will here set downe, can bestow them in better order than I can, which I earnestlie praye them to do, whereby truth maie be brought to light and perfection; which as yet touching these constestables set downe in this place, seemeth to be obscured and confused untill the time that Roger Fitz Piles had that office: for from his time the same is without all controuersie sufficientlie knowne. Wherefore, here before I enter into the descent of the de Dilies, who were constestables of England, I will set downe a strange note of thre persons witnesses to a deed, dated *Primo Stephani, anno Dom. 1136*, who do all subscribe their names as constestables. Which charter being the same wherein king Stephan gaue the manor of Sudton or Sutton to the house of Winchester, the same was amongst other witnesses thus signed, *Robertus de Peer constabularius, Milo constabularius, Brientius filius comitis constabularius*: all who could not be constestables of England at one time. Wherefore sauing correction I suppose that it is out of all controuersie, that neither the first nor the last of these thre were constestables of England, but of some other places, as of Douer or other castles. And so to that which I haue further to saie of the kings constestables in one descent and succession of the de Dilies, being learned the kings constestables, both in ancient charters and pedegrees, whereof Nigellus before mentioned seemeth to be one.

This Nigellus was constestable of England in the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred and one, being the first yere of king Henrie the first, as may appeare by a deed of confirmation made by Henrie the first touching the cathedrall church of Dorwich, whereof I thinke good to saie somewhat to bring in the profe that this Nigellus was constestable. This church was built for the most part in the time of William Rufus, by Herebert de Losinga the first bishop of Dorwich, who translated the see from Ely into Dorwich, in the yeare of Christ 1094, which church being finished and consecrated to the holie trinitie, was afterward confirmed by Henrie the first, and Pawd his wife, in the first yeare of the said Henrie, being the yeare of our redemption 1101, to

the charter thereof signed by king Henrie & Pawd his wife, were manie bishops, noblemen and abbats witnesses, amongst whom are these two set downe; Nigellus Constabularius, and Rogerus Cancellarius, of which Nigellus thus writeth Leland in his commentaries on the song of the swan in the word *Isidis insula*: *Erat Roberto frater Nigellus nomine, de quo fama non admodum multa refert*, which I suppose is this Nigellus de Olie the constestable, as I before said.

Robert de Olie, sonne of the said Nigellus, did succeed his father, and was as may appeare by some authoys (who tearme him accordingly) great constestable of England. This man together with his wife Edith were the founders of the religious house of Dineie, touching whome I shall not graue to set downe what I haue gathered out of Leland and others. This Edith obtained of hir husband to build a church in the Isle of Dineie in Dorsetshire, to our sauiour Christ, about the yeare of our redemption 1129, being about the nine and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the first, which church did after grow to be of great renoume and building, the occasion of building whereof is set downe by others in this sort. Edith being in great estimation with Henrie, first married the said Robert de Olie by the kings procurement, which Robert began the priore of the blacke canons of Dineie by Dorford, amongst the Isles made by the riuer of Isis or Wolfe. This Edith used oftentimes to walke out of Dorford castell with hir gentlewomen for to solace and recreate hir selfe. At what time at a certeine place, as often as she came by the same, certeine pies assembled themselves in a tree, where they chattered and as it were spake vnto hir. This ladie much maruelling at the matter, happening so continuallie at one time in one place after one order, and with one maner of foules, was manie times astonished and feared therewith, esteeming it a verie strange wonder. Whereupon she sent for one Radulph or Rafe a chanon of saint Frideswide in Dorford, a man of vertuous life & hir confessor, asking his counsell vpon the same. To whom he answered (after that he had scene the order of those pies onelie chattering at hir comming thither) that she should build some church or monastrie in that place. Whereupon she intreated hir husband to build a priore, and so he did, making that Radulph the first priore of that house. All which matter, that is the coming of Edith to Dineie, Radulph waiting on hir, and the tree with the pies were all extant (at the generall dissolution of the abbetes in the time of Henrie the eight) to be scene painted on the north side of the high altar, in the arch of the wall ouer Ediths tombe in Dineie priore, vpon which tome there laie a stone image of Edith in the habit of a dovnelle holding a hart in hir right hand. This Robert de Olie was buried in Dineie in the verie middle of the presbiterie, vnder a flat marble stone; whereupon was a flowred crosse portraied, which Robert had issue Henrie de Olie, baron of Hochinton, & the kings constestable, which married Margerie the daughter of Humfrie de Bohune, by whome that Henrie had issue Henrie de Olie baron of Hochinton, and the kings constestable which died without issue. Thus this much by waie of digression, touching the constestables of England, left out in my former discourse of those officers. And so againe to the protectors.

Katharine the daughter of Ferdinando king of Spaine, and wife to king Henrie the eight, was (in the absence of the said king beyond the seas in the the warres of Turwine and Carneie) made regent of the realme, in the yeare of Christ 1513, and the first yeare of king Henrie the eight, she had bene the widow of Arthur prince of Wales, eldest sonne vnto king Henrie the seauenth, and eldest brother to king Henrie

Robert de  
Olie conste-  
ble of Eng-  
land.

The foundati-  
on of the ab-  
bie of Dineie  
or Dineie in  
the yeare of  
Christ 1129,  
being about  
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yeare of Hen-  
rie the first, as  
saie writers.

The founda-  
tion of the ca-  
thedral church  
of Dorwich.

Henrie the eight, who after the death of that Arthur was by dispensation of the pope married to Henrie after king, by the name of Henrie the eight, being younger brother of the said Arthur, from which king Henrie she was afterward not onelie divorced, in the one and twentieth of his reigne, being the yeare of Christ 1529, but after by parlement also in the foure and twentieth of the kings reigne, in the yeare of Christ 1532, disgraced from the name of quene, and from thenceforth appointed onlie to be called the princeesse dowager of prince Arthur, about five yeers after which she died on the eight of Januarie, being the yeare of our redemption 1535, which was the seauen and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the eight, and was honourable buried in the abbeye of Peterborough, for which cause afterward in the generall dissolution of the abbeies, when all those houses were spoiled, this abbeye was not onelie for hir buriall there spared and not defaced, but also further honored with a greater title, and turned into a bishoprike, by the said king Henrie the eight.

Katharine Par, the daughter of sir Thomas Par, lord of Kirkbie Kenball, and wife to king Henrie the eight, was by patent made protectresse of the realme of England, when king Henrie the eight went in person to the wars of Bullongne, on the thirteenth of Julie in the yeare of our redemption 1544, being the six and thirtieth yeare of the triumphant reigne of the said king. This ladie Katharine being the lord Latimers widow, was married to the king at Hampton court, one the twelfe of Julie being the five and thirtieth yeare of his reigne, and the yeare of Christ 1543, who hauing no issue by the king, was after the kings death married to Thomas Seimer knight, lord Seimer of Sudleie and high admirall of England.

Edward Seimer knight, vicount Beauchampe earle of Hertford, & after duke of Summerfet, was protector of the kings person, and of the kingdome, in the first yeare of king Edward the sixt, his nephew which was in the yeare of our redemption 1546, the king being then but nine yeares old. Of this man is moze spoken in my following discourse of all the dukes of England by creation or descent since the conquest, with which duke of Summerfet, the last in office of protectorship, Francis Thin knitteth by this simple discourse of the protectors of England of the kings person.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S.  
1051.

Curtis, alderman of London committed to ward for breuerend sword and signes to the lord chancellor.

Anno Reg. 6.  
Sir Rafe Wane & other executed.  
House blowne up with gunpowder.

Muster of horsemen before the king in Greenwich park.

Dukes.

¶ On the 17 of Februarie, on which date were receiued the bookes of the reliefe of all the wards of London, towards the new hospitals, by the kings commissioners, the counsell dined at maister Compers the shiriffe, and after dinner maister Thomas Curtis alderman came thither to speake with the lord chancellor for a matter he had depending afoze him in the chancerie, but for his misdemeanour in words and signes to the lord chancellor at that time, the said maister Curtis was committed to ward in the Fleet. The six and twentieth of Februarie, sir Rafe Wane and sir Miles Partridge were hanged on the tower hill; & sir Michaell Stanthope with sir Thomas Arundell were beheaded there. The last of Aprill, through negligence of the gunpowder makers, a certeine house nere the tower of London, with the last of powder was blowne up and burnt, the gunpowder makers being fiftene in number, were all slaine.

The sixteenth of Maie was a godlie muster of horsemen made before the king, in the parke at Greenwich, under the kings banner his band of pensioners, in number a hundred and fiftie, euerie pensioner two great horses and a gelding, the lord Wale their lieutenant. The duke of Northumberland,

great maister of the kings household under the white lion & the ragged staffe fiftie. The duke of Suffolke under the unicorn in the starre a hundred and ten. The lord marquisse of Winchester, high treasurer, under his banner the falcon, one hundred men. The marquisse of Northampton high chamberleine under the maidenhead a hundred. The earle of Bedford lord priuie seale under the goate a hundred. The earle of Marwicke maister of the kings horses under the white lion fiftie. The earle of Huntington under his banner fiftie. The earle of Rutland under the peacocke fiftie. The earle of Penbroke under the greene dragon fiftie. The lord Darcie under the maidens bodie fiftie. The lord Cobham under the Saracens head, fiftie. The lord Clinton lord admirall under the anchor, fiftie. The lord warden of the cinque ports, under the rose in the sunne beames, one hundred.

¶ Not long after the death of the said duke of Summerfet and his complices, it chanced the reuerend father in God maister doctor Ribleie then bishop of London, to preach before the kings maiestie at Westminster. In the which sermon he made a fruitfull and godlie exhortation to the rich, to be mercifull vnto the poze, and also to moue such as were in authoritie, to trauell by some charitable waie & meane, to comfort and relieue them. Whereupon the kings maiestie being a prince of such towardnesse and vertue for his yeares, as England before neuer brought forth, and the same also being so well reteined and brought vp in all godlie knowledge, as well by his dere vncle the late protector, as also by his vertuous and learned schoolmaisters, was so carefull of the godd gouernement of the realme, and chiefe to do and prefer such things as most speciallie touched the honor of almightie God. And vnderstanding that a great number of poze people did swarme in this realme, and chiefe in the cite of London, and that no good order was taken for them, did suddenlie and of himselfe send to the said bishop as soon as his sermon was ended, willing him not to depart, vntill that he had spoken with him (and this that I now write was the verie report of the said bishop Ribleie) who according to the kings commandement gaue his attendance. And so soon as the kings maiestie was at leasure, he called for him, and made him to come vnto him in a great gallerie at Westminster, where (to his knowledge) and the king also told him so, there was present no mo persons than they two, and therefore made him sit downe in one chaire, and he himselfe in another, which (as it seemed) were before the comming of the bishop there purpose set, & caused the bishop (maugre his teeth) to be couered, and then entered communication with him in this sort.

First giuing him most hartie thanks for his sermon and god exhortation, he therein rehearsed such speciall things as he had noted, and that so manie, that the bishop said; Trulie, trulie (for that was comonlie his oth) I could neuer haue thought that excellencie to haue bene in his grace, that I beheld and saw in him. At the last, the kings maiestie much commended him for his exhortation for the reliefe of the poze. But my lord (saith he) ye willed such as are in authoritie to be carefull therof, and to deuise some godd order for their reliefe, wherein I thinke you meane me, for I am in highest place, and therefore am the first that must make answere vnto God for my negligence, if I should not be carefull therein, knowing it to be the expresse commandement of almightie God, to haue compassion of his poze and needy members, for whome we must make an account vnto him. And trulie my lord, I am before all things most willing to trauell that waie, and I doubt

The citizen of London moued to be assistants in this charita ble action.

The bene report of bishop Ribleie, who in due way he sought him followed by his sermon. Ergo the hearing of the second preached is profitable.

The readi of the lord i us to prefe this good

Degees poze.

A most noble and vertuous saying of king Edward to bishop Ribleie.



allusion of Iohn Leland recorded in praise of this  
most excellent prince, as followeth in this epigram:

*Allusio ad ery-  
vion nominis  
Eaduerdi.*

Quisquis Eadvardum Romano expresserat ore,  
Custodem fidei dixit: effisacræ.  
Hoc ego crediderim puero feliciter orto  
A superis nomen cælitus esse datum.  
Est pater antiquæ fidei defensor amicus,  
Degener & nullo tempore natus erit.

Sir William  
Chester.  
John Cal-  
throp draper.

But to returne where we left. By example of the charitable act of this vertuous young king, Sir William Chester knight and alderman of London, and John Galthrop citizen and draper of the said citie, at their owne proper costs and charges made the hiche walles and way on the backside that leadeth from the said new hospitall, unto the hospitall of saint Bartholomewes, and also covered and baued the towne dych from Aldersgate to Fleetgate, which before was verie noisome and contagious to the said hospitall.

Richard C. As  
Sci. Bookmaker.

This hospitall being thus erected and put in good order, there was one Richard Casell *alias* Caseller, thoomaker, dwelling in Westminster, a man of great trauell and labor: in his facultie with his owne hands, and such a one as was named the cocke of Westminster, for that both winter and summer he was at his worke befoze foure of the clocke. in the morning. This man thus trulie and painfullie labouring for his liuing, God blessed and increased his labours so abundantly, that he purchased lands and tenements in Westminster, to the yeatlie value of fouzte and foure pounds. And hauing no child, with the consent of his wiife (who seruiued him, & was a vertuous & good woman) gaue the same lands wholie to Chyffis hospitall aforesaid, to the reliefe of the innocent and fatherlesse children, and for the succoz of the miserable, fouze and sicke, harborzed in the other hospitals about London, whose example God grant manie to follow.

I. Stow. 1053.  
A monster.

The third of August, at Widdenton eleven miles from Oxford, a woman brought forth a child which had two perfect bodies from the navel upward, and were so joined together at the navel, that when they were laid in length, the one head & bodie was eastward, and the other west: the legs for both the bodies grew out at the midst where the bodies joined, and had but one issue for the excrements of both bodies: they lived eighteen daies, and were women children. The eight of August were taken at Quinborough three great fishes called dolphins: & the weeks following at Blackwall were six more taken, and brought to London, the least of them was more than arie horse. ]

### Great fishes.

ship about this season there were three no-  
 table ships set forth and furnished for the great  
 adventure of the unknowne voyage into the east by  
 the north seas. The great doer and encourager of  
 which voyage was Sebastian Cabato an English  
 man, borne at Bristow, but was the sonne of a Ge-  
 nowaite. These ships at the last arrived in the coun-  
 trie of Spolcoua, not without great losse and dan-  
 ger, and namelie of their capteine, who was a wo-  
 rthy and adventurous gentleman, called sir Hugh  
 Willoughbie knight, who being tossed and driven by  
 tempest, was at the last found in his ship frozen  
 to death and all his people. But now the said voyage  
 and trade is greatlie advanced, and the merchants  
 adventuring that waie, are newlie by act of parli-  
 ament incorporated and indued with sundrie pri-  
 vileges and liberties.

Three marriages between great estates.

About the beginning of the month of Maie next following, there were thre notable mariages concluded, & shortly after solemnized at Durham place. The first was betwene the lord Gilsford Dublete, the fourth sonne of the duke of Northumberland, and the

labie Jane, eldest daughter to Henrie duke of Suffolke, & the ladie Francis his wife, was the daughter of Marie second sister to king Henrie the eight, first married to Lewis the French king, and after to Charles Brandon duke of Suffolke. The second marriage was betwene the lord Herbert, son and heire to William earle of Penbroke, and the ladie Katharine, second daughter of the said ladie Francis, by the said Henrie duke of Suffolke. And the third was betwene Henrie lord Hastings, sonne and heire to Francis earle of Huntingdon, and ladie Katharine yongest daughter to the forenamed duke of Northumberland.

These marriages were compassed & concluded chiefly vpon purpose to change & alter the order of succession to the crowne, made in the time of Henrie the eight, from the said kings daughters, Marie and Elizabeth, and to conuerte the same immediatlie after the death of king Edward to the house of Suffolke, in the right of the said ladie Francis: wherein the said young king was an earnest trauelier in the time of his sickenesse, & all for feare that if his sister Marie, being next heire to the crowne, should succeed, that she would subuert all his lawes and statutes made concerning religion, wherof he was most carefull: for the continuance whereof he sought to establish a meet order of succession, by the alliance of great houses by waie of marriage, which neuertheless were of no force to serue his purpose. For tending to the disheritting of the rightfull heirs, they proued nothing prosperous to the parties: for two of them were some after made frustrate, the one by death, the other by diuorſe.

In the meane while, the king became euerie daie moze sicke than other of a consumption in his lungs, so as there was no hope of his recouerie. Whereupon those that then bare chiefe authoritie in counsell, with other prelates and nobles of the realme, called to them diuerse notable persons, learned as well in diuinitie as in the lawes of the land, namelic bishops, iudges, & other, who fell to consultation vpon this so weightie cause, and lastly concluded vpon the deuise of king Edwards will, to declare the said lady Jane, eldest niece to king Henrie the eight, and wiue to the said lord Wilford, to be rightfull heire in succession to the crowne of England, without respect had to the statute made in the five and thirtieth yeare of king Henrie the eight: the true meaning of which statute they did impugne and ouerthrow by diuerse subtilt finisier constructions of the same, to disherit the said kings daughters, to whom the succession of the crowne of England of right appertained, as well by the common lawes of this realme, as also by the said statute made in the said five and thirtieth yeare of king Henrie, as aforesaid. To which new order of succession, all the said kings counsell, with manie bishops, lords, doctors and iudges of the realme subscribed their names, without refusal or anie, except sir James Hales knight, one of the officers of the common plaes, who being called to the counsell, would in no wise giue his assent, either by word or writing, as ye shall heare moze in the history of queene Marie.

Now when these matters were thus concluded, and after confirmed by a number of hands, as aforesaid, then the noble prince king Edward the first, by long lingering sicknesse and consumption of his lungs aforesaid, approached to his death, and departed out of this life the first daie of Iulie, in the seventh yeare of his reigne, and seventeenth of his age, after he had reigned and noble gouerned this realme six yeares, five moneths, and eight daies. And a little before his departing, lifting vp his eyes to God, he prayed as followeth.

The

The

The civil and  
whereto the  
knitting of  
these couples  
in marriage  
tendeth.

The things  
fear fall out  
to be true.

ie The kings  
sicknesse in  
s, creaseth.

An entail is a legal arrangement that binds the land of a deceased person to a specific line of heirs, typically the eldest son, for a specified period of time. The land is passed down from generation to generation, and the heirs are bound to use the land in a certain way. The land is not sold or transferred to anyone else until the death of the last heir.

of Sir John  
Hales the  
good man.

ed, The dea  
king Et  
me, the first.

The commen-  
tation of king  
Edward.

See John Fox  
in the Acts &  
Monuments  
under the title  
of Edward  
the first.

The noble  
memoire of  
king Edward  
and his rare  
wit.

The prair of king Edward the  
sixt at his death.

**O**dd God, deliuer me out of this  
miserable and wretched life, take  
me among thy chosen: howbeit  
not my will, but thy will be done.  
Lord I commit my spirit to thee, oh Lord  
thou knowest how happie it were for mee  
to be with thee: yet for thy choicens sake if  
it be thy will, send me life and helth, that I  
maie trulie serue thee. Oh my Lord blesse  
thy people, and saue thine inheritance.  
Oh Lord God, saue thy chosen people of  
England. Oh my Lord God defend this  
realme from papistrie, and mainteine thy  
true religion, that I and my people maie  
praise thy holie name. And therewithall he  
said, I am faint, Lord haue mercie vpon  
me, and take my spirit.

Thus did this good young king yeld vp to God  
his ghost the first daie of Iulie (as before is mentio-  
ned) whome if it had pleased God to haue spared with  
longer life, not unlike it was, but he should haue so  
gouerned this English common-wealth, that he  
might haue bene comparable with any of his noble  
progenitors: so that the losse of so towarlike a young  
king, greatlie discomfited the whole English na-  
tion, that looked for such a reformation in the state of  
the common-wealth at his hands, as was to be wis-  
hed for of all good subiects: which bred such a liking in  
them toward him, that euermore they verie traitorous  
rebels his name yet was had in reuerence, although  
otherwise they neuer so much forgot their dutie both  
towards him and other, appointed to gouerne vnder  
him, through a malicious and most wilfull error; as  
if his tender yeares had not sufficientlie warranted  
his roiall authoritie, but that the same had bene in-  
sarpred by others against his will and pleasure.

And as he was intierlie beloued of his subiects,  
so with the like affection of kindnes he loued them a-  
gaine, of nature and disposition make, much inclined  
to clemencie, euer hauing a regard to the sparing of  
life. There wanted in him no promptnes of wit, gra-  
uitie of sentence, ripenesse of iudgement, as his age  
might beare, saueur and loue of religion was in him  
from his child hood, his skill and knowledge in scien-  
ces, besides his other excellent vertues, were such,  
that to them he seemed rather bozne than bought vp.  
I made some verie strange, that in his young yeares  
(as maister Fox reporteth of him) he could tell and  
recite all the ports, hauens, and creekes, not withint  
his owne realme onelie, but also in Scotland, and  
likewise in France, what comming in there was,  
how the tide serued in euerie of them; moreouer,  
what burthen, and what wind serued for the com-  
ming into each haue: also of all his iustices, magi-  
strates, gentlemen that bare any authoritie within  
his realme, he knew their names, their housekeeping,  
their religion and conuersation what it was. He had  
a singular respect to iustice, a vertue most commen-  
dable in a prince, and chieftie to the dispatch of poze-  
mens lites. He perfectlie understood the Latine  
tong, the French, the Graeke, Italian, and Spanishe,  
neither was he ignorant (saith Cardanus) in Lo-  
gique, in the principles of naturall philosophie, or in  
musicke.

To conclude, his towarlineesse was such in all  
heroicall vertues, noble gifts, and markable quali-  
ties conuenient for his princelie estate, that so much  
was hoped for in his roiall person (if he had liued till  
triall might haue bene had of the poze) as was to  
beloued for in anie one prince that euer had rule

ouer this noble realme. The eight of Iulie, the lord  
maior of London was sent for to the court, then at  
Greenwich, and to bring with him six aldermen, as  
manie merchants of the Staple, and as manie mer-  
chant aduenturers, vnto whom by the counsell was  
secretlie declared the death of king Edward, & also  
whom he had ordeined to the succession of the crowne  
by his letters patents, to the which they were sworn,  
and charged to keepe it secret. But now to proceed  
with the doings that followed. Immediate after  
the death of this so worthy a prince king Edward,  
the aforesaid ladie Jane was proclaimed queene of  
this realme by the sound of trumpet, that is to saie,  
the ninth daie of Iulie, at which proclamation were  
present the lords of the counsell, the maior of Lon-  
don, with others.

The eleauenth of Iulie, Gilbert Pot, dialuer to  
Simon Sanders blitener, dwelling at St. Johns  
head within Ludgate, who was accused by the said  
Sanders his maister, was set vpon the pillorie in  
Cheape, with both his eares nailed, and cleane cut  
off, for words speaking at time of the proclamation  
of ladie Jane. At the which execution was a trumpet  
blotie, and a herald read his offense, in presence of  
one of the shiriffes, &c. About five of the clocke the  
same daie in the afternone, Pinion Sanders, ma-  
ster to the said Gilbert Pot, and John Owen a gun-  
ner, comming from the tower of London by water  
in a wherrie, and shoting London bydge, towards  
the blacke friers, were drowned at saint Maries  
Locke, and the wherriemen saued by their ores.

The ladie Marie, a little before lieng at Honesdani  
in Hartfordshire, hauing intelligence of the state of  
the king hir brother, and of the secret practise against  
hir: by the aduise of hir friends, with all speed toke  
hir iourne toward hir house of Kenninghall in Kent  
folke, intending there to remaine, untill she could  
make hir selfe more strong of hir friends and allies,  
and withall wrote vnto the lords of the counsell in  
forme as followeth.

A letter of the ladie Marie sent to the  
lords of the counsell, wherein she claimeth the  
croune now after the decease of hir  
brother king Edward.



My lords we greet you well, and haue re-  
ceiued sore aduertisement, that our  
dearest brother the king our late four-  
reigne lord is departed to Gods mer-  
cie: which newes, how they be woofull  
to our heart, he onelie knoweth, to whose will and  
pleasure we must and doe humble submit vs, and all  
our wils. But in this so lamentable a case, that is to  
wit, now after his maiesties departure and death,  
concerning the croune & gouernance of this realme  
of England, with the title of France, and all things  
thereto belonging that hath bene prouided by act of  
parlement, and the testament and last will of our  
dearest father, besides other circumstances aduan-  
cing our right: you know, the realme, and the whole  
world knoweth, the rolles and records appeare by the  
authoritie of the king our said father, and the king  
our said brother, and the subiects of this realme, so that  
we verelie trust that there is no true subiect that is,  
can, or would pretend to be ignorant thereof: and of  
our part we haue our selues caused, and as God shall  
aid and strength vs, shall cause our right and title in  
this behalfe to be published and proclaimed accor-  
dinglie. And albeit this so weightie a matter seemeth  
strange, that the dieng of our said brother vpon  
thursdaie at night last past, we hitherto had no  
knowledge from you thereof: yet we consider your  
wisdomes and prudence to be such, that hauing  
estones amongst you debated, pondered, and well  
weighed

I. Stow. 1553.  
Edw. the sixt  
death opened.

Ladie Jane  
proclaimed  
queene.

I. Stow. 1559.  
Gilbert Pot  
punished in  
Cheape.

John Owen  
drowned at  
London bydge.

The ladie  
Maries chie-  
fenge to the  
croune by  
right of suc-  
cession.

The cruelly  
whereunto the  
killing of  
these couples  
in marriage  
tended.

The kings  
seare fellow  
to be true.

Comment  
on the king  
Edward.

The kings  
sickenesse  
creaseth.

An euill  
meditation  
of consola-  
tion of coun-  
sellors.

British Fox  
age 30 &  
31  
Comment  
on the title  
of Edward  
the sixt.

The noble  
remembrance  
of king Edward  
the sixt.

St. James  
Halles the  
old man.

The death of  
king Edward  
the sixt.



She certifieth the lordes that she knoweth what is intended against hir.

She chargeth the lordes upon their loialties to cause hir right to the regement to be proclaimed.

The lordes aduertise the ladie Marie that the ladie Jane is quene.

A subtill shift to proue the ladie Marie illegitimate.

weighed this present case with our estate, with your owne estate, the commonwealth, and all our honours, we shall and may conceiue great hope and trust, with much assurance in your loialtie and service, and therefore for the time interpret and take things not to the worst, and that ye yet will like noblemen worke the best. For the lesse, we are not ignorant of your consultations to vnder the provisions made for our preferment, nor of the great bands and provisions forcible, whereunto ye be assembled and prepared, by whome, and to what end, God and you know, and nature can feare some euill. But be it that some consideration politike, or whatsoeuer thing else hath moued you thereto, yet doubt you not my lords, but we can take all these your doings in gracious part, being also right readie to remit and foliie pardon the same, with that frellie to eschew bloudshed & vengeance against all those that can or will intend the same, trusting also assuredlie you will take acceptance this grace and vertue in good part, as appertineth, and that we shall not be enforced to vse this seruice of other our true subiects and frends, which in this our iust and rightfull case, God (in whome our whole assistance is) shall send vs. Wherefore my lords, we requite you, and charge you, and euerie of you, that euerie of you of your allegiance which you owe to God and vs, and to none other, for our honour, and the seruice of our realme, onelie imploye your selues and forthwith vpon recett hereof cause our right and title to the crowne and government of this realme, to be proclaimed in our cite of London, and such other places as to your wisdoms shall seme good, and as to this case appertineth, not failing hereof, as our verie trust is in you: and thus our letter signed with our owne hand shall be your sufficient warrant in this behalfe. Given vnder our signet at our manoir of Kenningall the ninth of Iulie 1553.

To this letter of the ladie Marie, the lords of the counsell answered againe as followeth.

**M**Adam, we haue receiued your letters the ninth of this instant, declaring your supposed title, which you iudge your selfe to haue to the imperiall crowne of this realme, and all the dominions thereto belonging. For answer therof, this is to aduertise you, that forsomuch as our soueraigne ladie quene Jane is, after the death of our soueraigne lord Edward the first, a prince of most noble memorie, inuested and possessed with the iust and right title of the imperiall crowne of this realme, not onelie by god order of old ancient good lawes of this realme; but also by our late soueraigne lordes letters patents, signed with his owne hand, and sealed with the great seale of England, in presence of the most part of the nobles, counsellors, iudges, with diuers other graue and sage personages, assenting and subscribing to the same: we must therefore, as of most bound dutie and allegiance, assent vnto hir said grace, and to none other, except we should (which faithfull subiects cannot) fall into greuous and vnspokeable enormities. Wherefore we can no lesse do, but for the quiet both of the realme and you also, to aduertise you, that forsomuch as the diuorcie made betwene the king of famous memorie king Henrie the eight, and the ladie Katharine your mother, was necessarie to be had, both by the euerlasting lawes of God, and also by the ecclesiasticall lawes, and by the most part of the noble and learned vniuersities of chifflendow, and confirmed also by the sundrie acts of parlements, remaining yet in their force, and thereby you iustlie made illegitimate, and vnder the crowne imperiall of

this realme; and the rules, dominions, and possessions of the same: you will vpon iust consideration hereof, and of diuers other causes lawfull to be alleged for the same, and for the iust inheritance of the right line, and goodlie orders taken by the late king Edward the first, and greatest personages aforesaid, surcease, by any pretense to ber and molest any of our soueraigne ladie quene Jane hir subiects, from the true faith and allegiance due vnto hir grace, assuring you, that if you will for respect thew your selfe quiet and obedient (as you ought) you shall find vs all, and seuerall, readie to do you any service that we with dutie may, and to be glad of your quietnesse, to prelerue the common state of this realme, wherein you may be otherwise greuous vnto vs, to your selfe, and to them. And thus we bid you most hartlie well to fare. From the towre of London this ninth of Iulie.

*Tour ladies frends shewing your selfe an obedient subiect,*

Thomas Canturburie, the marquisse of Winchester, John Bedford, William Northampton, Thomas Cle Chancellor, John Northumberland, Henrie Suffolke, Henrie Arundell, Francis Shrewsburie, William Penbroke, Cobham, R. Rich, Huntington, Darcie, Cheineie, R. Cotton, John Gates, William Peter, William Cecil, John Cheke, John Mason, Edward North, Robert Wolues.

All these aforesaid, except onelie the duke of Northumberland, and sir John Gates, were either by speciall fauour, or speciall or generall pardon, discharged for this offence against hir committed, after hir comming to be quene. But now vpon the recett of this answer, vnderstanding by hir frends that she could not lie in suertie at Kenningall, being a place open & easie to be approached, she remoued from thence vnto hir castell of Fremingham, standing in a wood countrie, & not so easie to be inuaded by hir enemies. So sone as the counsell heard of hir sudden departure, and considering that all came not to passe as they supposed; they caused speiallie a power of men to be gathered together. And first they agreed that the duke of Suffolke father to the new made quene, should haue the conduct and leading of the armie.

But afterward it was deuised and decreed vpon further considerations, and by the speciall means of the ladie Jane his daughter, who taking the matter heauilie, with weeping teares, made request to the whole counsell, that hir father might tarrie at home in hir companie. Where vpon the counsell persuaded with the duke of Northumberland, to take that vantage vpon him, saying, that no man was so fit therefore: because that he had achieved the victorie in Suffolke once already, and was therefore so feared, that none durst once lift by their weapon against him: besides that, he was the best man of warre in the realme, as well for the ordering of his campes and souldiers, both in battell and in their tents, as also by experience, knowledge and wisdom; he could both animate his armie with witty persuasions, and also pacifie and allate his enemies pride with his stout courage, or else to dissuade them (if need were) from their enterpryse. Finally, said they, this is the short and the long, the quene will in no wise grant, that hir father shall take it vpon him: wherefore (quoth they) we thinke it good, if it may please your grace, it lieth in you to remedie the matter. With these & the like persuasions the duke was allured to put himselfe desperatlie vpon hazard:

*Non morte horrenda non vllis terribus armis.*

Insomuch that he remained vpon their talke, and said: Well then, sith yee thinke it good, I and mine will go, not doubting of your fidelitie to the quene maiesie,

maine night the parliament blie hon to h Ch mai ovi plac sam title I coul befo pel said othe not as fi not the l sari conl hon you wou leau we i for o us i and our whi ther cour you fral high of fr requ pref haly orig tion as b the l foyl 2 twilf lice, the f duki spok of pe to co in re ener this form faith mat: us c thoni pabl Ther God so th the q seale to be also,

matieſſe, which now I leaue in your cuſtodie. So that night he ſent for both lordes, knights, and other that ſhould go with him, and cauſed all things to be prepared accordingly. Then went the counsell in to the ladie Jane, and told hir of their concluſion, who humbly thanked the duke for reſeruing hir father at home, and beſeched him to uſe his diligence: where, to he answered, that he would do what in him laie. The morrow following, great preparation was made, the duke earlie in the morning called for his owne harnesse, and ſaw it made readie at Durham place, where he appointed all his retinue to meet. The ſame daie carts were laden with munition and artillery, and ſield peeces were ſet forward.

The ſame forenoone the duke moued effſoones the counsell to ſend their powers after him, as it was before determined, the ſame to meet with him at Newmarket, and they promiſed they would. He ſaid further to ſome of them: My lordes, I and theſe other noble perſonages, with the whole armie that now go forth, as well for the behalfe of you & yours, as for the eſtabliſhing of the queenes highneſſe, ſhall not onelic aduenture our bodies and liues amongſt the bloudie ſtrokes and cruell aſſaults of our aduerſaries in the open fields: but alſo we do leaue the conſeruacion of our ſelues, children, and families at home here with you, as altogether committed to your truth and fidelities: whome, if we thought ye would through malice, conſpiracie, or diſſention leaue vs your friends in the byers, and betraie vs; we could as well ſundrie waies foreſee and provide for our owne ſafeguards, as anie of you by betraieſing vs can do for yours. But now vpon the onelic truſt and faithfullneſſe of your honours, whereof we thinke our ſelues moſt aſſured, we do hazard our liues. Which truſt and promiſe if ye ſhall violate, hoping thereby of life and promotion: yet ſhall not God count you innocent of our bloods, neither acquite you of the ſacred and holie oth of allegiaunce, made ſwre by you to this vertuous ladie the queenes highneſſe, who by your and our intieſement is rather of force placed therein, than by hir owne ſeeking and request. Conſider alſo, that Gods caule, which is the preferment of his word, & feare of papists entrance, haſty bene (as ye haue here before alwaies laide) the original ground wherevpon ye euen at the firſt motion granted your goodwills and conſents thereunto, as by your handwritings appeareth; and thinke not the contrarie, but if ye meane deceit, though not ſo with, yet hereafter God will reuenge the ſame.

I can ſaie no more, but in this troubleſome time wiſh you to uſe conſtant hearts, abandoning all malice, enuie, and priuat affections. And therewithall the firſt courſe for the lordes came vp, wherefore the duke ſhut vp his talks with theſe wordes. I haue not ſpoken to you in this ſort vpon anie miſtruſt I haue of your truths, of which alwaies I haue euer hitherto conceiued a truſtie confidence, but I haue put you in remembrance thereof, what chance of variance ſo ener might grow amongſt you in mine abſence: and this I praie you, wiſh me not worſe good ſped in this ſortie, than ye would haue to your ſelues. My lord, ſaith one of them, if ye miſtruſt anie of vs in this matter, your grace is farre deceived, for which of vs can waſh his hands cleane thereof? And if we ſhould ſhynke from you as from one that were culpable, which of vs can excuſe himſelfe to be giſtelle? Therefore herein your doubt is too farre caſt. I praie God it be (quoth the duke) let vs go to dinner: and ſo they ſat downe. After dinner the duke went in to the queene, where his commiſſion was by that time ſealed, for his lieutenantſhip of the armie, and then toke his leaue of hir, and ſo did certeine other lordes alſo.

Then as the duke came through the counsell chamber, he toke his leaue of the earle of Arundell, who praied God be with his grace, ſaieng he was ſorie it was not his chance to go with him and brace him companie, in whose preſence he could find in his heart to ſpend his blood euen at his ſet. Then the earle of Arundell toke Thomas Louell the dukes boie by the hand, and ſaid; Farewell gentle Thomas with all my heart. Then the duke, with the lord markeſſe of Northampton, the lord Greie, and diuerſe other toke their charge, and went to Durham place, and to White hall, where that night they muſtered their men: and the next daie in the morning the duke departed with the number of ſix hundred men, or thereabouts. And as they rode through Shorbiſch, ſaid the duke to the lord Greie; The people preſe to ſee vs, but not one ſaith God ſped vs. The ſame daie ſir John Gates and other went out after the duke.

Now as the duke went forward on his waie (with his commiſſion from the whole counsell, and his warrant vnder the broad ſcale of England, without miſtruſt of that which after fortune to his owne deſtruction, as in the hiſtorie of queene Marie ſhall appeare, accompanied with no ſmall number of lordes and gentlemen, hauing notwithstanding his times preſcribed, and his iourneies appointed by the counsell, to the intent he would not ſeeme to do any thing but vpon warrant) what a do there was, what ſirring on euerie ſide, what ſending, what riding and poſting, what letters, meſſages, & inſtructions went to and fro, what talking among the ſouldiers, what harburning among the people, what faire pretences outwardlie, inwardlie what priuite practiſes there were, what ſpeeding and ſending forth ordinance out of the towre, yea euen the ſame daie that queene Marie at euen was proclaimed queene, what rumors, and comming downe of ſouldiers as there was from all quarters, a world it was to ſee, and a proceſſe to declare, enough to make (as ſaith maſter Fox) a whole volume, euen as big as an Atlas.

The greateſt helpe that made for the ladie Marie, was the ſhort iourneies of the duke, which by commiſſion were assigned vnto him before, as aboue is mentioned: and happilie not without the politike forecaſt of ſome in fauour of the ladie Marie: for the longer the duke lingered in his voiſage, the ladie Marie the more increaſed in puiſſance, the hearts of the people being mightilie bent vnto hir. Wherevpon ſhe in the meane time remaining at Fremmingham, and hearing of this preparation againſt hir, gathered together ſuch power of the noblemen & other hir friends in that cuntry, as ſhe could get. And firſt of all, the noblemen that came vnto hir aid, were the earles of Suſſer, Bath, and Driford, the lord Wentworth, ſir Thomas Cornewallis, ſir Henrie Farningham, ſir William Malgraue, with diuerſe other gentlemen and commons of the counties of Northfolke and Suſſolke. Here (as maſter Fox noteth) the Suſſolke men being the firſt that reſorted to hir, promiſed hir their aid and helpe to the uttermoſt of their powers, ſo that ſhe would not go about to alter the religion which hir brother had eſtabliſhed, and was now uſed and exerciſed through the realme. To this condition ſhe agreed, with ſuch promiſe, as no man would haue doubted that anie inuocation of matters in religion ſhould haue followed, by hir ſufferance or procurement during hir reigne: but how ſone ſhe forgot that promiſe, it ſhall ſhortlie after plainelie appeare.

In this meane ſeaſon, the lord Windſor, ſir Edmund Beckham, ſir Robert Marie, and ſir Edward Baſſings, called the commoners of the ſhire of Buckingham; vnto whome ſir John Williams, which afterward was lord Williams of Thame, ap in m m m y. and

The earle of Arundell proſeſſeth himſelfe ſorie that he gotch not with the duke of Northhamptons berland.

Such a do on all ſides during this ſir broched betwene the duke and the ladie Marie.

The old proverb beſide Delaie breedeth danger.

Suſſolke men the firſt that reſorted to the ladie Marie.

Aſſiſtants to the ladie Marie.

Abt. Fl. ex l. § 1059.

The counsell perſuade the duke to undertake this enterpriſe.

and sir Leonard Chamberleine, with the cheefe pow-  
er of Wiltshire. And out of Northamptonshire  
came sir Thomas Tresham, and a great number of  
gentlemen out of diuerse parts, whose names were  
too long to rehearse. These capitaine with their com-  
panies being thus assembled in warlike manner,  
marched forward towards Northfolke to the aid of  
the ladie Marie, and the further they went, the more  
their power increased.

Abr. Fl. ex  
15 pag. 1062.

Did by word  
and whether  
for quene  
Marie that  
was bent  
against hir.

The duke of  
Northumber-  
land wroteth  
for more suc-  
cess.

Doctor Kib-  
ble persua-  
deth the peo-  
ple in the title  
of quene  
Jane, &c.

The lords of  
the councill  
suspecting  
that all would  
go against  
them, procla-  
med the ladie  
Marie quene.

About this time sir Shypps well manned, that were  
appointed to lie before Portsmouth, and to haue taken  
the ladie Marie if she had fled that waie, were by  
force of weather driuen into the haven, where one  
maister Jerningham was raising power on the la-  
die Maries behalfe, who hearing thereof, came thither.  
Whereupon the capitaine toke a bote and went to the  
ships, but the sailers and souldiers asked maister Jer-  
ningham what he would haue, and whether he would  
haue their capitaine or no, and he said yea. Marie  
said they, ye shall haue them or we will throw them  
into the bottome of the sea. But the capitaine said  
forthwith, that they would serue quene Marie wil-  
linglie, and so brought forth their men, and conueted  
with them their great ordinance. Of the comming  
of these ships the ladie Marie was wonderfull ioy-  
ous, & afterward doubted little the dukes puissance:  
but when newes thereof was brought to the tower,  
each man there began to draw backward: and ouer  
that, word of a greater mischance was brought to the  
tower: that is to saie, that the noblemens tenants  
refused to serue their lords against quene Marie.

The duke thought long for his success, and wrote  
somewhat sharpe to the councill at the tower in  
that behalfe, as well for lacke of men as munition,  
but a slender answer had he againe. And from that  
time forward, certaine of the councill, to wit, the erle  
of Penbroke, and sir Thomas Cheineie lord war-  
den, and other, sought to get out of the tower to con-  
sult in London, but could not. On the sixteenth of  
Julie, being sundaie, doctor Kibble bishop of Lon-  
don, by commandement of the councill, preached at  
Pauls crosse, where he vehementlie perswaded the  
people in the title of the ladie Jane, late proclaimed  
quene, and inuied earnestlie against the title of la-  
die Marie, &c. The same sixteenth of Julie, the lord  
treasurer was gone out of the tower to his house in  
London at night, and forthwith about seauen of the  
clocke the gates of the tower vpon a sudden were  
shut vp, and the keyes bozne vp to the ladie Jane,  
which was for feare of some packing in the lord trea-  
surer: but he was fetched againe to the tower about  
twelue of the clocke in the night.]

The lords of the councill, being in this meane  
while at London, after they vnderstood how the bet-  
ter part of the realme were inclined, and hearing  
euerie daie newes of great assemblies, began to sus-  
pect the sequell of this enterprise. So that providing  
for their owne suertie, without respect of the duke  
(who now was at Burie) they fell to a new councill,  
and lastlie by assent made proclamation at London  
in the name of the ladie Marie, by the name of Ma-  
rie quene of England, France, & Ireland, defender  
of the faith, & of the churches of England & Ireland

supreme head. Of which proclamation, after the duke  
of Northumberland, being then at Burie, was ad-  
uertised by letters of discomfort from the councill,  
he incontinentlie, according to the new order recei-  
ued from them, returned with his power againe to  
Cambridge. Now so sudden change of minds forth-  
with appeared in his armie, that they which before  
seemed most forward in that quarrell, began first to  
flee from him, & so euerie man shifting for himselfe,  
he that late before was furnished of such multitude  
of souldiers, was suddenlie forsaken of all saving a  
few, whose perills were ioined with his.

But now before I proceed anie further in the hi-  
storie of quene Marie, who was now rescued and  
proclaimed quene, as then to succeed his brother, I  
will speake somewhat of the learned men that wrote  
& published anie pamphlets or treatises in his daies,  
as in deed there were manie: but for that the more  
part of them died in quene Maries time, or in the  
quenes maiesties time that now is, or else are yet  
liuing, I do omit those here, meaning to speake of  
them hereafter, if God shall permit, as occasion  
maie serue. For the residue that ended their liues in  
this kings daies, these I find: David Clapham a  
lawyer and well sene in the Latine tong, wrote  
sundry treatises; Robert Talbot a prebendarie of  
Northwich, verie skilfull in antiquities; Edward  
Hall a counsellor in the common law, but excellent-  
lie sene in histories, wrote a notable chronicle of  
the union of the two houses of Yorke & Lancaster.

Furthermoze Richard Tracie of Codrington in  
Gloucestershire, an esquier, and verie well learned,  
sonne to William Tracie; doctor Joseph an excel-  
lent preacher; George Jole a Bedfordshire man, that  
wrote diuerse treatises concerning diuinitie, and  
died either in the last yeare of king Edward, or in  
the beginning of quene Maries reigne, as appea-  
reth by maister Bale; Alexander Birkleie a Scot, a  
notable poet, and a good rhetorician, departed this  
life in the yeare one thousand five hundred fiftie and  
two; William Hugh a Northfolke man, wrote, be-  
sides other things, a notable treatise called the trow-  
bled mans medicine, he deceased by the burking of  
a veine, in the yeare one thousand five hundred fortie  
and nine; Thomas Sternehold bozne in South  
hampton, turned into English meter seuen & thir-  
tie psalmes chosen forth of Dauid psalter. Of stran-  
gers that liued and died here in this kings daies, ex-  
cellentlie learned, and renowned for such treatises  
as they published to the world, Martine Bucet and  
Paulus Fagius are most famous. To end now  
with this part of the booke concerning king Ed-  
ward, I haue thought good to set downe Ierom Car-  
dans verses, written as an epitaph of him (and reco-  
ded by maister Fox in his historie) as here followeth:

*Flete nefas magnum, sed toto flebilis orbe  
Mortales, vester corrui omnis honor.  
Nam regum decem, & inuenimus flos, & flosque bonorum,  
Delicia seculi, & gloria gentis erat.  
Dignus Apollineis lacrymis, doctaque Minerva:  
Flosculus heu miserè concidit ante diem.  
Te cumulo dabimus misera, supremæque silentis  
Munera, Melpomene tristitia fata canet.*

Carmen  
phases  
in obitu  
E. 6. m.

The duke  
Northumber-  
land, and  
is arrested by  
the erle of  
Arundell.

Thus farre the good and vertuous young prince Edward the sixth, successor  
to Henrie the eight of most famous memorie.



1553  
quene Ma-  
rie proclaimed,  
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